

**IRI Observation Report on the  
Albanian Parliamentary Elections of  
May 26, 1996**

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## **I. Summary**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) observed Albania's first multi-party elections held on March 31, 1991 and found that the Albanian Party of Labor (Communist Party) had dominated the system to an extent that their victory could not be considered legitimate. One year later, IRI observed the second multi-party parliamentary elections on March 22, 1992 and found that the process had vastly improved allowing the Democratic Party of Albania to win an overwhelming and historic victory. On May 26, 1996, IRI observed Albania's third multi-party parliamentary elections since the beginning of the country's democracy movement in December 1990. Given the controversy surrounding these elections, the continued progress of Albania's democratic transition is again in question.

IRI's seven-member delegation issued a preliminary statement in Tirana on May 30, 1996, highlighting both the positive and negative aspects of these elections. This preliminary statement, which focused on election day activities, found that the Democratic Party's increasing lack of tolerance toward its political opponents was in large part responsible for the negative environment that prevailed in Albania's May 1996 elections; that there had been serious though not widespread irregularities on election day; and, that the main opposition parties had also contributed to the degradation of the electoral environment with their decision to withdraw from the process before it had been completed. IRI did note, however, several positive aspects of the election process including the voter education campaign undertaken by the government and the vigorous competition among political parties and candidates to present their platforms to voters. IRI observers were also impressed by the level of participation by Albanian voters in their political process as evidenced by the high voter turnout.

The purpose of this comprehensive report is to further examine the issues raised during the elections, provide a record of IRI's observations, and offer a series of recommendations on ways to improve the process for future elections. This report examines three major areas: the electoral framework, encompassing the approval process, content and application of election laws; the conduct of parties and election officials during the campaign period; and the voting and counting procedures utilized on election day. Significant deficiencies in each of these areas ought to be addressed by the Albanian Parliament, political parties and election authorities in order to improve future elections.

This election report contains a detailed list of recommendations covering every aspect of the election process. However, IRI considers the first ten recommendations to be vital to the conduct of any future elections in Albania; they therefore deserve the immediate attention of those individuals involved in shaping Albania's local elections on October 20, 1996.

## **II. Issues and Recommendations**

Of the 31 recommendations listed below, IRI believes that the first ten are the most important to improving the conduct of future campaigns and elections. Therefore, IRI urges the government, the parliament, and the political parties to first concentrate their efforts on addressing these ten recommendations through legislation and other means. (Note: references to Articles refer to the law on parliamentary elections.)

### **Issue 1**

The composition of electoral commissions did not provide a balanced representation of members. In most voting centers, observers saw that the election administration was controlled by the Democratic Party's government appointed Chairman and Secretary and, in many cases, the other members of the commission were excluded from any substantive role in the administration of election day voting. Furthermore, according to Article 35 of the parliamentary election law, the Central Election Commission (CEC) is to be established 45 days prior to election day. Article 35 also states that the composition of the Central Election Commission (CEC) is "decided by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Council of Ministers and the political parties..." This method of appointing the CEC created concerns about its impartiality.

### **Recommendation 1**

Modify the election laws so that the composition of electoral commissions at all levels is a balanced representation of political forces to insure that no one party, or group of closely allied parties, can control the election process through their leadership positions on electoral commissions. In addition, create a permanent and independent Central Election Commission (CEC) through an act of Parliament. The permanent CEC should be composed of a permanent professional staff and commission members appointed for limited terms, and accountable for their actions only under the Constitution and laws of Albania. The appointment of the commission members, and especially the leadership of the CEC, should not be accomplished by one political structure or party (Articles 35, 37 & 39).

### **Issue 2**

The approval process for public meetings during the parliamentary campaign seemed arbitrary and biased. Specifically, public meetings in Albania are held under the rules established during the communist era. One requirement is that permits be requested from local police authorities to have lawful meetings, rallies, marches or other events in public areas. Requirements for such permits is a standard practice in Western democracies. In at least some instances, however, IRI believed Albanian police authorities showed favoritism in awarding such permits. The communist-era decree on public meetings also required that slogans used at public meetings receive advance clearance from public order authorities.

### **Recommendation 2**

Revise the rules on public meetings and minimize the discretion of local police authorities so that all political parties have equal access to public facilities. In addition, eliminate limitations on the content of speech at public meetings, with the exception of inflammatory comments purposely designed to incite violence or jeopardize public safety.

### **Issue 3**

The election law allocated free blocks of time to political parties under a formula that gave half to the parliamentary parties in the government and the remaining half to be divided among the opposition parliamentary parties. Most political parties used these free blocks of time to broadcast their own party programs or advertisements. Although parties could not purchase additional time to broadcast their television advertisements, in some cases Albanian Television provided some parties with extra time. In addition, daily television news coverage primarily featured President Berisha and members of the Democratic Party, ostensibly because it was covering the official acts of elected officials. In effect, Albanian Television demonstrated a clear bias toward the ruling party in the duration and tone of news coverage.

### **Recommendation 3**

Establish a more equitable system for distributing free time on television that does not rely solely on the previous success of political parties (Article 53). Develop and implement guidelines for state television news programs on how to provide equitable and fair coverage to all political parties. Establish clear rules governing political advertising during the campaign period.

### **Issue 4**

Although IRI observers saw many police at polling stations play a role in maintaining public order at voting centers, they also found instances in which the police were identifying themselves with the party in power. Specifically, IRI observers saw some police as active participants in motorcades supporting the Democratic Party (PD) and in other cases saw police in possession of PD campaign paraphernalia.

### **Recommendation 4**

Develop, issue and strictly apply comprehensive guidelines on the proper role of public order forces during electoral campaigns and on election day.

### **Issue 5**

In September 1995, the Parliament passed the “*Law on Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*” that effectively barred former communist officials and secret police collaborators from seeking elected office until 2002. A second law was passed by Parliament entitled “*On the Control of the Figure of Officials*” that allowed a verification commission to examine old Sigurimi (secret police) files of all parliamentary candidates to determine whether they should be excluded from running for public office. Candidates were allowed to appeal decisions made by the commission, but the files remained sealed and not available to the public. Many of the excluded candidates claimed the charges against them were politically

motivated, lacked evidence, or were based on fraudulent evidence. These individuals, however, could not publicly substantiate their claims because their files remained sealed.

### **Recommendation 5**

Establish and implement clear guidelines that allow anyone disqualified from seeking public office under the law on genocide laws to have their dossier and all other documents of verification commission proceedings made public at their request.

### **Issue 6**

The counting process was not transparent. Voting results at each level of the process were not disclosed publicly prior to being forwarded to the next level, making it difficult for parties and non-governmental organizations to conduct a parallel count of the election results as they moved through the aggregation process. Although, Article 75 of the election law states that "every electoral subject has a right to a copy of the protocol," IRI observers heard different interpretations from different election officials as to who was entitled to receive a copy of the protocol.

### **Recommendation 6**

Establish procedures so that preliminary election results received by the Central Election Commission (CEC) are immediately released to the public and that the results at voting centers and zonal electoral commissions are publicly posted as soon as they are completed. Require and insure that all members of electoral commissions at all levels be provided official signed copies of all voting protocols of these commissions (Article 75).

### **Issue 7**

Although Albania has a diverse array of newspapers representing a range of political viewpoints, there is only one national television channel, which remains under state control and funding. A parliamentary commission is the decision-making body for state television and, as such, is controlled by the majority party in Parliament.

### **Recommendation 7**

Implement legislation to allow the licensing of private television and radio stations. Change the control of the state television from a parliamentary commission to a non-political public body, with its members appointed by a variety of state institutions, political parties, and civic organizations.

### **Issue 8**

According to Article 39 of the parliamentary election law, every party with a candidate in an electoral zone is allowed to have a representative participate on the voting center commission as well as an observer in each voting center. In many cases, voting centers could not accommodate all of the authorized persons and still allow for an orderly and secret voting process. Furthermore, Article 66 of the election law states that the table of the voting center commission is to be "positioned in such a way as to enable the members of the commission

and the representatives of the electoral subjects to move freely around it." IRI observers, however, frequently saw voting centers that were arranged in such a manner as to limit the ability of commission members to participate in and view the activities of the commission chairman in administering the ballot.

### **Recommendation 8**

Insure that all electoral commission members enjoy unfettered movement throughout voting centers and have full access to the entire voting process (Article 66).

### **Issue 9**

The opposition political parties were unable to observe the production or distribution of election materials and the potential for excess ballots circulating in the system was real. In addition, further questions about the integrity of official election materials were raised when the protocol documents for all voting centers were reportedly replaced with new documents during the final hours of voting on election day.

### **Recommendation 9**

Amend the election laws to insure that all political parties participating in the elections have the ability to observe the production, transportation and storage of all election materials throughout the chain of custody, especially the ballots.

### **Issue 10**

Although the government provided limited training to members of the voting center commissions it was not inclusive. In most cases, only the Democratic Party's government appointed chairman and secretary had received training on election administration although some of the parties had independently provided training to their respective members of the commission. The absence of uniform training for all commission members led to different interpretations of the election law.

### **Recommendation 10**

Provide proper training and written materials on election laws and procedures for all electoral commission and voting center members, or at a minimum, for all members of electoral commissions and for officers of the voting center commissions.

### **Issue 11**

Although Article 90 of the parliamentary election law provides domestic observers with the right "to move freely throughout the territory of the Republic of Albania," nearly one thousand domestic observers claimed that they were not provided accreditation. Local election officials responsible for accreditation often had different interpretations of the rights of observers. Separate administrative standards were applied to international observers.

### **Recommendation 11**

Create simplified and uniform procedures for providing official credentials for party, domestic and international observers, which limit the discretion of election officials in providing credentials and guarantees the presence of all qualified observers. Clarify the rights of election observers to be present at all campaign activities, all electoral commission meetings, at voting centers during the entire period of activities, including from the opening of the voting station to the delivery of completed results.

### **Issue 12**

Accusations were made that state resources and employees were utilized by parties in the campaign process. Specific abuses observed by IRI of state resources included the use of state cars for campaign purposes and the use of government employees for political purposes. Claims and counterclaims regarding the misuse of state resources were difficult to substantiate or disprove because there was no public financing law that required parties or candidates to disclose other sources of funding.

### **Recommendation 12**

Implement laws and regulations that establish a clear division between state and party resources, especially in civil service laws. Establish public disclosure requirements for publicly funded political parties and candidates for reporting both their revenues and their expenditures.

### **Issue 13**

The election law stipulates that ballot materials collected by the electoral zone commissions after the election were to be forwarded first to the prefect level, and then to the Central Election Commission. The prefectures are not part of the election administration structure and thereby did not provide for observers or the participation of opposition parties. Because the prefects were appointed by the government, their unbiased participation in the election day process was suspect.

### **Recommendation 13**

Eliminate the role of prefectures in the collection of ballot materials (Article 78).

### **Issue 14**

Several opposition parties withdrew from the election before voting had concluded, claiming that the process was illegitimate and that the personal safety of their representatives in electoral commissions was in jeopardy. Their political opponents alleged that the boycott was a premeditated act based on purely political calculations. In other words, they charged the opposition parties with pulling out not because the process was unfair, but because they knew that they were going to lose. Furthermore, the opposition parties denied themselves an opportunity to substantiate their claims and provide an important check on the process by not remaining in voting centers during the counting of ballots.



**Recommendation 14**

All political parties that enter the election process should agree to remain actively involved in that process until its completion. Parties that dispute the fairness of the process have an obligation to remain a part of that process and use all available means to document their claims. Parties should fulfill their obligations to the process regardless of the actions of other parties.

**Issue 15**

The compressed time-frame for elections caused many deadlines to be missed, including the naming of members of the zonal and voting center commissions and the posting of voter registration lists.

**Recommendation 15**

Increase the overall time frame for the implementation of the election law; specifically the time requirements for publishing the voter lists, establishing the voting center commissions and assigning the voting center locations (Articles 16, 21, 29, 32, 35, 37 & 39).

**Issue 16**

Identifying and documenting claims of fraud and abuse in elections can be a time consuming process. Article 49 of the Parliamentary Election Law states that decisions of electoral zone commissions can be appealed to the Central Election Commission, but must be done within three days after the initial decision. Article 50 provides that decisions of the CEC can be appealed to the Constitutional Court, but again allows only three days to make such appeals.

**Recommendation 16**

Increase the time frame for appeals and challenges to election results to the Constitutional Court from the current limit of three days to allow an adequate time for preparation of complaints and appeals (Article 50).

**Issue 17**

Voting lists were not computerized and could not easily be cross-checked against one another for voters registered in more than one location. Furthermore, the lack of computerization meant that registration lists could not be alphabetized and names appeared on lists in the order in which they were registered. This delayed the process of checking voter identification against registration lists and the lists in voting centers.

**Recommendation 17**

Computerize voter registration lists and make this information available to the public.

**Issue 18**

Article 8 of the election law specifies that run-off elections are held in those districts where neither candidate received a majority of the vote one-week following the first round of elections. By the time the first round results and the subsequent second-round districts had been announced, only one to two days remained for candidates to campaign in their respective districts given that all campaign activities must cease 24 hours before election day.

**Recommendation 18**

Increase the time between the first and second round of balloting from one week to two weeks (Article 8).

**Issue 19**

The criteria used by the CEC to determine the 17 zones that were re-run on June 16 was not made clear to political parties, domestic observers, or the general public. Furthermore, parties preparing complaints or appeals to the electoral commissions or Constitutional Court have no precedent on which to determine the level of documentation and the standards of evidence that must be provided to make a valid case to have an election annulled.

**Recommendation 19**

Establish clear laws, guidelines, and evidentiary requirements for overturning or re-running elections. Parties and individual candidates asking for elections to be annulled ought to be required to present a case that not only proves the occurrence of irregularities, but that demonstrates such irregularities had a significant and decisive impact on the outcome of elections.

**Issue 20**

Debates can be an important forum for parties and candidates not only to present their respective programs to voters, but to challenge their opponents. Although some local debates among candidates took place, debates between national political leaders did not occur. Neither the parties themselves nor state television attempted to organize such forums.

**Recommendation 20**

Develop agreements between the political parties for debates to be broadcast by state television and radio.

**Issue 21**

Under Article 58 of the parliamentary election law, half of the state funds for the electoral campaign were allocated based on whether parties were recognized as a parliamentary party and the number of seats they held in the Parliament. This system of allocating funds reinforced the status quo in Parliament and made it more difficult for new and opposition parties to compete in the elections. Article 58 also stipulated that parties and candidates that failed to meet the three percent nationwide threshold were required to return any funds they were allocated back to the state.

**Recommendation 21**

Develop a more equitable electoral funding system that does not directly rely on the result of previous elections. Furthermore, eliminate the requirement that public funding must be returned if a party does not meet a minimum vote result (Article 58).

**Issue 22**

The campaign environment quickly degenerated as opposing candidates made outlandish and sometimes inflammatory statements. Article 52 of the parliamentary election law states that any propaganda that affects the "personal dignity of candidates is forbidden." Article 59 states that it is "forbidden to insult candidates for deputy and electoral subjects." Article 84 adds that breaches of election law regulations is punishable by fines of between 10,000 and 50,000 leks, except in cases when these misdemeanors constitute penal acts.

**Recommendation 22**

Although free speech in the campaign environment should not be limited in any manner, parties and candidates should encourage one another to behave responsibly and limit their remarks to a constructive debate of public policy issues. Specifically, the parties should develop a "Fair Campaign Practices Agreement" in which they would commit to a common set of standards and pledge to refrain from engaging in any hostile, slanderous, or other negative forms of conduct during the electoral campaign. As a first step, the legal restrictions on offending the "personal dignity" (Article 52) or "insulting" (Article 59) candidates during an electoral campaign should be included in a multi-party agreement on campaign conduct.

**Issue 23**

The electoral law stipulates that voting centers open at 7:00 a.m. and close at 8:00 p.m. In many cases where IRI observers were present, the voting centers did not open on time creating delays and long lines. On election day, voting center hours were extended until 10:00 p.m. in a manner that some viewed as arbitrary.

**Recommendation 23**

Change the requirements for the opening of voting centers so that commission members have an adequate amount of time to complete all the administrative tasks involved in preparing a station for voters so that voting can commence at the specific time designated (Article 64). If voting hours are to be extended, it should be done only prior to election day.

**Issue 24**

Most voting centers had only one voting booth, which either delayed the voting process and contributed to long lines or compromised the secrecy of the ballot.

**Recommendation 24**

Require that voting centers have more than one voting booth (Article 66).

**Issue 25**

Ballot box seals were inadequate and were often observed to be broken.

**Recommendation 25**

Increase the physical integrity of the design of ballot box seals.

**Issue 26**

The ballot for the parliamentary elections required voters to cast two votes. On the left side of the ballot there was a column of candidates for one of the 115 single-mandate seats. On the right hand side was a column listing parties for the 25 proportional seats. This arrangement complicated and delayed the counting process because voting centers had no way to collate a single ballot supporting distinct candidates and parties. In marking the ballot, voters were required to cross out all of the names of candidates or parties except for those that they supported -- a voting method based on communist-era traditions. This created the possibility for more invalid ballots.

**Recommendation 26**

Simplify the ballot design by printing separate ballots for each public office being elected in the election (Article 67). Simplify the method of voting by requiring voters to mark candidates or parties they support, rather than crossing out all candidates or parties they do not support (Article 68).

**Issue 27**

Albania's government stopped issuing internal passports after 1989. The May 1996 elections had a high proportion of young voters (estimated to be 10 percent of all voters) who were voting for the first time. Therefore, there was a high proportion of voters in this election without official identification documents that included photographs. Alternative methods of identification without photographs provided an opportunity for abuse.

**Recommendation 27**

Create a uniform system of identification for all voters, which must include the use of a photographic identification. The development of a new voter identity card as the sole means of voter identification should be considered (Article 65).

**Issue 28**

The procedures used to close voting centers and count ballots were both inefficient as written in the law and inconsistent as applied by voting center commissions. This led to confusion, delays, and mistakes and created opportunities for abuse.

**Recommendation 28**

Establish more efficient and uniform procedures for closing voting center and counting ballots (Articles 72, 73, 74, 75 & 76).

**Issue 29**

There was a wide variance in the number of eligible voters within electoral zones according to different parties. These conflicting claims were difficult to assess given the lack of recent and reliable census information.

**Recommendation 29**

Clarify the laws, regulations and rules used in the division of parliamentary electoral zones and specifically define an acceptable standard of population variance among electoral zones (Article 29). Perform a census that would provide a reliable database of population statistics to be used as a common standard for assessing the size of electoral zones.

**Issue 30**

Maps of the 115 newly created electoral zones were not made available, making it difficult for political parties, candidates, the press, and the public to identify electoral zones.

**Recommendation 30**

Require that the Central Election Commission make publicly available in a timely fashion and at a nominal cost, the latest electoral maps delineating the electoral zones.

**Issue 31**

Part of the negative pre-election environment was caused by the government's attempts to limit the development of new political parties. Specifically, the Ministry of Justice used provisions in the law on political parties to prevent the certification of several political parties, although the Court of Cassation later overturned these decisions and legalized the parties.

**Recommendation 31**

Amend the law on political parties to eliminate unnecessary limitations on the formation of new political parties, particularly the language regarding party platforms that are “already sufficiently represented in existing parties.”

### **III. Electoral Framework**

Albania is a republic with a 140-member Parliament elected by popular vote every four years. The President is elected by a two-thirds vote in Parliament for a term of five years. The President nominates the Prime Minister, who presides over the Council of Ministers. Albania is divided into 36 administrative districts plus the capital city of Tirana. Cities, towns and villages within these 36 districts elect their own mayors and city councils. Twelve regional prefects appointed by the Ministry of Interior supervise local government within the 36 districts.

The process surrounding Albania's 1996 parliamentary elections can be divided into two main stages: 1) the electoral environment, including the drafting of laws governing the elections and their implementation, the activities of political parties, candidates, the media and other groups during the campaign period; and 2) election administration, the actual balloting and vote tabulation process following election day.

#### **Electoral Environment**

During the fall of 1995, the Albanian Parliament approved two lustration laws designed to prevent individuals involved in previous communist governments from taking new, high-ranking positions in the government. On September 22, 1995, Parliament approved the "Law on Genocide," which enumerated those classes of persons who would be excluded from public life until the year 2002. According to this law, individuals who had been high-ranking officials in the communist party, communist governments, members of the old secret police (Sigurimi), and all persons who had collaborated with the secret police would be excluded.

On November 30, 1995, Parliament approved a "Law on Verification of Moral Character," which established the procedures for exclusion. The verification would be determined by a commission of seven persons chosen by Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Ministers of Defense, Public Order and Justice, and the Head of the State Security Service. In essence, all of the members of the verification commission would be chosen by persons who were either members of the Democratic Party or its Government.

Opposition political parties strongly opposed these laws on two grounds. First, they argued that it was the right of the voters to make their own judgements on who is fit to represent them in Parliament rather than the Democratic Party. They also claimed that this law deprived many individual citizens of their guaranteed right to compete for public office and was thus unconstitutional. Secondly, they objected to the manner in which the law would be implemented; specifically, by a commission appointed entirely by Democratic Party officials making it a partisan process that would unfairly target opposition party candidates. They also claimed that this commission would have quasi-judicial powers, again making the process unconstitutional.

The Democratic Party (PD) strongly defended the lustration laws on the grounds that individuals who had been active participants in the criminal regimes during the communist-era should not be allowed to participate in a democratic process that they had

previously prevented from occurring. Furthermore, if the verification process disproportionately affected specific parties, the PD argued it was only because those parties included a relatively high concentration of former communist officials among their members.

The Verification Commission began its work in March 1996 and shortly thereafter political parties submitted lists of potential candidates for Parliament to the commission to be screened prior to their nomination. Approximately 140 of the more than two thousand names of potential candidates were ultimately disqualified. Of those disqualified, approximately 50 appealed the decision to the Court of Cassation with nine winning their appeals.

The Socialist Party nominated three candidates for each of the 115 electoral zones because they feared that the PD-controlled commission would disproportionately disqualify a significant number of its candidates. In fact, the PS did have the largest number of candidates disqualified within any single party. Of the 45 Socialist Party candidates that were excluded by the Verification Commission, 20 of the candidates appealed the decision to the Court of Cassation. Six of those 20 candidates were cleared, but only three made it onto the ballot because they failed to be renominated by the Party. Fourteen of the appeals made by PS candidates were rejected by the Court, and the remaining 25 decided not to appeal. The Democratic Alliance Party (PAD) also had several senior leaders disqualified on charges of being "collaborators," including Prec Zogi, Perikli Teta and Ridvan Peshkepja -- individuals who had been leaders of the Democratic Party prior to forming the Democratic Alliance Party (PAD) in 1993.

According to Servet Pellumbi, a Socialist Party vice chairman, the decision to appeal rulings made by the Verification Commission was a decision made by each individual candidate rather than the Socialist Party leadership. Many of their leading members held government offices, such as their jailed Chairman Fatos Nano and General Secretary Gramoz Ruci, and thus were clearly implicated under the lustration laws. Many others were disqualified because they were charged with having been a "collaborator of the old secret police." Pellumbi, who had been a professor of "philosophy" during the communist era, told IRI observers that he did not contest his exclusion because Berisha had targeted him for political reasons. Furthermore, Pellumbi and other opposition leaders pointed out that the commission conducted their proceedings in secret and that it refused to provide them with copies of their files from secret police archives that could prove their innocence.

Article 11 of the Law on Verification states, "The facts provided in the decision of the commission, as well as the decision itself, are prohibited from being made known to the public opinion without the prior written permission of the interested party." Democratic Party leaders claim that this provision allows disqualified persons to make their dossiers public if they make a written request, a claim that opposition party leaders deny. The commission did not make any dossiers publicly available during the campaign period.

The lustration law's ultimate impact on the ability of parties to compete in the May 1996 elections is difficult to gauge. IRI's election day exit poll indicates that a candidate's party affiliation, rather than the identity of the individual candidate, may have been a more

important factor affecting the decision of voters. According to the exit poll, half of the voters thought the candidate's party was more important than the candidate himself, and only 37 percent of the voters could recall the name of the candidate for whom they voted (see Appendix II).

Furthermore, the Democratic Party may have experienced a political backlash from the lustration process. While President Berisha and the Democratic Party's candidates actively campaigned against the "Red Front" of former communists, the Socialists attempted to defuse Berisha's rhetoric by portraying themselves as the new victims of political persecution in Albania. Pellumbi told IRI observers that about half of their campaign effort was focused on how the PD had run the government for the last four years and the other half was devoted to how the PD had run the campaign.

## **Election Law**

In January 1996, the Democratic-controlled Parliament approved a law on parliamentary elections that changed the representative form of parliament, the rules governing the campaign, and the procedures used in administering the election. Within just one week, the new law was introduced, passed by Parliament, and signed by the President in an accelerated process that marginalized the participation of opposition forces.

Opposition parties from both the left- and right-wings had been discussing possible changes to the election law for many months. Discussions had been held with the Democratic Party, as well as with President Berisha, and a joint declaration of proposed changes had been agreed to by 13 political parties participating in a political round table on the parliamentary election law organized by Sabri Godo, Chairman of the Republican Party. However, the Democratic Party introduced a new draft law on parliamentary elections on January 26 that failed to incorporate the most important recommendations from the other political parties, especially the maintenance of the proportional system.

On the evening of February 1, the Parliament met to discuss, amend and approve the new parliamentary election law. However, the opposition parties requested that the entire matter be delayed until there was time for consultation with President Berisha, who was out of the country on an official trip to Israel and Malta. Furthermore, they asked that an extra-parliamentary commission be established to discuss the changes to the law within the framework of the roundtable discussions that had been ongoing for several months.

Speaker of Parliament, Pjeter Arbnori, ignored this request and began the debate by recognizing a member of the Democratic Party. The Socialists led the opposition Deputies in preventing the discussion by disrupting the proceedings. As the disorder grew, several of the opposition members approached the Speaker's desk, at which time Arbnori declared a recess. When Arbnori reconvened the session 30 minutes later, opposition MPs burst into another round of shouting, leading Arbnori to call another recess. After another 45 minutes, virtually the same scene was repeated a third time. Determined to continue, Arbnori chose to proceed directly to voting on the law, article by article, rather than allow any discussion on the procedure to be used.



As all of the opposition Deputies surrounded the Speaker's desk and continued to shout disruptively, the Democratic Party MPs approved the parliamentary election law by a vote of 74-0 without a single word of explanation or debate and concluded the session, leaving the stunned and frustrated opposition MPs inside to decide their next move. The following day, President Berisha returned from his foreign visits and immediately signed the new election law. The Socialists later challenged the new election law in the Constitutional Court, which decided in the Government's favor.

## **Election Law Changes**

There were three major changes in the law governing parliamentary elections: a shift away from a proportional system to a majoritarian system; the access to state-controlled television by opposition political parties; and the composition and operation of the electoral commissions at all levels.

Under the law governing the parliamentary elections in March 1992, Parliament was composed of 140 members, 100 of whom would be elected directly from constituency districts and the remaining 40 selected on a proportional basis from party lists. For parties that received at least four percent of the total vote, the 40 seats from the party lists would be awarded under a formula which served to make a "correction" so that the final distribution of seats would reflect the overall percentage of votes received by each party. In other words, the 40 proportional seats were used as a re-balancing mechanism that eliminated the deviation between the percentage of votes a party received and the percentage of seats it held in Parliament.

When the Socialist Party won 25 percent of the overall vote in the 1992 elections, but only six of 100 seats in the direct elections, they were compensated with an additional 32 of the 40 seats from their proportional list in order to give them an overall percentage of 27 percent in Parliament.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the Democratic Party which won 62 percent of the overall vote in the 1992 elections, but 90 of the 100 seats in direct elections, was awarded just two additional seats from the proportional side of the ballot party list. Thus, this system had the practical effect of insuring that Parliament reflected the results of the elections on a proportional basis for all parties that crossed the four percent threshold.

In the public debate leading up to the May 1996 Parliamentary elections, the most important point for every political party (except the ruling Democratic Party) was to retain the proportional component of the system and the four percent threshold. Small parties understood that they would be hard-pressed under a majoritarian system to win more than a few seats in the next Parliament; whereas under a proportional system, just four percent of the vote would assure them of six seats in Parliament, enough to receive official recognition as a parliamentary group. In meetings with President Berisha prior to the

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<sup>1</sup> Because the votes received by several parties that failed to reach the four percent threshold were then excluded from the process, the percentage of seats held by the Socialist Party was effectively increased from 25 percent to 27 percent.

approval of the new election law, they received the President's public support for maintaining the 1992 framework.

Under the parliamentary election law signed by Berisha on February 2, 1996, the new Parliament would still consist of 140 Deputies, but now 115 would be directly elected from constituency districts and 25 would be chosen from party lists on a proportional basis. Furthermore, the manner of selecting the Deputies from the proportional list changed dramatically.

First, the new system would use two separate ballots -- one for individual candidates running in the 115 electoral zones and another for party preference for the remaining 25 proportional seats. Second, the seats from the proportional list would be awarded only on the basis of the votes from the party preference voting, without regard to the overall results from the direct constituency voting results. For example, a party that won 20 percent of the vote would win 20 percent of the 25 seats from the list, or five seats. Thus, the only way for a party to win a significant number of seats in Parliament was to win seats among the 115 directly contested seats. Smaller parties were most affected by this change because they were most likely to win a substantial percentage of the vote nationwide, but unable to win more than 50 percent in any single electoral zone.

### **Electoral Commissions**

The second most controversial provision of the new election law concerned the composition and selection of the electoral commissions at every level. Under the newly approved Parliamentary election law, there would be three levels of temporary electoral commissions: the Central Election Commission, 115 electoral zone commissions, and approximately 4,700 voting center commissions. In the 1992 elections, the leadership and other members of these commissions was selected in a manner which insured that no single political force dominated the process. Local government councils, where opposition parties had control in a majority of districts, were part of the selection process for the leadership of electoral zone and voting center commissions. However, under the new law, the composition and selection of these commissions would be carried out in such a manner that the Democratic Party would have complete control over every level of the process.

Article 35 of the new election law states that the composition of the Central Election Commission (CEC) would be decided by the President on the proposal of the Council of Ministers and political parties, which provided the Democratic Party (PD) with the opportunity to control the electoral process at each level (see Appendix IV for a list of CEC members). According to Article 37 of the election law, the Central Election Commission would select the chairman and vice-chairman of the 115 electoral zone commissions, while the secretaries and "nonparty" members responsible for breaking tie votes on zonal commissions would be chosen by the Prefectures, an administrative body also selected by the Government. Finally, Article 39 of the election law states that the leadership of the electoral zone commissions would choose the chairmen of the voting center commissions, with the secretaries and nonparty members again selected by the Prefectures.

Under Articles 37 and 39 of the election law, every party that had a candidate in the elections also had the right to name a member of both the electoral zone and voting center commissions in that district; and under Article 34 of the election law, all electoral commissions were required to make their decisions by a majority vote. In addition, Article 44 of the election law required that all electoral commission meetings be public with observers given the right to attend. These provisions are balanced by Article 41 of the election law, which states that the orders of the chairmen of voting centers during the time of voting was binding; and Article 66 of the election law, which gives the chairmen the right to seek the assistance of the police to impose order in the voting centers.

Opposition party leaders charged that the structure of electoral commissions amounted to a "coup d'etat" in which the Democratic Party would be able to freely manipulate the process. Although the opposition parties were pleased that the original proposal of the Democratic Party was modified prior to passage to include representatives of all parties in the first round of elections, they claimed that in the second round the majority of all electoral commissions would be dominated by the PD because of the method of selection of the leadership for those commissions.

### **Access to State Media**

The third most controversial provision of the amended parliamentary election law regarded the role of the state radio and television. Article 53 of the election law enumerated new rules that set a limit on the total time allotted to political parties, as well as a strict formula for the distribution of time slots. Specifically, there would be four hours of television time available during the campaign for parties to present their programs; and the time would be divided equally between parliamentary parties in the Government (i.e. the Democratic Party) and parliamentary parties in opposition to the Government (the Socialist, Social Democrat, Republican, and Unity for Human Rights parties). In addition, all non-parliamentary political parties that nominated at least 15 candidates would be allotted 10 minutes on television.

Opposition parties charged that this division of time was designed to further bolster the Democratic Party's dominance of broadcast media and prevented parties created during the last four years from building up popularity. The Democratic Party asserted that these provisions were equivalent to west European standards, and specifically were based upon provisions in the French system.

### **Division of Electoral Zones**

Article 29 of the new election law called for 115 electoral zones with "close to an equal number of voters." In addition, the law requires that they be "compact, geographically contiguous and their creation may not divide communes." The election law gave the President the responsibility for determining the boundaries of the zones, as proposed by the Council of Ministers, at least 45 days before the date of the election. President Berisha announced the division of the 115 new zones in the first week of April, which was under the legally mandated deadline. In announcing the zones, the Democratic Party Government announced that the average size of electoral zones was approximately 19,500 voters, with a variance of no more than two thousand voters.

The Democratic Party (PD) maintains that their division was a more equitable distribution because they had corrected the mistakes made in the division of the zones for the March 1992 Parliamentary elections. According to the PD, the Socialist Party in 1992 had allowed zones such as Skrapar, a Socialist stronghold, to have two electoral zones with only 12,000 voters each. In 1996, opposition parties accused the Democratic Party of gerrymandering the new electoral zone lines in their favor, of improperly crossing administrative lines to create new electoral zones, and of allowing wide divergences in electoral zone populations.

Concerning the charge of gerrymandering, it appears that the ruling Democratic Party attempted to draw new electoral zones that provided them an advantage. Gerrymandering is not specifically illegal under the Albanian election law as long as the zones are contiguous, reasonably compact and respect commune boundaries. The zones do not respect administrative district (*rrethe*) boundaries, but this is not required in the law. Such a situation is similar to the drawing of legislative boundaries in many states in the United States, in which counties are regularly divided among various legislative districts in order to provide a more even distribution of voters.

The questions concerning the variance in number of voters between electoral zones was extremely difficult to discern because the Central Election Commission (CEC) did not publish official figures, claiming that such information was not in their possession. The CEC also could not provide a list of electoral zones or any information delineating the boundaries of electoral zones.

Using information obtained from the U.S. Embassy, IRI analyzed the relative size of electoral zones and found that there is a wide variance among them. According to the Government's calculations, the number of voters in electoral zones ranged from a low of 15,433 in Electoral Zone 5 of Shkodra, to a high of 24,610 in Electoral Zone 69 of Elbasan, with an average of 18,809 voters for each of the 115 electoral zones.

Further analysis reveals that there are regional differences in the size of zones as well as differences between rural and urban zones. The average voting population of zones in the north (Electoral Zones 1-61) was 17,885 compared to the average in the south (Electoral Zones 62-115) which was 19,852. Accordingly, there should have been only 58 zones in the northern administrative districts rather than 61 (an effective shift of three parliamentary zones from the south to the north).

Similarly, the average voting population of the 42 most urban zones was 17,563 whereas the average for the remaining 73 rural zones was 19,525. Again, this is equivalent to shifting three parliamentary zones from rural areas to urban areas. According to all previous election results and polling data, the Socialist Party has its greatest support in rural areas and in the south of Albania, whereas the Democratic Party has its strength in northern and urban areas.

There are also specific examples of questionable divisions in the electoral zones when comparing administrative districts of approximately equal size. There are two

electoral zones in the northern district of Malesia e Madhe, one of the Democratic Party's traditional strongholds, while the southern administrative districts of Skrapar and Kucova received only one zone each. But according to the last official population figures from the Institute of Statistics, dated January 1993, the population of Malesia e Madhe was 43,924 compared to the populations of Skrapar and Kucova with 44,359 and 40,135 respectively. Even the Government's figures used to draw up the zones show that the two zones in Malesia e Madhe (Electoral Zones 1 and 2) have 15,600 and 16,539 voters compared to the two zones in Kucova and Skrapar (Electoral Zones 90 and 91) have 22,538 and 22,494 voters.

Another example is in the city of Tirana, which traditionally has been an electoral stronghold for the Democratic Party. In six consecutive electoral zones numbered 43 to 48, the average number of voters according to the Government's figures was 16,038 for a total in those six contiguous zones of 96,231. However, if one divided that total by the overall national average of 18,809 the number of electoral zones should have been only five.

IRI's exit poll indicated that there was not a dramatic deviation for party preference on the basis of age group, income, or occupation. Given that the Albanian electorate is relatively homogenous across different geographic areas, the utility of gerrymandering may be limited beyond simple North-South and rural-urban divisions.

### **Administration of Election Law**

The elections were administered by the Central Election Commission (CEC), 115 electoral zone commissions and more than 4,700 voting center commissions. Article 35 of the election law requires that the CEC is to be chosen no later than 45 days prior to the date of the election. President Berisha decreed the date of the election (May 26), and the composition of the CEC on April 10, which is 46 days before the election day.

The primary deadlines that the CEC had to meet were the registration of the candidates 30 days prior to the election (Article 13), the completion and posting of the voter registration lists 30 days prior (Article 21), and the selection of the electoral zone commissions, also 30 days prior (Article 37). The electoral zone commissions then had the responsibility to name the voting center commissions 25 days prior to the elections (Article 39) and determine the voting center locations 20 days prior to the election day (Article 32).

In almost all cases, these legal deadlines were missed causing a chain reaction of delays. Many candidates were not registered by the prescribed deadline, which prevented the final selection of electoral zone commissions because their composition depended upon which parties had candidates. Delays in completing electoral zone commissions produced similar delays in naming voting center commissions. Opposition leaders also charged that voter lists were not available until the final week of the campaign and that the deadline for selection of voting centers was missed in many cases. In fact, IRI observed two cases in which voting center locations were established the day before the election (in electoral zones 45 and 115) and several other cases in which sites for voting centers had been changed during the week prior to the election.

The Central Election Commission, as well as the electoral zone and voting center commissions, were responsible for acquiring, safeguarding, distributing, collecting and controlling all of the official election materials, such as ballot boxes, ballots, stamps, and voting records. A few days before election day, the CEC distributed these election materials to electoral zone commissions, which in turn distributed them to the voting center commissions on the afternoon prior to the election.

IRI delegation members visited several electoral zone commissions to observe the pre-election distribution of voting materials. The materials were distributed directly to the chairmen of voting center commissions, where there was little oversight by the commission members of other political parties. For example, IRI observers visiting the electoral zone commission in Kruje saw two Socialist Party commission members present for the distribution of ballots, but they remained in the hall and were unable to directly observe the handling of ballots and other election materials.

The Central Election Commission was also responsible for the accreditation of foreign and domestic observers as specifically provided for under Article 89 of the new election law. Although IRI is aware that other foreign observers were subject to onerous and bureaucratic requirements, IRI's delegation received full cooperation from the CEC in receiving credentials, although some of the formal authorizations were received only after IRI observers had left Tirana to observe election day procedures in other parts of the country.

More troubling were the difficulties encountered by domestic observers, both from IRI and the Society for Democratic Culture (SDC), an indigenous Albanian organization dedicated to monitoring elections on a non-partisan basis. The CEC decided that the electoral zone commissions would issue the credentials for domestic observers upon application. The SDC members and volunteers made more than three thousand requests for credentials at the zonal commission level, but encountered significant difficulties from many of the commissions. In particular, a significant portion of their observers in Tirana were not given credentials.

IRI requested credentials as a precaution for the 160 Albanians employed by Viewpoint Albania and contracted to implement IRI's election day exit poll. Although field workers for the exit poll were not positioned inside voting centers, they were usually located either on the premises or within close proximity to voting centers. In requesting these credentials, IRI hoped to avoid misunderstanding with local election officials that would disrupt either the balloting process or the polling exercise.

Although IRI received full support from the CEC in this request, there were some difficulties encountered from electoral zone commissions who refused to recognize the authorization given directly from the CEC. Specifically, the commission for Electoral Zone 77 in Fier initially refused to allow Viewpoint Albania's field workers to conduct the exit poll, and changed their decision only after direct request from IRI's office in Tirana. In other cases, police questioned the field workers' credentials and, in one case, arrested two of

Viewpoint Albania's authorized poll workers and detained them in a police station in Tirana for several hours.

#### **IV. The Campaign Period**

The campaign period officially began on April 11, when President Berisha proclaimed the date of the election and announced the composition of the Central Election Commission. The campaign officially ended on May 24, allowing for the 24-hour "cooling off" period prior to the election on May 26th as prescribed by law. The campaign period was, in reality, even shorter than the mandated 45-day period because most parties did not officially begin their campaigns until late April.

##### **Pre-election Events**

Five major events following the 1992 elections helped shape the campaign environment for the May 1996 elections. The first such event was the arrest and incarceration of Socialist Party Chairman, Fatos Nano. The partisan decision of the Parliament to strip Nano of his immunity was viewed by opposition parties as a politically-motivated attack. The ensuing trial, conducted in early 1994, raised serious questions about the role and independence of the judiciary in Albania. Secondly, concerns about Albania's democratic process first arose in the May 1994 special elections for local government posts in five different communes throughout Albania. Both the Democratic and Socialist parties alleged intimidation and violence by the other, and several violent incidents were reported on election day.

The decision by President Berisha in the fall of 1994 to bypass the Parliament and use a popular referendum to approve a new constitution led to charges that he was violating existing constitutional provisions and became a rallying cry for the opposition in the campaign to defeat the referendum. A by-product of the referendum's failure on November 6, 1994 contributed to the fourth event -- the firing of Eduard Selami in March 1995 as Chairman of the Democratic Party. In openly proposing that Berisha seek Parliament's approval, Berisha ousted Selami in a hastily arranged party convention.

Finally, in September 1995, Zef Brozi was removed from his position as Chairman of the Court of Cassation. Throughout most of 1995, Brozi attempted to have the Court of Cassation review the case of Fatos Nano. After the Government filed a case in the Constitutional Court that charged Brozi with arbitrarily countermanding the decisions of his own Court, the Minister of Justice fired Brozi's employees for being collaborators of the old secret police. The Court ruled against Brozi and Berisha signed a decree for Brozi's dismissal, which was quickly approved by Parliament.

These five events contributed to a pre-election environment of distrust, intolerance and hostility between the Democratic Party and its opponents. The deeply polarized campaign environment and lack of serious debate on issues of public concern in the May 1996 elections was the logical outcome of political trends that had been developing since 1993.

##### **Abuse of State Resources**



Opposition leaders charge that the Democratic Party and the Government acted as one entity during the campaign because the distinction between state resources and political party resources was often difficult to discern. There were, however, no provisions in the election law for public disclosure of campaign financial practices that would allow observers to determine the validity of such claims. Observers also found that the absence of a civil service code made it difficult to draw distinctions between official and campaign activities.

A specific area of concern was the use of state cars for political purposes, especially given that the scarcity of cars in Albania make them a valuable resource. Since a great number of Democratic Party candidates for Parliament had state jobs, they also had access to state vehicles. IRI observers saw several instances of state cars, easily identified by their special yellow license plates, with Democratic Party signs and stickers, or being used for transportation at campaign events.

### **Control of Television**

The most valuable state resource was Albanian Television (TVSh), which provides the only nationwide television broadcasts and still depends on the Albanian Government for over half of its operating funds. Ostensibly under the control of a parliamentary committee, both the news content and regular television programming had a clear bias in favor of the Democratic Party, giving the PD an advantage in both the quality and quantity of television coverage it received.

Under the election law, the "parliamentary parties in Government" (i.e. the Democratic Party) received half of the four hours allotted to present party programs. The remaining two hours was divided by the "parliamentary parties not in Government." If political parties or candidates felt that the time they were allotted was inadequate, they were unable to purchase additional advertising time on TVSh. The Director of Albanian Television (TVSh) claimed that they applied this same formula in their allocation of campaign news coverage.

As the campaign developed, however, TVSh's news programs developed a regular format that revealed a clear preference for the Democratic Party. Almost every night during the final three weeks of the campaign, the first story on the news extensively covered President Berisha campaign events, while the campaign activities of the opposition parties received cursory mention often without any video footage. All of the opposition parties complained that reports of their speeches were often false, inaccurate or misleading.

The nightly news program broadcast at 8:00 p.m. on May 20 demonstrated the extent to which state television was biased. The broadcast began with a detailed story of President Berisha's meetings with voters, followed by only a listing of the meetings held by other political parties. The second story was a report on a VOA interview of Undersecretary of State Tim Wirth that contained very favorable comments on the Democratic Party Government. The third story was on the "Arben Broci Foundation," a pro-Democratic Party organization that "denounced the unfair television coverage given to the "Red Front." The fourth story concerned a new Government program to increase

tourism in Vlora. The program was announced by the Minister of Tourism, Dashamir Shehi, who was a candidate in Vlora. The fifth story was a report on the construction of a new border crossing for the southern district of Permet, which prominently featured Presidential spokesman Genc Pollo, who was the PD candidate for Permet. The sixth story credited a new supply of fresh water in the district of Kolonja to Democratic Deputy Uran Butka, who was the PD candidate in Kolonja. The story went on to state that a new television satellite repeater had been installed for the area, which Butka said was "a gift from the Democratic Party Government in advance of the election."

In addition to the Democratic Party's advantage in the coverage of official campaign activities, the news programs also provided additional coverage of governmental activities that involved PD candidates. For example, TVSh broadcasted a live television interview with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi a few days before the election in which Meksi discussed the accomplishments of the Democratic Party during the past four years. The television director argued that this was a nonpolitical show because they were interviewing Meksi as Prime Minister, not as a candidate.

Finally, the most blatant example of regular programming being used to support the Democratic Party came on April 26, when the PD kicked off its campaign with a "free" concert in Tirana. The concert included campaign speeches by the President, Prime Minister and Chairman of the Democratic Party, as well as the presentation of the PD's candidates for Tirana. Albanian Television aired this campaign event in its entirety on a tape delay that night, thus affording the Democratic Party significant prime time exposure. IRI also observed another Democratic Party concert and rally in Durres that was rebroadcast and which contained PD symbols and exhortations by various persons to vote for the Democratic Party.

The advantage the PD had on TVSh may have been significant given the influence of television in the campaign period. According to IRI's survey conducted in December 1995, 96 percent of all Albanians have television sets and almost two-thirds of them rely on TV as their primary source for political news and information. IRI's exit poll from the May 1996 elections indicated that 70 percent of voters learned something of value about the parties, candidates, and their positions from watching television. Furthermore, 36 percent of the respondents to IRI's exit poll indicated that what they saw of Berisha and the Democratic Party (PD) on Albanian television made them more likely to vote for the PD; while 23 percent said it made them less likely, and 33 percent said it made no difference.

### **Public Meetings and Political Intimidation**

A second major area of concern during the campaign period concerned the ability of political parties to hold public meetings. As had been the case prior to the electoral campaign, opposition political parties had greater difficulty in holding public meetings than the Democratic Party (PD). Under existing laws, political parties must request permission from the public order authorities to hold a meeting in a public location, such as a town square or sports stadium. Leaders of the Socialist, Social Democratic and Democratic

Alliance parties complained bitterly that they were not allowed to use the same venues as the PD used in cities and towns throughout the country.

For example, the Socialist Party was denied permission to hold its final campaign rally in Tirana's Skendarbeg Square, and subsequently was forced to hold the rally in an old sports field on Tirana's outskirts. The Democratic Party, however, held both its final campaign rally and its post-election victory rally in Skendarbeg Square. The police held that no political party could close down Skendarbeg Square (which feeds into several of the cities main arteries), but that the President did have the right to hold such a rally.

In cases when the opposition parties had been granted permission to hold public meetings, they claimed that their activities were often disrupted or blocked completely by Democratic Party supporters. Opposition parties charged that the police not only failed to intervene on their behalf, but in many cases the police instigated and even participated in these activities with PD supporters. Although not all of these reported incidents were substantiated by IRI observers, U.S. Embassy personnel observed how Socialist Party members were physically prevented from entering the city of Shkroda by cars, trucks and buses that blocked the roads into town. In fact, several of the people blocking the road identified themselves to U.S. Embassy personnel as working for the "government." U.S. Embassy personnel also witnessed an incident in the Durres sports auditorium, in which Socialist Party leaders were first blocked from entering the building. After gaining access, a person tried to attack the leaders with a screwdriver and then power to the auditorium was disconnected, thus prematurely ending the meeting.

In addition, opposition parties charged that their candidates were subjected to intimidation from both police and Democratic Party supporters. The Vice Chairman of the Republican Party, the party closest to the Democratic Party, who was a candidate in the city of Fier, reported that his campaign workers had been threatened and physically assaulted because of their work on his behalf. In this case, the intimidation was so severe that he returned to Tirana the day before the election to secure bodyguards, and subsequently withdrew his candidacy on the day of the election.

## **Campaign Climate**

The Democratic Party (PD) demonstrated an increasing intolerance to political opposition in the four years between the 1992 and 1996 elections. Both the Republican and Social Democratic parties, who joined a coalition with the PD after the March 22, 1992 elections, left the coalition after the defeat of the referendum. The Social Democratic Party was soon labeled a "communist sympathizer" party, while the Republican Party, which remained supportive of the PD and President Berisha, received less harsh attacks. The Democratic Alliance Party, formed by several of the original founders of the PD, was discriminated against by the Government in terms of financial resources. The Right Democratic Party, another splinter of the PD from the far right end of the political spectrum, was denied legal status by the Ministry of Justice for more than a year, a decision eventually overturned by the Court of Cassation and its Chairman Zef Brozi.

As had been the case in the pre-election environment, the campaign period was marked by increasing tension among opposing political forces. The Democratic Party promoted the scenario of a "red front" led by unreformed communists and fanatical ex-secret police agents bent on restoring a totalitarian system and ending relations with the U.S. and Western Europe. For their part, the Socialist Party and other smaller opposition parties condemned the beginning of a new dictatorship in Albania under President Berisha, which would end basic freedoms and eliminate all political opposition.

As the campaign progressed, the inflammatory rhetoric became increasingly dramatic. Two days before election day, the Democratic Party claimed that they had unveiled a secret Socialist plan to disrupt the elections. Albanian Television reported that the Ministry of Public Order had obtained documents proving that the Socialist Party had created a "parallel public order structure" that was designed to launch attacks against voting centers using paramilitary groups of armed men as well as "drugged cigarettes." The state television showed a schematic drawing of the "parallel structure" and claimed to have other evidence of this plot. The police arrested several local Socialist Party leaders in Bulqize, where they had found the "evidence."

The Socialists charge that this alleged plot was used as pretext to arrest hundreds of their members the day before the election. They also claim that their "parallel structure" was a legitimate ballot security program -- a practice commonly employed by political parties in the Western Europe and the United States. The schematic drawings were exactly the type of planning that is needed to monitor approximately 4,700 voting centers and 115 electoral zone commissions.

## **V. Election Day Administration**

IRI's seven-member delegation met with election officials, party leaders, and media representatives before being deployed to five different regions of the country, where they held additional meetings at the local level and monitored the balloting process on election day (see Appendix IX). IRI's teams began their election day observations prior to the 7:00 a.m. opening of the voting centers and continued until the voting centers had finished their counting and reported their results to electoral zone commissions. In total, IRI observed the balloting process in 89 voting centers located in 55 of the nation's 115 electoral zones and in 28 of the 36 administrative districts.<sup>2</sup>

### **Administrative Confusion**

On the morning of the election, IRI observers found that there was significant confusion about procedures used in opening a voting center. Article 64 of the election law states that "voting begins at [7:00 a.m.]." The law also states that "voting begins with the inspection of the ballot boxes..." followed by stamping, signing, and counting of all ballots by the voting center commission. Because this process usually took more time than voting center commissions had anticipated, some voting centers opened late. For example, IRI observers in Voting Center 3 in Electoral Zone 46 in Tirana did not see the doors opened to voters until almost 8:30 a.m.

In general, the level of knowledge about the law and its implementation was insufficient and, because IRI observers saw that procedures varied from different voting centers, it was clear that the training that had been provided was either inconsistent or inadequate. For example, in some voting centers all of the ballots were stamped and signed prior to anyone voting. In other voting centers, the commissions decided to stamp and sign enough ballots to "stay ahead" of the number of voters coming in to vote. In some centers, decisions were taken by a vote of commission members, while the chairman would make the decision unilaterally in others.

In addition to the procedural confusion, problems were often created by the physical arrangement of voting centers. Article 66 of the election law states that the table of the voting center commission is to be "positioned in such a way as to enable the members of the commission and the representatives of the electoral subjects to move freely around it."

However, in a significant number of voting centers, IRI observers saw the chairman and secretary of the voting center commissions (both chosen by the PD) seated at the main

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<sup>2</sup> Specifically, IRI observers visited the following cities and districts: Kruja, Tirana, Lac, Kukes, Has, Puka, Malesia e Madhe, Shkodra, Pogradec, Korca, Devoll, Pogradec, Librazhd, Elbasan, Berat, Kucova, Lushnja, Peqin, Kavaja, Durres, Saranda, Delvina, Gjirokastra, Tepelena, Permet, Mallakstra, Vlora, and Fier.

table with the voter lists and ballots. The other commission members were required to sit in a long row of chairs leading away from the table. Not only were the majority of the commission members prevented from participating in the voting center activities, they were prevented from clearly observing voting procedures such as the verification of voter identification.

IRI observed that when opposition party members of voting centers objected to this arrangement, they were told by the chairmen of the voting center to remain in their seats or face the threat of arrest. It is noted, however, where the commission members did not monopolize the process, the commissions worked in a cooperative spirit, often dividing the voter lists among all members so that everyone had a role in the work of the commission.

After the initial confusion at the opening of the centers and other problems in the morning, the voting process generally proceeded in an orderly manner during the day. Voters appeared to be enthusiastic about participating in the election and did not appear to mind the often long lines for voting. Throughout most of the day, there appeared to be a relatively calm atmosphere that allowed voters to cast their ballots in a secret manner. In Fushe Kruje, however, IRI observers witnessed a voter entering a voting booth with multiple ballots. Similar such occurrences were reported by other international observers.

### **Political Intimidation**

Opposition parties charged that hundreds of their members serving on commissions or as observers were arrested during election day, and that many of them were mistreated by the police. In addition, opposition parties claimed that both the police and "secret police" were deployed on election day to physically intimidate opposition party members and voters. IRI did observe uniformed police at every voting center; however, their role seemed limited to basic crowd control and most were posted at doorways rather than inside voting centers. While most uniformed police appeared to be passive participants on election day, some were noticed to be wearing Democratic Party pens in their pockets, and IRI observers also saw uniformed police actively participating in some of the informal motorcades that arose during the PD victory celebrations.

IRI also observed the presence of "extra" persons inside voting centers. In many cases, these individuals were identified as Democratic Party (PD) observers, despite the fact that the PD, as all parties, was only entitled to one observer. In some of these cases, the PD observers appeared to have significant authority in the operation of the voting center. In Tirana, IRI observed one individual who was actively engaged in controlling the operation of the voting center, and who refused to identify himself or his official role, even after being accused of being a member of the state intelligence service. In Lac, IRI observed extra PD observers in voting centers who were members of the Democratic Party Youth Forum. The Chairman of the PD in Lac later explained to IRI observers their role as checking voter turnout and reporting it back to the party headquarters.

### **Replacement of Protocols**

The overall atmosphere on election day began to deteriorate when the Central Election Commission (CEC) made a mid-afternoon announcement that there would be a complete substitution of the voting center protocols with new documents -- reportedly because the Government had found a Socialist Party member transporting hundreds of protocols used to record the voting results uncovered. Similar to the allegations of a Socialist Party plot made 48 hours earlier, the Government alleged that these protocols would be used to falsify results, undermine the electoral process, and lead to civil war. The Socialists stated that they had made copies of the voting protocols because the CEC did not provide an adequate supply. Despite pre-election assurances from the CEC that every member of a voting center commission could receive a signed protocol, IRI observers found that many voting center commissions did not have a sufficient number of copies.

By the end of election day, the CEC claimed that all protocols in all voting centers had been replaced, a remarkable logistical achievement given earlier claims of a paper shortage. Although IRI observers noted that substitutions did occur, observers in one voting center located inside Tirana (Voting Center 3, Electoral Zone #45), saw the new protocol delivered minutes before the voting center closed at 10:00 p.m. -- and only after the electoral zone commission learned that IRI would be present to observe the counting. It was difficult for IRI observers to understand how voting protocols could have been replaced in more than 4,700 voting centers throughout the entire country, but not in a voting center in the middle of the capital. Furthermore, replacing protocols throughout the entire country would have been

### **Withdrawal of Opposition**

Shortly after the substitution of voting center protocols, the electoral process was further disrupted by the decision of the Socialist Party to quit the race -- a decision that was soon emulated by the Social Democrats, Democratic Alliance and other opposition parties. The Socialists charged that both the Democratic Party's manipulations and the level of police intimidation was such that they had no choice but to withdraw from the process and protect their members. The wholesale and nearly simultaneous departure of almost all opposition members from voting center commissions led some IRI observers to speculate that their departure was premeditated. This unprecedented maneuver by the opposition parties also changed the atmosphere at voting centers dramatically, allowing some of the remaining members to disregard their obligations to following proper procedures in counting ballots.

### **Vote Tabulation**

Despite the fact that articles 72 to 75 of the election law provide step-by-step instructions for counting ballots and recording results, there was also some confusion about the procedures for closing centers. For example, the law requires that a member of the voting commission, chosen by lot, remove the ballots one at a time, hand it to the chairman, who then reads the result and gives it to all other commission members and observers to verify. Only after the ballot has been reviewed by all present, does the law allow another ballot to be taken out of the ballot box. An IRI observer in Elbasan found that this precise procedure was followed. IRI observers in other electoral zones found that

these instructions were sometimes modified in practice to increase the speed counting ballots.

The ballot format also complicated the tabulation of results. Because the ballot contained two parts (one for candidates and one for party preference), votes were recorded simultaneously for both parts of the ballot on separate tally sheets. Either during the counting, or at the conclusion of counting, the commission members checked each other's totals to determine if they matched. Any discrepancy required that the counting restart from the beginning. This process caused many voting centers to remain counting until the early hours of the morning. In other centers, the commission members simply stopped checking each other's figures in order to move the process forward. Furthermore, the ballot format meant that separate votes for a candidate and a party could not be segregated into different stacks because they were printed on the same document.

The ballot format also appeared to cause voters confusion as evidenced by the results. In many cases, the voters would choose a candidate on the left side of the ballot and then choose the parallel party located on the right side of the ballot, although the party preference was unlikely to match the party affiliation of the selected candidate.

One of the most disturbing events during the early ballot counting occurred in Durres, where an IRI observer watched commission members (Voting Center 17 in Electoral Zone 36) invalidate ballots that had been cast for the Socialist Party. In addition, IRI observers found several ballots folded together inside the ballot box, indicating that multiple ballots were cast by a single voter.

After the results had been finalized in the voting centers, IRI observers followed the transmission of results to the electoral zone commissions where they would be aggregated. In Electoral Zone 77 in Fier, an IRI observer saw members recopying the official protocols from voting centers. Their explanation was that the numbers on the final copies would be clearer. Other IRI observers heard conflicting interpretations from electoral zone commission as to whether they had the authority to "re-check" protocols received from voting centers.

On the day after the elections, an IRI observer was given access to the Central Election Commission to observe the handling of results delivered from the electoral zone commissions. Although the majority of the CEC members were not present, IRI observed one case in which the representatives of an electoral zone commission were told to fill out new protocols with different numbers than those that they had delivered.

### **IRI's Election Day Survey**

On election day, IRI commissioned an exit poll of voters to be conducted throughout Albania. The survey was contracted to *Pikpamje Shqiptare* (Viewpoint Albania) a joint American and Albanian firm. In the week before the election, Viewpoint Albania conducted a public relations campaign to inform voters about the exit poll and encourage their candid participation. The survey included more than 2,400 voter opinions from 160 voting centers



in 40 electoral zones. The survey results had a margin of error plus or minus three and a half percent with a 95 percent degree of confidence.

IRI's exit poll predicted that the Democratic Party would win 56 percent of the total nationwide vote cast for parliamentary candidates running in the 115 electoral zones, with the Socialist Party winning 22 percent of the vote. Because the proportional component of the ballot was severely diminished, there is less of a correlation between the percentage of votes won nationally and the number of seats won in parliament. However, according to Albanian Viewpoint, considering the margin of victory predicted in the exit poll, it is likely that the Democratic Party would have won approximately 80 seats in the first round.

In addition, IRI's exit poll conducted four sub-samples in four electoral zones consisting of approximately 300 voters in each zone, with a margin of error of plus or minus five percent, with a 90 percent degree of confidence. The result of these surveys predicted the following outcomes, with the actual results listed alongside. The actual result of only one of the four zones (zone 64) was significantly outside the poll's margin of error.

Electoral Zone (District)	PD Candidate	IRI Exit Poll	Official Result
Zone 64 (Elbasan)	Zigfrid Jorgaqi	50%	60%
Zone 77 (Fier)	Belul Cela	64%	68%
Zone 85 (Berat)	Agron Musaraj	61%	65%
Zone 105 (Vlora)	Dashmir Shehi	55%	54%

According to the results of the exit poll, the Democratic Party's support was spread relatively evenly throughout the country, as well as among various demographic groups. The PD was stronger in the north than in the south; stronger in cities than in villages; stronger among higher income and higher educated persons; stronger among younger people; and equally strong among men and women. However, even in their weakest regions and demographic sub-groups, the Democratic Party enjoyed a significant margin of support over the Socialist Party, the strongest opposition party. Concerning the fairness of the campaign, the vast majority (70 percent) of the respondents found the campaign to have been conducted in a fair manner.

## **VI. Post-Election Developments**

There was a significant delay in announcing the official results. Although Nestir Thereska, the Vice Chairman of the Central Election Commission had informed IRI observers that he expected to have results by Monday morning, the CEC did not release official results until Wednesday, May 29. These results were incomplete in that they only provided the vote percentage received by winning candidates. Results were not released that provided the total number of votes cast for individual candidates, the total percentage of the vote received by each parties' candidates, or the total number of invalid votes. Because the CEC announced that four electoral zones would rerun the first round due to irregularities, results were not released for the party preference ballot.

The Democratic Party, however, did announce on election night that they had won a very large victory of more than 60 percent of the total vote. Most published reports indicated that the Democratic Party had won between 65 and 70 percent of the vote, with international media reporting that the final PD total was 68 percent of the vote (a number not disputed by the Democratic Party or CEC). However, as of late August, almost three months after the elections, the Central Election Commission had not officially released complete and official results.

### **Second Round**

On June 2, 1996, there was a second runoff round of parliamentary elections in nine electoral zones. The opposition parties which had withdrawn from the first round of the elections, also boycotted the second round. IRI traveled to four of the nine zones and observed voting in 10 voting centers. Because these elections were not being contested by the largest opposition parties, the atmosphere was quiet. IRI observed a significant decline in voter participation compared with the first round of elections. The official results of the second round, however, claimed a voter turnout greater than sixty percent. IRI observers saw no evidence of the high voter turnout and long lines common in first round and, in fact, no more than five voters were observed in a voting center at any one time.

### **Rerun Electoral Zones**

Following the second round of elections, the Central Election Commission decided to re-run elections in 13 additional electoral zones, for a total of 17 electoral zones being re-run. The CEC brought in a German "election expert" who reportedly examined all of the election materials (presumably almost 2,000,000 ballots) and determined that there were exactly 17 electoral zones in which problems were severe enough to warrant new elections. Neither the specific nature of these problems nor the criteria used in determining whether they had a substantial impact was revealed.

On June 16, a new first round of elections took place in these 17 electoral zones, which were again boycotted by the opposition parties. The Democratic Party won in all 17 zones, with the official voter turnout being 67%, a drop of only 22% from the first round despite the opposition boycott.

## Available Election Results

Following the first round, both President Berisha and the Central Election Commission (CEC) made offers to provide foreign observers with full access to the results and election materials. On June 11, IRI therefore made a formal written request to the CEC for complete and official results for all candidates in the first round of elections held on May 26, as well as access to the ballot materials from two of the 115 electoral zones. The Central Election Commission (CEC) did not respond until several weeks later when a CEC representative stated verbally that they no longer had such information or materials, and that all results and materials had been sent to Parliament. On July 15, IRI made the same request to Parliament for materials and information. On July 18, the Speaker of Parliament responded with final results for candidates of the five political parties that had won seats in Parliament (see Appendix VIII). In addition, he stated that Parliament could not fulfill requests for election materials because all such materials were now in the possession of the Constitutional Court.

The results of the Albanian Parliamentary elections, as released by the CEC on June 21, gave 122 seats (87 percent) to the Democratic Party, 10 seats (seven percent) to the Socialist Party, three seats each (two percent each) to the Republican and Unity for Human Rights parties and two seats (one and a half percent) to the National Front Party. In these results, no details about individual vote totals for candidates were released. However, the CEC did include the final party preference results, which showed the following vote totals:

<u>PARTY</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Democratic Party	914,218	55.5%
Socialist Party	335,402	20.4%
Republican Party	94,567	5.7%
National Front (Balli Kombetar)	81,822	5.0%
Unity for Human Rights Party	66,529	4.0%
Legalitati Party (Monarchist)	34,019	2.1%
Social Democratic Union	32,430	2.0%
Democratic Alliance Party	25,679	1.5%
Social Democratic Party	25,019	1.5%
Christian Democratic Party	21,068	1.3%
Democratic Union Party	11,789	0.7%
National Unity Party	3,939	0.2%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,646,481</b>	

The final number of votes cast for party preference (1,646,481) indicates that there were a substantial number of invalid votes. In the first round of voting, the CEC's official figure for voter turnout was 89 percent, with 1,963,344 people voting. Even accounting for a decline in voter participation in the 17 races in which the voting was re-run as a new first

round (from 89 percent on May 26 to 67 percent for the 17 zones run on June 16) the total number of voters counted as voting would appear to be at least 1,900,000. Thus, there would appear to be at least 250,000 invalid ballots in the party preference section, or 13 percent of the total, much higher than the one to three percent average IRI usually sees in elections in many other nations.

In comparison, the Society for Democratic Culture which conducted an extensive election day observation program, found that in the voting centers in which they received results on election day (approximately half of all polling stations), a total of only eight percent of the ballots were invalid. The CEC, however, never released official figures for the number or percentage of invalid ballots.

Furthermore, in examining the full results released by the Parliament to IRI, the total number of valid votes for candidates in first round races (both those conducted on May 26, and those re-run on June 16) is approximately 1,676,609. The Democratic Party candidates in these first rounds won a total of 1,092,469 votes, for a percentage of 65.16 percent, a dramatic increase from the percentage of votes officially declared by the CEC as won by the PD in the party preference section. Significantly, this number has never been officially released to the public. Furthermore, it is this number, 65 percent, that is to be measured against IRI's exit poll, which forecast a PD vote total of 56 percent with only a 3.5 percent margin of error.

## **Appendix I. IRI Preliminary Statement**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE  
ALBANIA PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION  
PRELIMINARY STATEMENT  
MAY 30, 1996**

**IRI Election Observation Mission**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) sponsored a seven member election observation mission to Albania's parliamentary elections on May 26, 1996. The purpose of the IRI mission was to evaluate the electoral process, identify its strengths and weaknesses, and make recommendations for improvement.

IRI's delegation was led by the Honorable James Lombard of Sarasota Florida, who formerly served as the Republican leader of the Florida House of Representatives and most recently, was a Fellow at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. The other members of the delegation included Peter Dickinson, IRI's Resident Program Officer in Tirana, Albania; Jan Surotchak, Program Manager for the Foundation for a Civil Society in Bratislava, Slovakia; Tom Garrett, IRI's Resident Program Officer in Kiev, Ukraine; Lindsay Lloyd, IRI's Resident Program Officer in Bratislava, Slovakia; Lori Soderstrom, Assistant Program Officer in IRI's office in Washington, D.C.; and Eric Jowett, Program Officer for IRI in Washington, D.C.

After meeting with political party, election administration, and media officials in Tirana, the IRI delegation deployed to five different regions of the country to hold similar meetings at the local level and observe the process of casting and counting ballots on election day.

IRI observers, who visited a total 89 voting centers located in 55 of the nation's 115 electoral zones, found both negative and positive elements to these elections. Observers visited

the following cities and their surrounding regions: Kruja, Tirana, Lac, Kukes, Has, Puka, Malesia e Madhe, Shkodra, Pogradec, Korca, Devoll, Pogradec, Librazhd, Elbasan, Berat, Kucova, Lushnja, Peqin, Kavaja, Durres, Saranda, Delvina, Gjirokastra, Tepelena, Permet, Vlora, and Fier. While not widespread, observed voting irregularities raise serious questions about the conduct and integrity of a number of Albania's 1996 Parliamentary contests.

## **Pre-election Campaign Environment**

On the positive side, IRI observers were impressed by the voter education campaign undertaken by the government and the vigorous competition among political parties and candidates to present their platforms to voters. Also impressive were election law provisions for political party representation on electoral commissions, provisions that allowed citizens to correct errors and omissions in the voter registration lists, and the establishment of sanctions for electoral law violations.

On the negative side:

- IRI observers heard concerns over the lack of tolerance for opposing political views and allegations of harassment and intimidation of party members and elected officials.
- Opposition political parties complained about the application by government authorities of rules under which public meetings and rallies could be held.
- These issues were further complicated by some law enforcement officials, a number of whom appeared to IRI observers to be identifying themselves with the party in power.
- Opposition political parties also complained about the rules governing distribution of public funds and the television time allotted to individual parties.
- Most deadlines established by the new election law appeared to the IRI team not to have been met, despite the efforts of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC). Although the CEC ultimately was able to implement all requirements of the elections law, the compressed time frame of ultimate implementation created an unnecessary burden on local election officials, political parties, and candidates.
- Finally, IRI observers also heard complaints regarding a wide variance in the number of eligible voters within electoral zones, which were difficult to assess given the lack of recent and reliable census information.



## **Election Day Environment**

### Casting of Ballots

IRI observers were impressed by the level of participation by Albanian voters in their political process as evidenced by a substantial volume of early voting, and lengthy polling station lines. IRI observers did find that in most voting centers they visited the voting procedures were orderly, voter identification was being checked and stamped, and voters had the opportunity to cast a secret ballot in a calm atmosphere. In addition, IRI observers heard few complaints of voters being turned away because of inaccurate registration lists.

On the negative side:

- Despite regulations issued by the Central Election Commission (CEC) to clarify voting procedures, IRI observers found confusion and inconsistencies at some levels of the balloting process.
- In some cases, the format of the ballot may have caused confusion because voters' were required to vote for a candidate on the left side of the ballot and a party on the right side of the ballot and the listing of the candidates and parties were not in the same order.
- Of greater concern was the fact that in a few voting centers, IRI witnessed voters' receiving multiple ballots; IRI heard credible reports from other international observers of voters' casting multiple ballots.

### Election Administration

IRI observers were impressed by the dedication of members of the voting centers and electoral zone commissions.

IRI observers, however, also found:

- an uneven application of the election law.
- An additional problematical issue was the extension of voting hours and the substitution of the *proces verbals* (i.e. protocol documents on which final results were to be recorded) late on election day. IRI was troubled by the change in procedures in the middle of the election day process, but was unable to discern the validity of both explanation and accusations regarding this issue. The CEC's ability to reprint a sufficient number of *proces verbals* and redistribute them to voting centers halfway through the election day was a logistical accomplishment that seemed to contradict earlier reports of inadequate paper supplies.

## Vote Tabulation Process

The vote tabulation process witnessed by all but one IRI observer appeared to be free of systematic irregularities.

However:

- The ballot format mentioned above caused confusion in the vote counting process and may have led to an increased number of miscounted ballots, thus causing a further delay in reporting results.
- Of greater concern was the instance witnessed by an IRI observer of a voting center commissioner re-marking ballots during the counting process. IRI heard credible reports from other international observers of commission members remarking ballots and of commission members reporting inaccurate results.
- In part because of their withdrawal from the election process on the day of voting, opposition leaders' claims of widespread irregularities are difficult to substantiate. Such similar claims by normally disparate parties can be additional evidence of possible election environment and process irregularities. The parties could, ostensibly, have documented their claims by taking advantage of previously mentioned election law provisions affording them the opportunity to monitor the balloting and counting process.
- Final results of the election have not yet been released; strict application of articles 75 and 79 of Albania's election law should help provide the chain of vote evidence necessary in all of Albania's parliamentary elections.

IRI will issue a comprehensive report at a later date that will provide a set of recommendations to improve the process for such elections.

## Appendix II. IRI Exit Poll

**Appendix III. IRI Political Party Survey**

## Albania Political Party Survey

In the 45 year period that followed World War II, there had been only one political party in Albania -- Enver Hoxha's Party of Labor. With the historic elections of March 22, 1992, five major political parties emerged with representation in parliament -- the Democratic Party; their allies, the Social Democrats and the Republicans; the opposition Socialists, the successor-organization to Hoxha's Party of Labor; and the Unity Party for the Protection of Human Rights, representing primarily the Greek minority. Of the five, the only parties with any significant influence were the ruling Democratic Party and the Socialist Party. The Social Democrats and the Republicans were both small parties whose main strength came from being members of the government coalition. The Unity Party for the Protection of Human Rights was primarily a regional party, whose strength was in the country's southern districts with large Greek minority populations.

Prior to the May 26, 1996 elections there were about a dozen functioning political parties in Albania. With two exceptions, they could be characterized as centralized parties with power very concentrated in the capital of Tirana and little effective support in the 36 administrative districts. The two exceptions are the Democratic Party (PD), controlling all levers of national government and about half the local governments; and the Socialist Party (PS), controlling the remaining local governments and retaining the strong organizational structure from the old Party of Labor, or communist party.

The remaining parties have some branches at the district and local levels, but none have a sufficiently strong grassroots structure that would allow them to mount an effective national campaign. In some cases, such as the Democratic Alliance Party and the Republican Party, there was a recognition of this weakness and they actively sought to build up their base in anticipation of the election. In other cases, such as the Social Democratic Party, the leaders believed that intelligent leadership from the center would lead to electoral victory.

Most parties also have few material resources in the districts outside Tirana, again with the exception of the PD and the PS. Parties have little or no paid staffs and few functioning offices. They normally lack phones, cars, computers, and generally have no budgets. They may have a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and other positions filled, but beyond these people, they lack the needed volunteer base to effectively perform basic campaign functions.

Political parties in Albania receive financing from the government according to a formula based upon the most recent election results and their registered party membership. Although these funds in general are very limited, parties usually do not compensate for the government's weak support by raising private funds. Access to media is another problem for political parties. Although many parties publish their own party newspapers, there are few independent newspapers that either objectively or effectively cover politics. The vast majority of Albanians receive their news through the television and radio, which remain state-owned and controlled.

Below is a party-by-party analysis of each of the major parties in Albania prior to election day on May 26, 1996, particularly focusing on their local organization.

### **The Democratic Party of Albania**

Chairman	Tritan Shehu
General Secretary	Besnik Gjongecaj
Vice Chairman	Ali Spahia
Number of Deputies <sup>3</sup>	86 seats (61%)
Number of Local Elected Officials	2,118
National Membership	120,000
National Support <sup>4</sup>	41%

Campaign Slogan: "With Us, Everyone Wins!"

As the governing party from March 1992 until April 1996, the Democratic Party (PD) had a remarkable record of stability and longevity by East European standards. The PD was the first legal opposition party allowed in Albania when the democracy movement began in 1990. After the party won power in the March 1992 elections, it made tremendous strides towards establishing a new market economy and creating a new, pro-western foreign policy. They also made important progress towards developing a pluralistic and democratic society. The Democratic Party, however, has been criticized for their methods in dealing with their political opponents.

A few months after the March 1992 elections, several prominent members of the Democratic Party, including two of the original founders -- Gramoz Pashko and Arben Imami -- left to form their own splinter party, the Democratic Alliance Party (PAD). A total of six parliamentary deputies eventually left the Democratic Party to join the Democratic Alliance Party, with the reasons for their departure still disputed today by the principals involved. Pashko and Imami claim that they were kicked out of the Democratic Party because they refused to accept the concentration of power in one person -- namely President Berisha. Democratic Party leaders maintain that Pashko and Imami quit the party because of personal disputes and charge that the Democratic Alliance Party is a close ally of the Socialist Party.

In 1994, Berisha decided to stake his party's fortunes on a referendum to approve a new constitution. Despite the Democratic Party's massive victory in March 1992, they were unable to muster the two thirds vote in Parliament needed to replace the

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<sup>3</sup> This figure represents the number of deputies in the Parliament that was elected in March 1992 and dissolved in March 1996.

<sup>4</sup> This figure shows the national level of support for each party according to a straw poll conducted by IRI as part of its December 1995 survey of public opinion in Albania.

communist-era constitution, a fact that remained a political liability. Berisha sought to bypass Parliament in November 1994 by seeking approval of a new constitution through a popular referendum. Despite Berisha's efforts to support the constitution by campaigning across the country and massive propaganda efforts through state-controlled television, the country rejected the constitution by a margin of 60 percent.

Widely viewed as a vote against Berisha rather than the constitution, the aftermath of the referendum defeat was dramatic. The immediate reaction by the PD and Berisha was to blame others for their loss. Berisha blamed the Government's failure to rapidly enact the privatization reforms as well as its failure to prevent corruption. Berisha also sought to blame the Democratic Party for its failure to wage an effective propaganda campaign, despite the fact that much of the campaigning was done by Berisha himself. While Berisha sought to blame others, the Chairman of the Democratic Party, Eduard Selami, and the head of the Government, Prime Minister Alexander Meksi, began to slowly and quietly seek some distance from Berisha.

As a result of the referendum defeat, Berisha replaced about half of the Government's Ministers, although none of the more influential leaders lost their jobs.

In fact, this move was widely viewed as merely cosmetic and having no effect either on the efficiency nor public perception of the Government. The move did, however, formally end the coalition with the Social Democratic and Republican Parties, both of whom objected to the personnel changes. Because the Social Democratic Party had campaigned against the referendum, it could no longer remain within the government coalition. The Social Democrats formally left the government coalition when one of their seven parliamentary Deputies, Teodor Laço, was named the new Minister of Culture after he supported the constitutional referendum in contradiction to his party's stated position. For the Republicans, their continuing frustration at not being consulted by the Democratic Party on governmental decisions, and the removal of their Party's sole minister in the cabinet re-shuffle, also caused them to end their formal participation in the government coalition. Thus, the first concrete effect of the referendum was the dissolution of the political and government coalition with which the Democratic Party had governed successfully since 1992.

Another result of the referendum defeat was the removal of Eduard Selami as Chairman of the Democratic Party in March 1995. As Chairman of the PD, Selami was widely regarded as the second most important politician in Albania. In this role, he had been increasingly at odds with Berisha over the role of the Party in relationship to the Government. At a Democratic Party National Council meeting on January 29, 1995, Selami announced that he believed that the Chairman of the Party should also be the Prime Minister, a post that was held by Alexander Meksi. In a show of good faith, Selami offered his resignation so that Meksi could assume both roles. On the same day, the National Council declared that they agreed with Selami in principle, but that it would be better if Selami remained in charge of the Party. Selami agreed to their request and the National Council decided to postpone the matter for a final resolution at the next meeting of the Party's larger National Assembly scheduled for the fall of 1995.

In February 1995, Selami declared that he now believed that the proposed new constitution should be approved by Parliament, not by referendum, directly challenging a firmly held position of President Berisha. This challenge by Selami was the first public challenge to what had once been a tightly controlled and monolithic party to outside observers. Within a week of Selami's statement, a second meeting of the National Council of the Democratic Party was called to consider Selami's new proposal, as well as to consider the Party's "confidence" in their Chairman. At the meeting, the large majority of the members of the National Council sided with Berisha and against Selami, and they decided to hold an extraordinary meeting of the full National Assembly of the Democratic Party on March 5th for the purpose of deciding the fate of Selami.

The selection of delegates for the National Assembly was carefully orchestrated by President Berisha and his supporters to insure that the vote would be solidly against Selami. At the National Assembly meeting, a series of synchronized speeches denouncing Selami for alleged transgressions against the President and the Democratic Party were made with only a few token voices allowed to defend Selami.

In fact, even personal friends of Selami's stood up to denounce him as having switched his allegiances to side with the enemies of the Democratic Party. Finally, a vote was called, and despite calls for a secret ballot, President Berisha insisted on an open vote. The final result was a vote of 640 to 60 against Selami, and Berisha named Tritan Shehu as the Party's acting chairman. While Berisha had won the battle inside the Party, he continued to lose the battle for public opinion, which favored Selami.

At the Democratic Party's national congress in April 1995, Tritan Shehu was formally named Chairman of the PD. Although Shehu's appointment came as no surprise, other unexpected appointments were made. For example, the choice of Besnik Gjonec, Rector of the Tirana Agricultural University to be the new General Secretary of the Party was unanticipated. Gjonec, who comes from Sali Berisha's home district of Tropoja, was an unknown figure prior to his selection to the second highest post in the PD. Also taking on new prominent roles in the PD for the election season were Ferdinand Gjaferi, as Secretary for Internal Relations, Albert Brojka, as Secretary for Foreign Relations, and Ylli Vejsiu as Secretary for Organization.

## **Party Organization**

The Democratic Party had an effective organizational network throughout the country, primarily owing to its two main constituencies. The first group consisted of loyal, democratic activists who either suffered during the communist era or benefitted from democracy. The second group benefitted from the political patronage that comes from being in power, which the PD was quite aggressive in exploiting. The PD, for example, was active in finding public sector jobs for all of its key supports in the country's 36 districts. The PD also demonstrated a willingness during the November 1994 campaign for the referendum to use state resources to further its political goals.



The party maintained a very a large national office in Tirana, with several computers, faxes, copiers and other office equipment. In addition, they had functioning offices in all 36 districts, as well as in most smaller communes and villages. Almost all of the district offices had phones, but none had any other office equipment, such as computers, faxes or copiers. Every district branch had a paid staff consisting of a chairman, secretary and financial specialist. About half the branches have cars and paid drivers. The state budget provides enough funds to pay the salaries of all of the district personnel, as well as the national staff.

The Party also published a daily national newspaper, *Rilindja Demokratike*, which propagated the PD's party line. The Democratic Party also had informal control of the television and radio. Although nominally controlled by Parliament, the PD clearly had the ability to influence the content of the electronic news media.

### **Campaign Strategy and Tactics**

The Democratic Party (PD) announced its plans for the parliamentary elections at the party's National Council meeting in Tirana on April 10. President Sali Berisha opened the Democratic Party Congress with a speech that mixed anti-communist rhetoric with promises of continued market reform, including new tax incentives and increased privatization for both foreign and domestic investors. While praising the Democratic Party as "the locomotive of the development of democracy, a market economy, and the country's integration in Europe;" Berisha poured scorn on the Socialists, saying the former communist party had failed to reform itself despite changing its name. "I never want Albania to be called Socialist Albania because Socialist is a synonym for the past," Berisha said. "This is another time, the time for democracy... We do not want a red light to illuminate our road toward the year 2000."

The Democratic Party (PD) ran candidates in all 115 electoral zones in Albania. Fewer than one-third of the PD's Deputies from the last Parliament were renominated as candidates in the May 1996 parliamentary elections. The biggest name excluded from the PD list of candidates was Genc Ruli, one of the PD's original founders, a former Finance Minister, and the Chairman of the Parliamentary Finance Commission. Rexhep Uka, another former Minister, was also excluded as was former PD Party Chairman Eduard Selami, although Selami's exclusion came as a surprise to no one given his falling-out with Berisha in February 1995. The exclusion of many well-known PD parliamentarians ran parallel to the changes in the PD's internal party leadership. Both the PD's new leadership and its candidates reflected one primary quality -- loyalty to President Berisha.

The Democratic Party officially opened its election campaign on April 27 with a massive concert and rally in Tirana. The free event was well publicized by the state-controlled television and radio, and was shown on prime-time television on a Saturday night, complete with President Berisha's 20-minute speech, speeches by Prime Minister Alexander Meksi, PD Chairman Tritan Shehu and a presentation of the PD candidates for Tirana. The free concert included almost all of the country's

best known performers, as well as singers, dancers and models from nations around the world.

During his speech, Berisha promised to supply water, electricity, telephones, homes, jobs, hospitals, schools, and integration into NATO and the EU. At the same time, he echoed earlier comments and warned them to remain aware of the threat of the return of the "red front" that the opposition had formed. Following the Tirana show, the Democratic Party continued to hold large rallies combined with entertainment throughout the country in both large and small cities. President Berisha personally dominated the campaign, which was reminiscent of the PD's disastrous campaign to approve a constitution in November 1994.

The Democratic Party also initiated a television advertising campaign with at least four different spots. The PD's first advertisement focused on the changes made during the last four years; the second focused on the increase in agricultural production; the third began with the opening of a door to a more modern Albania; and the fourth invoked images of religious leaders and includes the slogan "For the love of God vote for the Democratic Party." All four were produced in a rather amateurish style and none actually asked voters to vote for the PD.

### **Socialist Party of Albania**

Chairman	Fatos Nano ( <i>in prison</i> )
General Secretary	Gramoz Ruci
Vice Chairman	Servet Pellumbi
	Namik Dokle
	Luan Hajdaraga
	Ilir Meta
Number of Deputies	38 seats (27%)
Number of Local Elected Officials	2,612
Number of Members	100,000
Estimated National Support	19%
Campaign Slogan	"Come Together with Us for a True Democracy!"

The Socialist Party (PS) was created in 1991, when the old communist-era Party of Labor (PLA) changed its name to separate itself from the failed system of Enver Hoxha that had left Albania 40 years behind the rest of Europe. In the March 1991 elections, the PLA won 170 of the 250-seat parliament, while the PD won only 75. Widespread civil unrest and a series of four unstable governments forced new elections a year later. In the March 1992 elections, the PS garnered only 25 percent of the vote compared to the PD's 62 percent.

Since its defeat in the elections of March 22, 1992, the Socialist Party struggled to redefine itself as the only significant opposition to the Democratic Party. Dismissed

by the Democratic Party as "communists," the PS's leaders claim that they are a modern European left-wing party, with a pro-Western, market, pluralist and democratic orientation. As a party out of power, the Socialists had no post-communist record to match against their rhetoric. Although there was a significant changeover in the party's personnel, the Socialist Party retained its communist predecessor's extensive network throughout the countryside. The party's national office in Tirana had only 10 paid staff, with the rest of the jobs being done by the party's Members of Parliament. The PS maintained 36 district offices and, with representation in nearly every village and town, had 3,777 branches with about 115,000 members, or one party member for every 17 voters in Albania.

Each of the 36 district branches had a paid staff, normally a chairman, secretary, driver and an administrator. Smaller cities paid only two people. They had phones in all the district offices and about 40 percent of them had "old" vehicles to use. As with the other parties, they had no office computers, faxes or photocopiers in the district offices. Their newspaper, *Zeri i Popullit*, was the largest circulation daily in Albania, although still relatively small at about 25,000 copies.

The Socialist Party retained a very strong base, especially among the rural poor, as demonstrated by their strong showing in the July 1992 local elections when they won a plurality of the vote and about half the local government seats, only four months after the PD's sweeping victory in the March 1992 elections.

## **Campaign Strategy and Tactics**

The Socialist Party kicked off their campaign for the May 1996 elections with a visit to Washington, D.C. by their main leaders at the end of April. Although the highly publicized trip was financed by a private organization, the Socialists took the opportunity to claim that they had been invited by the U.S. Department of State, a claim that was quickly refuted by the U.S. Embassy in Tirana.

The Socialist Party also held large meetings throughout the country, although they were required to hold their meetings inside theaters and gymnasiums. Like the Democratic Party, the Socialists promised voters that they would repair all of Albania's problems, and that they would do it in a more honest manner. The Socialist's campaign slogan was "Come Together with Us for a True Democracy!"

The Socialists spent a large amount of their efforts trying to document harassment and intimidation by the PD-controlled public order and secret police forces. Several Socialist Party rallies in the weeks before the campaign, including rallies in the cities of Burrel and Vlora were the site of violence with the Socialists claiming that the PD tried to break them up, and the PD claiming that the Socialists were provoking incidents for their own propaganda. Other opposition parties, especially the Social Democrats, also charged that their campaign meetings were prevented or interfered with by local public order forces under the order of the Democratic Party of Sali Berisha.

Like the PD, the Socialist Party also produced a political commercial for television. The PS spot presented the basic promises of the Socialists (a better democracy, economy, society, etc) and ended with a picture of the traditional socialist symbol, a red rose, the final verse of the operatic classic *Nessun Dorma* sung by Luciano Pavarati, and with the words "We will win!"

## Democratic Alliance Party of Albania

Chairman	Neritan Ceka
General Secretary	Arben Imami
Number of Deputies	6 seats (4%)
Number of Local Elected Officials	0
Number of Members	15,000
Estimated National Support	5%

The Democratic Party Alliance Party (PAD) was formed in late 1992 by a splinter group of the Democratic Party, including two of the original founders -- Gramoz Pashko and Arben Imami. The reason for the split is still disputed by the principals involved. Although the Democratic Alliance Party had six deputies in the last parliament, the number needed to form a parliamentary group, they were denied such recognition by the leadership of parliament. In addition, they received no government funding and claimed that they were regularly harassed and threatened by the government, as were their families and friends. The Democratic Alliance Party blamed the government for an incident that occurred in January 1994, when the leader of the Shkoder branch of the party was shot and killed after a rally. The PAD echoed the claims made by the Socialist Party about police harassment and PD efforts to disrupt their campaign events.

The PAD compensated for their lack of state-funding with some financial support from the German Marshall Fund, which provided the party with its only car and supported their bi-weekly party newspaper, *Aleanca*. Although the state did not provide office space, the PAD did operate a small headquarters with a few paid staff. They had branches in most of the districts, but maintained offices in less than a dozen, with no cars, limited phones, and no office equipment. The PAD showed a willingness to pursue a grassroots strategy and they had a very youth-oriented core, but they still faced a great number of obstacles in becoming a truly nationwide party.

## Campaign Strategy and Tactics

The Democratic Alliance Party (PAD), lacking in material resources, placed the emphasis of their campaign on individual races rather than trying to run a unified national campaign. Their main national leaders -- Neritan Ceka, Gramoz Pashko and Arben Imami -- were their strongest candidates. Although Ceka, as party chairman, traveled throughout the country in support of other PAD candidates, Pashko and Imami concentrated their time on their own electoral zones. The PAD did not have any single national campaign slogan, with each individual candidate

devising their own slogans and issues based on local conditions. The most common themes of PAD candidates was an emphasis on creating a "normal" and "quiet" Albania. The PAD concentrated their resources on producing individualized brochures for candidates.

The most important strategic decision of the PAD was to join with the Social Democratic Party (PSD), forming what was called the "Center Pole." Under the agreements of this informal coalition, the two parties chose to evenly divide the majority of the electoral zones in Albania between them and only run one candidate in each zone. Their hope was that the "Center Pole" would draw former PD supporters who were disenchanted with Berisha's leadership style, as well as those voters who leaned to the left but who were not comfortable voting for the former communist party. Because they occupied the center of the political spectrum, they expected that any of their candidates who could make it to the second round of voting would be able to defeat either the PS or PD candidate. However, polling data did not indicate that such a phenomena would occur or that this political grouping had produced any new synergistic effects.

### **Social Democratic Party of Albania**

Chairman	Skendar Gjinushi
General Secretary	Gaqo Apostoli
Vice Chairmen	Haxhi Aliko Paskal Milo
Number of Deputies	6 seats (5%)
Number of Local Elected Officials	308
Number of Members	23,000
Estimated National Support	4%

Campaign Slogan "Work, Security and Justice,"

The Social Democratic Party (PSD) was led by Skendar Gjinushi, a former Minister of Education in the last communist government. The PSD was composed largely of intellectuals, which almost all of their members highlighted as a strength rather than a weakness. Although they finished third in the parliamentary elections of March 1992, they did not subsequently have strong support from among the general population. In 1994 local by-elections, the Social Democratic Party had a dismal showing with less than two percent of the total vote.

It should come as no surprise that a party of "intellectuals" lacked a well-developed grassroots organization. The Social Democratic Party spent most of the past few years devising broad national strategies and messages, rather than building up their grassroots base. Pre-election polls revealed that their efforts had failed and their national level of support remained below five percent.

The PSD maintained a government-funded national headquarters in Tirana with a small paid staff. They had one or two paid staff in all 36 districts, phones in about

25 districts and about 12-13 "old cars." They had only two computers in Tirana, which were primarily used to produce their party newspaper, *Alternative SD*, which was published two or three times per week with a small circulation. They received about \$60,000 annually from the state and about \$5,000 from membership fees.

## Campaign Strategy and Tactics

At its national party congress in March 1996, the Social Democratic Party re-elected Skendar Gjinushi as their Chairman despite the fact that he would not be able to run as a candidate under the country's lustration law (Gjinushi was a former Minister of Education in the last communist government.) Although he was not a candidate, Gjinushi traveled throughout the country on behalf of the party's candidates and, like the Socialists and Democratic Alliance leaders, sometimes had meetings disrupted by the police or PD supporters. The PSD's campaign slogan of "Work, Security and Justice" reflected the priority issues identified in the IRI poll conducted in December 1995. However, the PSD's campaign rhetoric concentrated on political issues such as the leadership style of President Berisha, the lack of a constitution, and the absence of an independent judiciary. As such, the PSD continued to have a difficult time speaking directly to those issues that concerned voters, particularly economic insecurity. The PSD distributed some posters in the last two weeks of the campaign and some of their candidates produced individual brochures. The Social Democrats formed the other half of the so-called "Center Pole," along with the Democratic Alliance Party. As such, their joint candidates had a greater political base to work from than the meager nationwide support the PSD developed during the last four years.

## Republican Party of Albania

Chairman	Sabri Godo
Vice Chairman	Fatmir Mediu
General Secretary	Cerciz Mingomataj
Number of Deputies	1 seat (0.7%)
Number of Local Elected Officials	250 ( <i>approximate</i> )
Number of Members	19,500
Estimated National Support	3%
Campaign Slogan	"Our nation's future begins with our families."

The Republican Party (PR) was the second party to register when political opposition was legalized in 1990. They have since sought to be a Western-style political party in line with the right side of the political spectrum. Their limited base of support resulted in the election of only one Member of Parliament in 1992.

Relegated to a junior partner role in the government coalition, the Republican Party sought to develop a greater constituency in several ways. First, they aligned themselves with the position of former land and property owners and made the

return of properties the centerpiece of their platform. Second, they led the formation of a "Right Front" of political parties, organizations and other forces to compete in the 1996 parliamentary elections. This coalition, however, disintegrated before the elections and the Republicans ran candidates against its former coalition partners -- Balli Kombetar, Legaliteti, and the Association of Former Political Prisoners.

The Republican Party aggressively pursued a strategy of broadening its base in the districts, communes and villages in preparation for the May 1996 elections. They experienced some limited success in the local by-elections, finishing third behind the PD and PS, but continued to suffer from the same problems common to most other parties -- a lack of resources and a lack of grassroots support.

The PR had a government-provided national office in Tirana, with a small paid staff. They maintained 38 district branches with offices, each of which had between two and three paid staff -- a chairman and/or secretary and an organizational specialist. None of the district branches had office equipment, but 22 of them had cars. In the national office they had only two working computers, which also concentrated on producing their party newspaper, *Republika*, published two to three times per week.

### **Campaign Strategy and Tactics**

The Republican Party had perhaps the best campaign slogan of any of the major parties: "Our nation's future begins with our families." Like the leaders of the PAD and the PSD, the Republic Party leaders (Godo and Mediu) were primarily focused on their individual races. Godo attended meetings in other electoral zones for other candidates, primarily because only the activities of party chairmen were covered under the guidelines of state-owned television. The PR also developed an effective series of posters for the national campaign and some of their candidates prepared individual brochures. In addition, one of their candidates in Tirana had taken a relatively innovative route for campaigning; he decorated an old van with posters, signs and pictures and drove it slowly throughout the neighborhoods in which he ran as a candidate.

### **Unity Party for Human Rights**

Chairman	Vasil Melo
General Secretary	Thoma Mico
Number of Deputies	2 seats (1%)
Number of Local Elected Officials	258
Number of Members	10,000
Estimated National Support	2%

In Albania's first elections in March 1991, the Greek minority organization, Omonia, ran candidates in the country's southern districts and won seats in the interim parliament. Just prior to the March 1992 parliamentary elections, however, the law was changed to prohibit political parties from being formed along ethnic lines. In order to circumvent this change in the law, a new party was formed from Omonia

with a platform of protecting human rights for all citizens. It was generally accepted that this new Unity Party for Human Rights (PBDNJ) was, for all intents and purposes, the Greek minority party. Despite the fact that the chairman of the party went to great lengths to demonstrate that they were a national party with a broad agenda, their main concerns were clearly to promote and protect the interests of Albanians of ethnic Greek descent.

With two MPs, the PBDNJ was the fifth largest party in the previous parliament. They also had the third highest total of local elected officials, although these officials were located primarily in the country's southern region that borders Greece. The PBDNJ did not have a government provided national office, although they did maintain a very small office in Tirana. They maintained district offices primarily in southern districts and did not have a true nationwide presence.

### **Right Democratic Party**

Chairman	Petrit Kalakulla
Number of Deputies	1 seat (0.7%)
Number of Members	unknown
Estimated National Support	1%

The Right Democratic Party (PDD) was formed by two maverick parliamentary deputies who wanted to move the Democratic Party further to the right. Abdi Ballea and Petrit Kalakulla officially became independent deputies in 1993 and, after almost a year of maneuvering, they were given legal approval to form the Right Democratic Party. The platform of this party was staunchly anti-communist and aggressively nationalist. The Right Democratic Party was also involved in the attempt to form a "Right Front" in Albanian politics, but decided to enter the May 1996 elections alone.

In early 1995 at a national council meeting, Abdi Ballea was removed from his position as General Secretary and subsequently bolted the party in a split over leadership priorities. Entering in the 1996 elections the Right Democratic Party remained a fringe party that had yet to build a national party structure. They had a national office but no district offices. They claimed to have great popular support among the people and said that their meeting throughout Albania have been well-attended. They did have a party newspaper, *E Djathta*, which was published once a week.

### **Social Democratic Union Party**

Chairman	Teodor Laco
General Secretary	Ferdinand Dafa
Number of Deputies	1
Number of Members	unknown
Estimated National Support	1%



The Social Democratic Union Party (PBSD) was formed as a splinter party by members of the Social Democratic Party, including one member of parliament, Teodor Laço. The PBSD was formed following the defeat of the constitutional referendum in November 1994. The PBSD broke with the Social Democrats when Berisha named Teodor Laco as Minister of Culture in the December 1994 Cabinet shake-up without consulting the Social Democratic leadership. As a party in coalition with the government, the PBSD failed to develop an independent identity that translated into support for any of its candidates. The Party held its first national congress in April 1996 and subsequently held campaign events throughout the country. However, it was unlikely that they would surpass the four percent threshold in the elections (i.e. the minimum level of national support required to be seated in Parliament).

### **Demokristiane Party**

Chairman	Zef Bushati
Deputies	0
Members	8,000
Estimated Support	unknown

The Demokristiane Party (PDK) sought to embrace the christian-democratic tradition of parties in Western Europe, although they have yet to be recognized as such outside Albania. Their chairman, Zef Bushati, was one of the founders of the Republican Party, and was actively working to build a national party. They maintained a national office in Tirana, thanks to some private contributions, with a skeletal staff. The party maintained its strength primarily in the northern, more Catholic regions of the county and is not yet able to compete on a nationwide scale. Their platform sought to be on the center-right of the political spectrum, which is a battleground among many other parties including the Democratic Party.

### **Balli Kombetar**

Chairman	Abazi Ermani
Vice Chairman	Hysen Selfo
Deputies	0
Members	12,300
Estimated Support	2%

Balli Kombetar (PBK), or "national front," was originally formed before World War II to fight against the fascists and then the communists. The party was resurrected in the early 1990s. They maintained a national office with a small staff and had sufficient financial resources and popular support to be considered a national party. They had a party newspaper that was published twice a week. They had some elected officials in districts around Albania as well as some district offices, few of which had phones but none of which had cars or office equipment. Support for the

party primarily came from either expatriates or older Albanians who remember the party from its pre-war heyday.

## **Legaliteti**

Chairman	Guri Durollari
Deputies	0
Members	6,200
Estimated Support	1%

The Legaliteti party, which is dedicated to restoring the monarchy of King Zog, is one of the oldest political parties and continued to maintain a small yet loyal group of supporters. They maintained a national office in Tirana with a small staff and made exaggerated claims that they were the "third largest party" in Albania. In terms of both finances and personnel, they had few resources. Their support primarily comes from older Albanians who recall with nostalgia the era of King Zog's rule in the 1920s.

## **Appendix IV. Central Election Committee**

## Central Election Committee

- |     |                  |   |
|-----|------------------|---|
| 1.  | Edmir Kapidani   | Chairman, proposed by the Council of Ministers      |
| 2.  | Nestor Tereska   | Vice Chairman, proposed by the Council of Ministers |
| 3.  | Kreshnik Spahiu  | Secretary, proposed by the Council of Ministers     |
| 4.  | Vladimir Kristo  | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |
| 5.  | Gudar Beqiraj    | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |
| 6.  | Urim Bujari      | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |
| 7.  | Ilir Rusmali     | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |
| 8.  | Gene Bektashi    | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |
| 9.  | Kristo Rodi      | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |
| 10. | Bashkim Caka     | member, proposed by Socialist Party                 |
| 11. | Ismail Lleshi    | member, proposed by Socialist Party                 |
| 12. | Ylli Bufi        | member, proposed by Socialist Party                 |
| 13. | Garufo Noti      | member, proposed by Unity for Human Rights Party    |
| 14. | Llukan Puka      | member, proposed by Social Democratic Party         |
| 15. | Arjan Madhi      | member, proposed by Republican Party                |
| 16. | Xhevdet Libohova | member, proposed by Balli Kombetar                  |
| 17. | Marenglen Gjonaj | member, proposed by Democratic Party                |

## **Appendix V. Election Law**

## Chapter I

### General Provisions

**Article 1.** Elections for deputies to the People's Assembly are held by universal, direct, free, and secret ballot on the territory of the Republic of Albania.

**Article 2.** All Albanian citizens who are 18 years old on the day of the elections have the right to vote.

All those who are 18 years old on the day of the elections, are Albanian citizens, have been permanently resident in the Republic of Albania for no less than six months, and who meet the provisions of the Law on Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity Committed for Political, Ideological, and Religious Motives under Communist Rule in Albania, No. 8,001 of 22 September 1995 and the Law on Screening Officials and Other Persons Involved in Protecting the Democratic State, No. 8043 of 30 November 1995, have the right to be elected as deputies to the People's Assembly.

**Article 3.** Citizens whose electoral rights have been removed by a verdict of a court because they have committed a crime or are considered mentally incapable by the court are deprived of their electoral rights.

**Article 4.** Electoral rights are exercised on the basis of the electoral register.

Voters take part in the voting at the polling station on whose lists their names are registered.

A voter exercises his right to vote in person and only once, by casting his vote for one candidate standing in a single-member constituency, and for only one of the electoral subjects to whom additional mandates are to be allocated nationwide.

**Article 5.** A deputy of the People's Assembly cannot at the same time be an elected or appointed member of the local authorities of the state administration or of the organs of justice.

## Chapter II

### Electoral System

**Article 6.** The People's Assembly consists of 140 deputies, of whom 115 are elected directly in single-member constituencies, and of whom 25 hold additional mandates given to candidates on the lists of electoral subjects nationwide on the basis of votes gained in the first round, according to the rule defined in Article 11.

**Article 7.** A candidate who wins more than one-half of all the valid votes in a given constituency is considered as having been elected as a People's Assembly deputy for a single-member constituency.

**Article 8.** If no candidate wins more than 50 percent of the valid votes in the first round of elections, a second round of elections is held in the constituency one week later.

The two candidates who have won the most votes in the first round appear as candidates for the post of deputy in the second round of elections.

If three or more candidates win equal numbers of votes in the first round, the two candidates to take part in the second round are chosen by lot; if one candidate has won the largest number of votes and after him two or more candidates have won equal numbers of votes in the first round, the second candidate is chosen by lot.

If an electoral subject withdraws its candidate from the second round, the candidate who has gained the largest percentage of votes among the other candidates in the first round takes his place.

The constituency electoral commission declares the candidates for the second round.

**Article 9.** The candidate who has won the largest number of votes in the second round of elections is considered to have been elected as a People's Assembly deputy. If votes are divided equally, the deputy is chosen by lot.

**Article 10.** Subjects fielding joint candidates in constituencies, at the same time as they appoint their candidates, also send to the constituency electoral commission a report according to which the votes cast jointly and collected nationwide are to be distributed. A copy of this document is to the Central Electoral Commission.

**Article 11.** Additional mandates are distributed as follows:

a) Only subjects that gain no less than 4 percent of the votes nationwide and electoral groups of two parties that have no less than 8 percent of the votes benefit from the distribution of the 25 additional mandates. When an electoral group is composed of three or more parties, the threshold increases by 4 percent by each party.

b) The total number of valid votes cast in the first round for additional mandates for electoral subjects is counted. The total number of valid votes cast for each of the subjects fulfilling the conditions under section a) is then counted. The number of valid votes for each of these subjects is divided by the total number of votes cast for additional mandates, and the resulting figure is multiplied by 25, being the number of additional mandates.

c) Each list compiled by electoral subjects receives as many seats as the whole number that results from the calculations under section b). Seats that remain unallocated are given to the electoral subject that gains the largest number of seats in the elections in the constituencies.

ch) [fourth letter in the Albanian alphabet] Those winning on the lists of the multiple candidates are decided according to their order on the list.

d) When the number of candidates on a list is less than the number of seats this list has won, the candidate of this electoral subject who has won the largest number of votes of all this electoral subjects candidates in any constituency and does not appear on the list of the electoral subject concerned is declared the winner. When there are two such candidates, the winner is decided by lot.

## **Chapter III**

### **Electoral Subjects**

**Article 12.** Any Albanian citizen who enjoys the right to be elected according to this law may stand as a candidate for the post of People's Assembly deputy as a representative of any party or group of parties or as an independent candidate.

No candidate can stand in more than one single-member constituency.

Any candidate in a single-member constituency may also at the same time appear as a candidate on the list of the relevant subject. A candidate who wins in a constituency is removed from his subject's nationwide list.

**Article 13.** A candidate for the post of People's Assembly deputy is registered by the electoral commission no later than 20 days before the election day. To register it is necessary to present the following documents:

a) a written request form from the electoral subject himself asking for the registration of the candidate offering himself as a deputy; the request must include the candidate's name, father's name, surname, date of birth, and place of residence. (two copies)

b) a statement by the candidate himself accepting his candidature in that constituency. (two copies)

c) a copy of the verdict of the State Commission on the basis of Article 9 of the Law on the Screening of Officials and Other Persons Involved in the Protection of the Democratic State, No. 8,403 of 30 November 1995.

ch) a list signed by no less than 400 electors of the relevant constituency, who support the nomination of this candidate in that constituency.

**Article 14.** The list of voters' signatures must include the name and emblem of the electoral subject nominating the candidate or a note stating that the candidate is independent. This list must also include the name, father's name, surname, address, identity card number or certificate number accomplished by a photograph, in handwriting of the voter, who must be a resident in the constituency in which the candidate is running.

A voter does not have the right to sign more than one list. The lists are deposited with the Central Electoral Commission and can be inspected for its proper authorization.



When a constituency electoral commission notices irregularities in the application or documentation of a candidate for registration, it informs the electoral subjects, asking for these irregularities to be corrected within two days of their being noticed. Otherwise, the election commission takes appropriate action.

**Article 15.** Only electoral subjects who have fielded candidates in no fewer than 38 constituencies and 12 districts of the country have the right to present lists for additional mandates. Lists for additional mandates may include up to 100 candidates. When groups of electoral subjects fulfill this condition, each of the political parties that is a member of this group presents a separate electoral list. Copies of the decision of the State Commission on the basis of

**Article 9** of the Law on the Screening of Officials and Other Persons Involved in Protecting the Democratic State, No. 8,043 of 30 November 1995, and of the candidates statement accepting his candidature are attached to the list.

The list with the signature and seal of the relevant electoral subject is submitted to the Central Electoral Commission no later than 30 days before the election day.

**Article 16.** Constituency election commissions, when the conditions of this law are met, are obliged to register all the candidates for the post of deputy to the People's Assembly and to announce them no later than 25 days before the election day, also noting the name of the subject that has nominated them. It sends a copy of this certificate to all the candidates of the electoral subjects.

**Article 17.** The constituency electoral commission retains a protocol of the registration procedure of every candidate. It sends a copy of this to the Central Electoral Commission together with the statement by the candidate accepting his candidature in this zone.

**Article 18.** When a candidate for the post of deputy to the People's Assembly is withdrawn by the subject proposing him, withdraws his own candidature, or dies after having been registered by the electoral commission, the subject concerned may register another candidate, but not later than seven days before the election day. If such a thing occurs during the seven days before the elections, the electoral subject submits in his place another candidate from the party list of candidates.

**Article 19.** If directors of local government authorities, members of the organs of justice, directors of the organs of public order and of the National Intelligence Service, and servicemen on active service submit themselves as candidates to be deputies, they are released from their duties 25 days before the day of the elections.

## **Chapter IV**

### **Electoral Rolls**

**Article 20.** Elections of deputies to the People's Assembly take place on the basis of electoral roles.

All citizens who enjoy the right to vote are registered on the electoral rolls. The authority responsible under this law for compiling the electoral rolls, when it registers voters as temporarily resident on its territory, is obliged to inform the relevant authority in the voters permanent place of residence to avoid registration in two places of residence. Each citizen is registered on only one electoral roll.

**Article 21.** Electoral rolls are compiled for every polling station.

The electoral roll records the voters name, father's name, and surname, date of birth, and registration number.

Electoral rolls in towns and villages are drawn up under the responsibility of the chairman of the municipality or the commune and the secretary of the relevant council. The electoral rolls, having been signed by the aforementioned persons, are sent to the relevant prefecture. The prefect confirms them, and, if need be, settles any disagreements in connection with them.

The electoral rolls are published by the authorities compiling them no later than 30 days before the day of the election.

The electoral rolls are kept permanently at civil registry offices.

The Council of Ministers issues the necessary instructions and administers them.

**Article 22.** In the case of voters serving and residing in military bases and units, the chairmen and secretaries of municipal or communal councils compile and publish the electoral rolls no later than 30 days before the day of the elections in cooperation with the commanders of the military bases and units.

All other servicemen are registered on the electoral roles of their places of residence, as compiled by the authorities defined by this law.

**Article 23.** Albanian citizens permanently resident abroad who are within the territory of the Republic of Albania on the day of the elections are registered at their request on the electoral rolls of their former places of residence. The attendance of these persons at the polls is noted in their international passports.

**Article 24.** In hospitals, sanatoriums, in other health institutions and centers of rehabilitation, and in reeducation camps and places of detention, electoral roles are compiled by the directors of the institution, reeducation camp, or place of detention, on the basis of the voters' documents of identification. These directors are obliged to tell the responsible local authorities in these voters' places of residence to change the electoral roles on which these voters were initially registered.

**Article 25.** When a voter is appointed as a member of an electoral commission or an observer in a constituency or at a polling station, and for this reason will move from his place of residence after the publication of the electoral roll, the responsible authority issues

a certificate before the day of the elections and at the request of the electoral subject, in order to enable this person to vote in the place where he is to go, and also marks the electoral roll with the words "Moved Away." This voter is registered on the supplementary list of voters of the polling station of the place where he goes, on the presentation of his certificate of the right to vote together with his identity card or substitute document.

**Article 26.** The authority that has published the electoral rolls may make changes to these rolls at the request of interested persons, but no later than 24 hours before the election day, when a citizen has died, is registered twice, does not enjoy electoral rights, or is resident outside the territory of the Republic of Albania.

**Article 27.** Every voter has the right to apply in writing for the correction of errors and omission in the electoral rolls, such as nonregistration, change of name, father's name, or surname, the registration of persons who have lost their electoral rights, etc. These applications are made to the authority that has published the roll, and this authority is obliged to consider the case within two days and give a decision without supporting evidence.

Appeals against this decision may be made to the district court, which will consider the appeal in open court within three days and make an appropriate decision. The decision of the court is published immediately, is final, and is enforced by the commission of the polling station.

The constituency electoral commission intervenes at the request of citizens in order to request the authorities that have published the electoral laws to correct errors and omissions in these rolls.

Any changes to the electoral rolls is published immediately.

**Article 28.** The list of electors is put at the disposal of the electoral subjects by the authorities that have published the lists, upon request and against payment.

## **Chapter V**

### **Constituencies and Polling Stations**

**Article 29.** For the election of People's Assembly deputies, 115 constituencies with approximately equal numbers of voters will be created. The constituencies must be in one piece, geographical continuous, and may not run across the borders of communes.

The constituencies, their borders, and their order are determined by the president of the republic on the proposal of the Council of Ministers no later than 45 days before the day of the elections.

**Article 30.** Votes are cast and counted at the polling stations, which are created in the territory of every town, urban neighborhood and village.

**Article 31.** A polling station is created for every 100 to 800 electors in villages.

A polling station is created for every 800 electors in towns and urban neighborhoods.

Special polling stations are created in towns and urban neighborhoods with less than 800 electors. If more than 400 electors are left over, a special polling station is created, while is the number is less than 400, these electors are attached to the nearest existing polling station.

A special polling station is created if a place of work is more than three kilometers from the nearest polling station, and there are at least 50 electors.

**Article 32.** Polling stations are decided on no later than 20 days before the day of the elections.

Polling stations are created in towns, urban neighborhoods, and villages on the decision of the authorities that have published the electoral rolls.

**Article 33.** Polling stations are created in hospitals, sanatoriums, maternity homes, rest homes, and similar institutions, and in reeducation camps and places of detention if their are more than 15 electors.

## **Chapter VI**

### **Electoral Commissions**

**Article 34.** The following electoral commissions are created to conduct the elections for the People's Assembly:

- a) the Central Electoral Commission
- b) the constituency electoral commissions
- c) the polling station commissions

Representatives of the electoral subjects and nonparty persons become members of the electoral commissions.

The electoral commissions are independent organizations, answerable for their activities only to the law.

The secretaries of the Central Electoral Commission and the constituency commissions must be lawyer.

These commissions make decisions by a majority of votes.

**Article 35.** The Central Electoral Commission consists of a chairman, a deputy chairman, a secretary, and 14 members.

The composition of the Central Electoral Commission is decided by the president of the republic on the proposal of the Council of Ministers and the political parties who have submitted electoral lists for the distribution of the additional mandates, no later than 45 days before the election day.

Political parties that do not have members in the Central Electoral Commission have the right to send observers.

**Article 36.** The Central Electoral Commission mainly performs these duties:

a) it ensures the meticulous and fair enforcement of this law during the conduct of the elections throughout the territory of the Republic of Albania;

b) it prescribes the management of procedure and controls the activities of the constituency electoral commissions;

c) it considers appeals against illegal and irregular acts and activities on the part of the constituency electoral commissions;

ch) it registers and reports the participation in the elections of parties, groups of parties, and independent candidates, together with their symbols and emblems. No party or group has the right, after registration, to use the symbols of another party or group of parties;

d) it exercises control over the registration in the constituencies of candidates for posts as People's Assembly deputies

dh) [sixth letter of Albanian alphabet] it establishes rules for the participation of Albanian and foreign observers in the elections and supplies them with identifying documents;

e) it inspects when necessary the electoral rolls after the conclusion of the elections and informs the competent authorities when it ascertains that a citizen has voted more than once;

e) [e-dieresis, eighth letter of Albanian alphabet] it reports the results of the elections and registers deputies to the People's Assembly;

f) it issues certificates of election to deputies elected on the basis of nationwide party lists.

**Article 37.** A constituency electoral commission is created in every constituency, consisting of a chairman, a deputy chairman, a secretary, a representative of every electoral subject or electoral group fielding candidates in the constituency, as well as a member without a party allegiance, when the commission has an even number of members. The secretary and the nonparty member are chosen by the prefect, and the chairman and deputy chairman are chosen by the Central Electoral Commission.

The constituency electoral commissions are appointed as above by the Central Electoral Commission no later than 30 days before the election day.

**Article 38.** A constituency electoral commission performs the following duties:

a) it supervises the meticulous and fair enforcement of this law during the conduct of the elections throughout the territory of the constituency;

b) it controls the activities of the polling station commissions during the conduct of the elections;

c) it supervises the arrangement of polling stations according to the law;

ch) if necessary, it asks the authorities that have compiled electoral rolls to correct errors and omissions observed in them;

d) it registers and announces the candidates for deputy that have been nominated according to the rules of this law;

dh) it registers representatives of candidate for posts of deputy nominated by different parties, groups or parties, and independent candidates, and provides them with the relevant certificates;

e) it counts the votes on the basis of the protocols of the polling stations and declares the results of the elections in the constituency

e) [e-dieresis] it considers complaints against legal or irregular acts or activities on the part of the polling station commissions;

f) it issues to an elected deputy a certificate of his election;

g) it delivers to the Central Electoral Commission the election documentation laid down in this law.

**Article 39.** In every polling station, a polling station commission is created consisting of a chairman, a secretary, and a representative of every electoral subject or electoral group that has a candidate in this constituency, and one nonparty member when there is an even number on the commission. The secretary and the nonparty member are appointed by the prefect, and the chairman is appointed by the constituency commission.

The constituency electoral commission approves and announces the composition of the polling station commission no later than 25 days before the election day.

**Article 40.** The polling station commission performs the following duties:

a) it ensures the free and peaceful conduct of the elections in the polling station, in accordance with this law;

b) it ensures that order is kept during the voting;

c) it counts the number of votes cast for every candidate for deputy;

ch) it compiles and delivers to the constituency electoral commission the protocol of the voting;

d) it register in the protocol complaints and requests of electors or candidates, considers them, and makes the appropriate decision;

dh) it sends to the constituency the documentation of the election, as prescribed in this law.

**Article 41.** The instructions of the chairmen of the polling station commission during the time of the elections are binding on all citizens present in the polling station. These instructions can only be revoked by a decision of the polling station commission.

**Article 42.** The members of the electoral commission can be released from their duties on these commissions by the authority that approve the commissions' composition, on the application of the members themselves or on the proposal of the electoral subject they represent.

**Article 43.** Servicemen, personnel or the organs of public order and the National Intelligence Service, and candidates for posts as People's Assembly Deputies cannot be members of the commissions.

**Article 44.** Meetings of the electoral commissions are public. Observers may also attend and have the right to make criticisms. At their request, these criticisms will be noted in the protocol of the commission's meeting.

**Article 45.** Electoral subjects with representatives on the electoral commissions have the right to present a list with the names of persons substituting for them. They may be substituted when they are unable to perform their duties. Their substitution takes places in the following way:

a) in the case of polling station commissions, on the application of the relevant electoral subject and by a decision of the constituency electoral commission;

b) in the case of constituency electoral commission, by a decision of the Central Electoral Commission.

**Article 46.** Persons who are members of the Central Electoral Commission or the constituency electoral commissions obtain paid leave from work from the day of their appointment, while members of the polling station commissions have the right to take paid leave from work five days before and two days after the voting.

The above persons are remunerated from the stated budget, at a level determined by the Central Electoral Commission.

The level of remuneration for members of the Central Electoral Commission is determined by the president of the republic.

**Article 47.** All persons who are members of the electoral commissions are considered person entrusted with state duties, in the sense used in the Penal Code during the exercise of their duties.

**Article 48.** Members of the electoral commissions and observers, while they perform their duties, are forbidden to wear distinguishing marks or symbols or of the parties or groups of parties to which they belong, or to carry out or participate in propaganda work for the elections.

## **Chapter VII**

### **Appeals Against the Decisions of the Electoral Commissions**

**Article 49.** Appeals against the decisions of the constituency electoral commissions can be lodged with the Central Electoral Commission within three days after these decisions are announced.

The Central Electoral Commission considers the appeal and makes an appropriate decision within three days.

**Article 50.** Appeals against the decisions of the Central Electoral Commission may be lodged with the Constitutional Court within three days after these decisions are announced.

The Constitutional Court considers the appeal and gives a final decision within three days, which is announced immediately.

The decisions of the Constitutional Court issued following in response to appeals against the election results are reported to the Commission of Mandates of the new People's Assembly.

## **Chapter VIII**

### **The Election Campaign**

**Article 51.** The election campaign begins with the announcement of the election day and ends 24 hours before that date.

**Article 52.** During the election campaign, every electoral subject and citizen has the right to freely conduct propaganda through rallies, meetings, the radio, television, the press, and other mass media.

Any kind of propaganda in contravention of the law, the judicial order, or that affects the personal dignity of the candidates is forbidden.

The publication of opinion polls in connection with the election is suspended eight days before the election day.

**Article 53.** The election campaign on the state radio-television is conducted in programs specially devoted to it. In the first round of the elections, the space given to the electoral subjects is distributed among them according to the following rules:



1. Parties, which in the previous elections won seats in the People's Assembly, are allocated a total broadcast time of four hours, one-half of which belongs to the parties represented in the government and one-half to the non-governing parties, according to their number of seats in the People's Assembly, but no less than 20 minutes.
2. All other electoral subjects, which have nominated candidates for deputies in no fewer than 15 constituencies, are allocated 10 minutes.
3. One day before the closure of the election campaign, all these subjects are permitted to compile short summaries of their programs addressed to the electorate, up to five minutes.

In the second round, the amount of time placed at the disposal of the electoral subjects, in accordance with the regulations above, is halved.

No less than five days after the creation of the Central Electoral Commission, the management of Albanian Radio-Television must send to the commission the platform and program of the electoral broadcasts to be made available to the electoral subjects.

The Central Electoral Commission organizes on Albanian Radio-Television programs for the education of the population about the elections, without party bias.

**Article 54.** Candidates and electoral subjects have the right to use different propaganda material such as slogans, announcements, pamphlets, etc., on which the name of the electoral subject preparing the material must be noted. This material may not be damaged until after the campaign.

Local government authorities must secure equal opportunities for the propaganda of every electoral subject.

**Article 55.** The conduct of the election campaign is forbidden in military bases and units and in apolitical institutions. The commanders of military bases and units will allow the use of the mass media during free time, and also participation in the election campaign outside the bases and units, but within the territory of the constituency.

**Article 56.** Persons who do not have Albanian citizenship are forbidden to take part in the election campaign.

**Article 57.** Local government authorities and all other state authorities have no right to distribute electoral propaganda material or to assist in the conduct of propaganda.

**Article 58.** The state contributes to the election campaign of the electoral subjects in the following way:

- a) fifty percent of the sum allocated is distributed to the electoral subjects in proportion to the number of candidates for deputy they have registered.
- B) fifty percent of the sum allocated is distributed to the parties in accordance with the number of votes they gained nationwide in previous elections.

If an electoral subject does not win more than 3 percent of the votes in all the constituencies where it has stood, it is obliged to return to the states the sum given to it in finance.

The Finance Ministry is charged with the task of issuing financial regulations for the use and control of the funds granted.

**Article 59.** It is forbidden to insult or slander candidates for deputy and electoral subjects.

**Article 60.** It is forbidden to break up or disrupt legitimate electoral meetings and rallies.

**Article 61.** The jobs of candidates for posts as People's Assembly deputies, when they take leave from work during the election campaign, are kept for them and they are paid in full when they are employed by the state, and in other cases are paid by the Central Electoral Commission.

The jobs of persons mentioned in Article 19 are not kept.

**Article 62.** Candidates for deputy cannot be helped penally responsible, arrested, or detained, except when they commit obvious and serious crimes.

## **Chapter IX**

### **The Voting**

**Article 63.** The voting for People's deputies takes place on premises decided on by the local government authorities the relevant administrative units in districts, regions, towns, urban neighborhoods and villages.

It is forbidden to use the buildings of political parties and apolitical stations as polling stations.

**Article 64.** Voting for People's Assembly deputies takes place on a nationwide nonworking day.

Voting begin at 0700 and ends at 2000, If there are still people waiting at 2000 voting continues until all those present have finished.

The chairman of the polling station commission declares the start of the voting at 0700 on the polling day, in the presence of more than one-half of the members of the commission.

Voting begins with the inspection of the ballot boxes in the presence of the commission and the observers. The boxes are then closed and sealed with the seal of the polling station, which is carefully kept.

The chairman of the polling station commission, in the presence of the commission, stamps all the ballot papers in the top left-hand corner, and notes the number of them in the protocol, which is signed by all the members of the commission present.

After the ballot papers are stamped, the polling station commission chairman and the representatives of different parties sign the ballot papers on the right-hand side, in the presence of members of the commission.

**Article 65.** Electors vote according to the order in which they arrive.

Every elector is obliged to prove his identity by presenting his identity card, his military identity card in the case of servicemen, or his international passport in the case of those coming from abroad, including a photograph in every case.

When an elector does not possess the identity documents mentioned in the preceding paragraph, he must apply to the civil registry office of his place of residence for a special voting certificate.

Servicemen are not allowed to arrive at the polling station in ordered ranks or with weapons. Only servicemen on duty are allowed to arrive in uniform.

After an elector's identity documents are checked against the electoral roll, the elector signs the electoral roll. After the number of his identity document is noted, the elector takes a ballot paper and votes. After the voting, the final page of his identity document is stamped.

When it is noticed that a ballot paper is not in order, it is set aside, recorded, signed as invalid, and replaced with another one by the chairman.

**Article 66.** The voting room may have several booths in order to hasten the voting. It is forbidden for the booths in the voting room to contain ballot papers.

The table of the commissions positioned in such a way as to enable the members of the commission and the representatives of the electoral subjects to move freely around it. The ballot boxes are positioned in a place visible to everyone present.

It is forbidden for any other person or member of the polling station commission to be present in the voting booth, except in cases when the voter cannot complete the necessary voting procedure himself and asked for assistance from a person he has selected. The chosen person has the right to accompany only one elector. In these cases, the elector obtains permission from the chairman of the polling station commission, and this is noted on the electoral roll.

It is not allowed to vote openly or outside the booths in the polling room. In such cases, the vote is considered invalid and is torn up by the commission before it is put into the ballot box, while the elector is given the opportunity to vote again.

When there is an elector in the polling booth, it is forbidden for any other person to be nearer than three meters from the booth.

If it is necessary to impose order in the polling station, the chairman of the polling station commission can seek assistance from the police.

Armed persons are forbidden to enter the polling station.

Electoral subjects have the right to send to each polling station one observer, who is equipped with authorization from the constituency electoral commission.

**Article 67.** Voting is carried out on a standard ballot paper, of model of which is attached to this law. Ballot papers are identical in shape, size, color, and kind of paper. Constituency electoral commissions are given 10 percent more ballot papers than the number of electors registered on their relevant electoral rolls.

The ballot paper is clearly divided into two parts. Votes for candidates as deputies on the left, and votes for electoral subjects on the right. The symbol of the electoral subject and the names of the candidates are on the left, listed according to the alphabetical order of the electoral subjects to which they belong. The words independent candidate are written in the case of independent candidates. The symbols and names of the electoral subjects who have submitted lists for the distribution of additional mandates appear on the right, with their symbols, according to the alphabetical order of the electoral subjects.

**Article 68.** The left hand part of the ballot paper, which records the vote for the candidate for deputy to be elected directly for the constituency is valid when the elector leaves unmarked only the name of the candidate for which he is voting and crosses out with a line the names of all the other candidates. The right-hand side of the ballot paper, which records the vote for the electoral subject submitting a list for the distribution of additional mandates, is valid when the elector leaves unmarked only the name of the electoral subject he favors.

**Article 69.** All ballot papers that are erroneously completed, torn, damaged, or used are preserved for the final inventory and inspection.

**Article 70.** When there are serious violations of the voting procedure, the polling station commission may decide to suspend the voting until these violations are corrected. This decision is reported immediately to the Central Electoral Commission.

**Article 71.** A ballot paper with the names of the constituency's candidates for deputy and the electoral subjects lists of candidates for deputy nationwide are posted outside the polling room or in another obvious place where they can be read.

## **Chapter X**

### **Results of the voting**

**Article 72.** Immediately after the voting ends, the chairman of the polling station commission, in the presence of the commission and the authorized observers:

a) declares the voting over;

b) counts the number of electors who have voted according to the lists, which must be signed by the commission's chairman and secretary, and any representative of an electoral subject who so wishes.

The lists are inserted in an envelope that is stamped with the same seal of the polling station. The envelope is signed by the chairman and the secretary of the commission and representatives of electoral subjects who so wish. The envelope is delivered to the constituency electoral commission, from whom the relevant certificate is obtained.

c) counts the number of unused ballots, which are handled the way described in the second paragraph of section b).

These steps must be carried out in the above order and noted in the final protocol.

**Article 73.** After these steps have been carried out:

a) The ballot box is opened, and one of the members of the commission, decided by lot, takes out a ballot paper and hands it to the chairman, who audibly states whether the vote is valid and for which candidate and electoral subject its votes belong. He gives this ballot paper to all the other members of the commission and all observers present to see. Only when its results have been recorded and the ballot paper has been put in an appointed place can another ballot paper be taken out;

b) the number of used, valid and invalid ballot papers is recorded;

c) it is checked that their number corresponds to the figures in the protocol, and they are recounted if necessary.

These steps are carried out in the above order, and the procedure is recorded in the protocol.

**Article 74.**

1. Ballot papers are invalid when:

a) when they do not match standards of shape, size, color, kind of paper and text, and do not carry the relevant seal and signatures of the constituency.

b) when other names are added to the ballot paper.

c) when the ballot paper is marked with writing or other signs that allow the identity of the elector to be understood.

The polling station commission considers the validity of the vote. Dubious votes are first examined and subsequently assessed. Any objection by the members of the committee is noted in the protocol and these ballot papers are preserved separately.

2. A vote for a candidate for deputy is invalid when more than one candidate on the left-hand side of the ballot paper is left without being crossed out, or all the candidates are crossed out.

A vote for an electoral subject is invalid when more than one electoral subject on the right-hand side of the ballot paper is left without being crossed out, or all the electoral subjects are crossed out.

**Article 75.** When the voting has ended and the votes have been considered and counted, the relevant protocol is drawn up.

The protocol includes:

1. The number of the constituency and the polling station.
2. The times when the voting started and ended.
3. The number of voters on the electoral roll.
4. The number of voters on the additional list.
5. The number of people who have voted according to the annotations on the electoral rolls.
6. The number of invalid ballot papers.
7. The number of valid votes a) for each candidate and b) for each electoral subject.
8. The number of invalid votes for a) each candidate and b) for each electoral subject.
9. The number of ballot papers set aside unused before the voting.
10. The number of unused ballot papers.
11. The number of copies in which the protocol has been drawn up.
12. The various comments made by individual members of the commission and observers.

The data under items 3 to 11 are provided in figures and words.

Each page of the protocol is signed. Any corrections are signed, with the annotation correction.

Every electoral subject has the right to receive a copy of the protocol.

**Article 76.** The polling station commission sends to the constituency electoral commission copies of the protocol with the results of the voting, in at least two copies, one of which is

for the Central Electoral Commission, as well as the ballot papers, the seals, the ballot boxes, and all other material.

All this material is handed over personally by the chairman and secretary of the polling station commissions, together with any representative of the electoral subjects who wishes to be present.

**Article 77.** The constituency electoral commission compiles the results of the voting on the basis of the data in the protocols of the polling stations and announces them in the form of a protocol, which includes:

1. The number of the constituency.
2. The number of polling stations.
3. The polling stations that have submitted protocols.
4. The number of electors according to the electoral rolls.
5. The number of electors on the additional lists.
6. The number of those who voted, according to the annotations on the electoral rolls.
8. [No seven as published] The number of valid votes: a) for each candidate b) for each electoral subject
9. The number of invalid votes: a) for the candidate b) for the electoral subject.
10. The number of ballot papers set aside unused before the voting.
11. The number of unused ballot papers.
12. The number of copies in which the protocol has been drawn up.
13. The first name, father's name, and surname of the winning candidate, and, if a second round of elections must be held, the first name, father's name, and surname of the leading two candidates.
14. Complaints, criticisms, and decisions on these matters.

The data under items four to 12 are given in figures and words.

**Article 78.** The constituency electoral commission must send to the Central Electoral Commission a copy of every protocol it has kept, and of the protocols submitted by the polling station commissions.

The constituency electoral commission sends to the relevant prefecture the envelopes, ballot papers, and all other material that arrives from the polling station.

The above material is delivered by the chairman and secretary of the constituency electoral commission and any representative of the electoral subjects who wishes to be present.

**Article 79.** The Central Electoral Commission declares the results of the elections and publishes them in the Official Gazette [Fletorja Zyrtare] no later than 10 days after the conclusion of the second round.

All the material of the Central Electoral Commission, including the ballot papers and seals collected from the prefectures, is sent to the archive of the People's Assembly no later than 10 days after the conclusion of the elections and the settlement of any possible conflict.

After the Commission of Mandates and immunity of the new legislature of the People's Assembly has verified the mandates, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, having sounded the opinion of this commission, decided for how long the ballot papers must be preserved. This period must not be longer than for four years.

## **Chapter XI**

### **Termination of the Mandates of People's Assembly Deputies**

**Article 80.** The mandate of a People's Assembly deputy lasts four years, except when the People's Assembly is dissolved early on the basis of the Main Constitutional Dispositions. The mandate begins on the day on which the legislature of the People's Assembly meets for its first session, and ends on the day on which the next assembly meets. After the People's Assembly is dissolved, before the meeting of a new People's Assembly, the assembly can be reconvened by a decree of the president, on the proposal of the Council of Ministers.

The mandate of a People's Assembly Deputy also ends before its due time in the following cases:

- a) when a deputy resigns;
- b) when a deputy is declared guilty of a crime by a final verdict of the court;
- c) when a deputy refused to take the oath laid down in the rules of the People's Assembly;
- ch) when a deputy loses the right to be elected for one of the reasons mentioned in this law;
- d) when a deputy dies.

**Article 81.** When the mandate of a deputy comes to an end before its due time, the Commission of Mandates of the People's Assembly replaces the deputy whose mandate has ended before its due time by choosing the next candidate from the electoral list of the relevant electoral subject, who has not gained a seat from the distribution of seats according to the nationwide electoral list. When there is no such candidate, this mandate is given to the candidate nominated by the same electoral subject in one of the



constituencies who gained the largest number of votes without winning in his constituency and without figuring on the electoral list of the relevant subject. When there are two such candidates, the deputy is chosen by lot.

When a deputy undertakes another duty incompatible with his mandate, he is replaced by the procedure described in the first paragraph of this article.

## **Chapter XII**

### **Penal and Administrative Dispositions**

**Article 82.** Anybody who, in his own interests or on behalf of third persons, offers money, employment, or other favors of whatever kind in exchange for a signature for the nomination of a candidate, a vote for or against a candidate, or for nonparticipation in the voting is liable to imprisonment for between six months and three years.

Electors who accept money, jobs, or other favors of whatever kind for such behavior are also liable to get the same punishments.

Those who threaten or coerce electors into such behavior are liable to the same punishments.

**Article 83.** Anybody who, in his own interests or on behalf of third persons, distributes money, consumer goods, or other gifts in any way during the election campaign or on election day, in order to influence the elections, is liable to imprisonment of between one and three years.

**Article 84.** Breaches of other regulations of this law are punished by fines of 10,000 to 50,000 leks, except in cases when these misdemeanors constitute penal acts.

**Article 85.** The amount of the fine is increase from 50,000 to 100,000 leks in cases when the breach of these regulations is against the proper preservation and administration of the ballot papers, the electoral rolls, the ballot boxes, and the protocols of the voting, except in cases when the misdemeanor constitutes a penal act.

**Article 86.** Persons entrusted with tasks on the basis of this law, when they do not apply the regulations under Articles 84 and 85 of this law, are liable to fines of 100,000 to 150,000 leks, except in cases when the misdemeanor constitutes a penal act.

**Article 87.** Decisions for punishments by fines for administrative misdemeanors are made by the constituency electoral commissions or the Central Electoral Commission.

Decisions for punishment by fines, in their final form, have an executive character.

## **Chapter XIII**

### **Transitional and Final Dispositions**

**Article 88.** The Central Electoral Commission issues special instructions for the enforcement of this law.

**Article 89.** In the sense of this law, the following can be considered observers:

--parliamentary representatives of OSCE member-states, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and other human rights organizations;

--representatives of foreign political parties and movements and individuals invited by parties and groups of parties;

--representatives authorized by domestic and foreign institutions with specialist knowledge of elections.

**Article 90.** Election observers, journalists, and media representatives accredited to our country will be equipped with special authorization by the Central Electoral Commission.

Election observers have the right to move freely throughout the territory of the Republic of Albania and to follow and observe all the activities conducted during the election campaign and on election day. They have the right to ask for and collect data and to state their opinions in public, as impartial representatives.

**Article 91.** Albanian citizens permanently resident abroad or who have lived abroad for more than one year, who present in Albania and wish to take part in the elections, must prove their identity with their international passport. They must sign a declaration to state that they do not possess a valid identity card within the territory of the Republic of Albania.

**Article 92.** The Council of Ministers is charged with the securing the material and financial resources for the organizational measures to enforce this law.

**Article 93.** The Law on Elections to the People's Assembly No. 7,556 of 4 February 1992 and all other dispositions conflicting with this law are repealed.

**Article 94.** This law comes into effect immediately.

*Promulgated by the decree of Sali Berisha, president of the Republic of Albania, No. 1,358 of 3 February 1996.*

## **Appendix VI. Campaign Materials**

## Appendix VII. Sample Ballot

## **Appendix VIII. Partial Election Results**

### PD Candidate List

Nr.	Party	Zon e	First Name	Middle Name	Last Name	Votes	%
1	PD	61	Arjana	Hiqmet	Nati	18634	79.72
2	PD	26	Azem	Shpend	Hajdari	15158	84.19
3	PD	59	Tritan	Masar	Shehu	14992	92.46
4	PD	41	Shaban	Rexhep	Memia	14432	73.84
5	PD	58	Halit	Osman	Shamata	14390	90.45
6	PD	89	Mirko	Anastas	Haxhistasa	14382	87.02
7	PD	62	Ali	Etem	Gripshi	14281	86.09
8	PD	76	Gjovalin	Koli	Daka	13831	76.69
9	PD	87	Dylber	Irfan	Vrioni	13431	81.11
10	PD	77	Belul	Celo	Celo	13388	68.48
11	PD	2	Rrok	Kol	Smajlaj	13370	82.12
12	PD	60	Luan	Shyqyri	Skuqi	13311	81.09
13	PD	80	Hasan	Ismail	Halili	13024	72.12
14	PD	32	Ferdinand	Mynyr	Xhaferri	12822	71.82
15	PD	34	Fadil	Emurlla	Gjata	12767	76.76
16	PD	73	Visar	Hekuran	Zhiti	12564	70.01
17	PD	25	Safet	Shemsi	Zhulali	12550	75.93
18	PD	1	Edmir	Luc	Malaj	12212	81.77
19	PD	96	Selim	Feti	Belortaja	12209	61.72
20	PD	83	Sokol	Gezim	Bejleri	12205	69.02
21	PD	21	Alfred	Engell	Serreqi	11950	65.44
22	PD	74	Maksim	Zisa	Cikuli	11695	73.33

23	PD	17	Roza	Gjergj	Pati	11688	74.69
24	PD	27	Luan	Eqerem	Lazimi	11532	66.92
25	PD	35	Genc	Zyber	Juka	11508	72.75
26	PD	5	Pjeter	Filip	Arbnori	11203	79.90
27	PD	71	Tomorr	Kasem	Malasi	11065	90.65
28	PD	69	Bardhyl	Riza	Musai	11030	71.32
29	PD	24	Idriz	Daut	Xhamara	10968	66.85
30	PD	75	Agim	Kasem	Fuga	10717	61.95
31	PD	23	Jarosllav	Tosum	Alla	10621	56.64
32	PD	81	Vasil	Lluka	Ndreko	10571	74.91
33	PD	68	Tomorr	Pellumb	Plangarica	10542	81.24
34	PD	3	Sabri	Vehid	Bushati	10520	65.31
35	PD	79	Fadil	Sali	Cepele	10515	64.04
36	PD	28	Shkelqim	Sulejman	Hoxha	10496	67.53
37	PD	29	Natasha	Muntaz	Shehu	10471	69.46
38	PD	90	Vili	Shefki	Minarolli	10453	78.59
39	PD	22	Feim	Skender	Godo	10450	63.25
40	PD	9	Jozefina	Filip	Topalli	10307	69.38
41	PD	7	Lazer	Pale	Stani	10181	71.51
42	PD	6	Lorenc	Karlet	Luka	10158	68.34
43	PD	103	Petref	Fejzi	Lameborshi	10133	59.34
44	PD	113	Burim	Xhelil	Hysi	10027	73.16
45	PD	33	Petrit	Ashim	Berhami	10017	68.22
46	PD	84	Ylli	Abdurrahman	Shanaj	10000	67.59
47	PD	67	Kozma	Kozma	Tavanxhi	9953	70.03
48	PD	12	Bashkim	Bahri	Kopliku	9900	71.48

49	PD	19	Gjon	Dede	Nikaj	9878	66.77
50	PD	18	Luigj	Gjok	Gjoka	9858	62.59
51	PD	48	Ekrem	Ali	Kastrati	9797	72.89
52	PD	37	Xhevdh	Hamdi	Ferri	9782	67.35
53	PD	13	Besnik	Dervish	Gjongecaj	9774	71.89
54	PD	65	Abdyl	Ismail	Xhaja	9727	67.64
55	PD	82	Iliaz	Ali	Vrioni	9544	77.81
56	PD	38	Zafer	Asllan	Ypi	9442	68.43
57	PD	39	Bedri	Sadik	Collaku	9420	58.53
58	PD	86	Kozeta	Ymer	Menkulasi	9414	64.19
59	PD	78	Edmond	Kozma	Lulja	9387	59.32
60	PD	100	Ridvan	Vait	Bode	9357	58.19
61	PD	98	Pandeli	Dhimiter	Pasko	9356	53.19
62	PD	42	Fadil	Tahir	Kepi	9128	69.50
63	PD	31	Dashamir	Shaqir	Cela	8987	61.38
64	PD	4	Ali	Sulejman	Spahia	8975	66.97
65	PD	10	Ali	Ahmet	Kazazi	8797	57.62
66	PD	110	Genc	Stefanaq	Pollo	8772	87.30
67	PD	63	Engjell	Ethem	Dakli	8751	61.39
68	PD	40	Bamir	Myrteza	Topi	8726	58.18
69	PD	64	Zigris	Ipokrat	Jorgaqi	8593	60.60
70	PD	97	Rexhep	Hajdar	Bregu	8580	78.77
71	PD	11	Ndue	Ded	Cuni	8550	62.85
72	PD	93	Robert	Kico	Ceku	8500	60.38
73	PD	57	Aleksander	Gabriel	Meksi	8463	64.91
74	PD	66	Kasem	Tasim	Dylgjeri	8387	57.93



75	PD	107	Esat	Njazi	Hasani	8382	58.62
76	PD	16	Jemin	Ramadan	Gjana	8347	59.24
77	PD	45	Alush	Mustafa	Shima	8340	73.95
78	PD	104	Shpetim	Maliq	Mezini	8313	65.71
79	PD	15	Urim	Vehap	Muja	8274	53.88
80	PD	85	Agron	Neki	Musaraj	8271	65.34
81	PD	8	Mednuh	Fadil	Mushani	8219	57.92
82	PD	95	Koco	Vangjush	Bode	8180	54.65
83	PD	105	Dashamir	Hamit	Shehi	8063	53.96
84	PD	54	Rexhep	Mustafa	Karapici	8051	65.45
85	PD	50	Margarita	Telemak	Qirko	7869	56.28
86	PD	56	Maksim	Manol	Konomi	7797	59.35
87	PD	55	Marieta	Bektash	Pronjari	7771	59.91
88	PD	30	Njazi	Azem	Kosovrasti	7716	59.01
89	PD	36	Mela	Koci	Moisiu	7652	55.90
90	PD	51	Albert	Beqir	Brojka	7491	57.88
91	PD	14	Maxhun	Ibish	Peka	7474	53.47
92	PD	111	Fatos	Asllan	Beja	7340	84.94
93	PD	101	Blerim	Neim	Cela	7333	78.83
94	PD	94	Kleri	Petraq	Kasimati	7297	66.29
95	PD	106	Gezim	Kamber	Zilja	7277	54.20
96	PD	109	Uran	Safet	Butka	7275	52.03
97	PD	47	Hysen	Gani	Heta	7194	59.14
98	PD	49	Ylli	Mexhit	Veisiu	7151	63.55
99	PD	53	Suzana	Shani	Panariti	7102	59.99
100	PD	44	Ndricim	Xhavit	Xhepa	7074	59.80

101	PD	46	Emin	Selman	Riza	6949	64.39
102	PD	92	Bujar	Hysni	Isak	6546	67.30
103	PD	43	Ymer	Kasem	Balla	6464	61.08
104	PD	115	Leonard	Petrit	Demi	6250	73.66
105	PD	52	Pellumb	Tashim	Karagjozi	5939	56.74
106	PD	108	Arqile	Andon	Kume	8406	49.46
107	PD	99	Irjat	Nevruz	Hyka	7147	48.32
108	PD	20	Tonin	Leke	Beci	6698	41.13
109	PD	88	Kristaq	Kozma	Piti	5397	38.42
110	PD	91	Kudret	Rakip	Cela	4866	30.94
111	PD	72	Rushan	Nazmi	Kocibella	4660	34.57
112	PD	102	Sotir	Argjir	Ceka	4517	28.99
113	PD	70	Myslym	Hasan	Osmani	3398	25.44
114	PD	112	Sadik	Faik	Bejko	1778	11.52
115	PD	114	Vasil	Kristo	Kali	1632	10.35

### PS Candidate List

Nr.	Party	Zone	First Name	Middle Name	Last Name	Votes	%
1	PS	91	Illir	Rexhep	Metaj	8105	51.54
2	PS	102	Hamit	Shahin	Gjoni	7926	50.87
3	PS	88	Erion	Murdash	Brace	7187	51.17
4	PS	70	Luan	Skender	Shahollari	6849	51.28
5	PS	72	Sali	Sadik	Rexhepi	6847	50.80
6	PS	14	Gafurr	Halim	Mazreku	4841	34.63
7	PS	111	Fatri	Xhevit	Sinanj	4783	35.17
8	PS	16	Illir	Gani	Zela	4749	33.70
9	PS	40	Zyhdi	Mehmet	Teqja	4738	31.59
10	PS	97	Pandeli	Sotir	Majko	4639	33.08
11	PS	110	Sherif	Servet	Bundo	4637	30.87
12	PS	39	Skender	Mehmet	Gjata	4603	28.60
13	PS	15	Uke	Musli	Today	4539	29.56
14	PS	106	Arben	Qamil	Malaj	4532	33.76
15	PS	112	Vangjel	Llambi	Tavo	4516	29.26
16	PS	108	Njazi	Xhafer	Tahiraj	4500	26.48
17	PS	50	Agim	Besim	Fagu	4368	31.24
18	PS	20	Ndre	Zef	Legisaj	4366	26.81
19	PS	100	Rexhet	Saliko	Cuko	4347	27.03
20	PS	98	Vasfi	Ali	Topciu	4335	24.64
21	PS	76	Arta	Agim	Dade	4321	21.21
22	PS	99	Tajar	Abaz	Koleci	4237	28.65
23	PS	109	Sokol	Hajrulla	Hajro	4233	30.27
24	PS	71	Maksut	Mahmut	Balla	4219	28.01

25	PS	95	Nikollaq	Koco	Pandeli	4189	27.99
26	PS	96	Maço	Lefter	Lakrori	4172	21.09
27	PS	51	Thoma	Jani	Gellci	4065	31.41
28	PS	32	Bardhyl	Hasan	Agasi	3833	21.47
29	PS	27	Kadri	Hasan	Rrapi	3747	21.74
30	PS	66	Kozma	Hipokrat	Biba	3726	25.74
31	PS	114	Theodhor	Apostol	Bej	3618	22.94
32	PS	105	Eduard	Bajram	Alushi	3531	23.63
33	PS	12	Hasan	Adem	Hyka	3525	25.45
34	PS	56	Eduard	Andon	Andoni	3450	26.26
35	PS	3	Shaqir	Bejto	Vukaj	3406	21.15
36	PS	55	Etham	Nevruz	Ruka	3397	26.19
37	PS	44	Anastas	Mihal	Angjeli	3358	28.39
38	PS	28	Hasan	Shaqir	Bara	3347	21.53
39	PS	86	Flamur	Enver	Milova	3321	22.65
40	PS	68	Agron	Dilaver	Tato	3254	19.03
41	PS	47	Luan	Reshat	Hajdaraga	3238	26.62
42	PS	8	Sadetin	Brahim	Stankoja	3146	22.17
43	PS	57	Enver	Beqir	Reci	3129	24.00
44	PS	29	Osman	Miftar	Begu	3108	20.62
45	PS	21	Ali	Ismail	Dervishi	3094	16.94
46	PS	79	Antoneta	Gjysho	Cunaj	3065	18.67
47	PS	30	Pellumb	Myftar	Shullazi	3050	23.33
48	PS	13	Lush	Martin	Perpali	2939	21.62
49	PS	19	Ndrece	Mark	Pema	2913	19.69
50	PS	103	Niko	Qemal	Veizaj	2889	16.92
51	PS	4	Leke	Gjeto	Cukaj	2866	21.38
52	PS	6	Engjell	Vase	Shuku	2853	19.19

53	PS	78	Petro	Vasil	Koci	2853	18.03
54	PS	25	Sulejman	Sefer	Alia	2814	17.03
55	PS	31	Ibrahim	Sali	Baci	2814	19.22
56	PS	37	Gjergj	Efimi	Koja	2775	19.11
57	PS	43	Besnik	Mitat	Baraj	2755	26.03
58	PS	52	Ermelinda	Ahmet	Meksi	2737	26.15
59	PS	35	Miri	Ahmet	Hoti	2651	16.76
60	PS	41	Fran	Gjon	Gjini	2623	13.42
61	PS	93	Niko	Stefanaq	Faber	2610	18.54
62	PS	36	Iliriana	Ramazan	Kercuku	2609	19.06
63	PS	38	Zhini	Mahmut	Beqiraj	2560	18.55
64	PS	9	Artan	Athanas	Banushi	2558	17.22
65	PS	53	Lesko	Ali	Gjata	2557	21.60
66	PS	63	Bukurosh	Ndricim	Stafa	2513	17.63
67	PS	85	Flamur	Hysen	Dingo	2468	19.50
68	PS	64	Durim	Behexhet	Hushi	2454	17.31
69	PS	26	Luan	Mersin	Rama	2413	13.40
70	PS	65	Skender	Sulejman	Katana	2401	16.70
71	PS	23	Halil	Ahmet	Lalaj	2360	12.59
72	PS	84	Tajar	Hysni	Bregasi	2353	15.90
73	PS	54	Musa	Rexhep	Ufqini	2350	19.10
74	PS	61	Artan	Xhevit	Arapi	2323	9.94
75	PS	87	Nikollaq	Petro	Mata	2318	14.00
76	PS	22	Shpetim	Xhetan	Cami	2257	13.66
77	PS	10	Hajredin	Sejdi	Llukaj	2196	14.38
78	PS	83	Bardhyl	Neki	Faskaj	2159	12.21
79	PS	77	Gjergji	Lili	Kerri	2116	10.82

80	PS	34	Alqi	Ahmet	Kadekaj	1978	11.89
81	PS	17	Alfred	Gjon	Paloka	1551	9.91
82	PS	74	Tahir	Idris	Zelo	1492	9.36
83	PS	73	Faslli	Halit	Haliti	1486	8.28
84	PS	60	Ismail	Xhavit	Togu	1473	8.97
85	PS	45	Vjollca	Dhimiter	Ibro	1427	12.65
86	PS	33	Agim	Hasan	Berhami	1385	9.43
87	PS	5	Prend	Ndue	Caka	1351	9.63
88	PS	18	Preng	Geg	Pepa	1291	8.20
89	PS	1	Ndue	Nikoll	Keqaj	945	6.33
90	PS	58	Ejup	Isuf	Tabaku	680	4.27
91	PS	90	Namik	Hamza	Dokle	492	3.70
92	PS	82	Maksim	Spiro	Shuli	390	3.18
93	PS	101	Elmaz	Arben	Sherifi	272	2.92
94	PS	115	Hamdi	Haki	Jupe	271	3.19
95	PS	11	Nikoll	Marash	Deda	239	1.76
96	PS	89	Fadil	Ramo	Nasufi	232	1.40
97	PS	94	Setki	Rexhep	Mulla	183	1.66
98	PS	67	Dritan	Bexhet	Cerma	175	1.23
99	PS	59	Agron	Hysen	Shehi	170	1.05
100	PS	69	Ndricim	Qamil	Hysa	158	1.02
101	PS	92	Ilo	Lefter	Kostandini	146	1.50
102	PS	81	Rajmonda	Naun	Hoxha	120	.85
103	PS	113	Limos	Hulesi	Dizdari	109	.80
104	PS	75	Dalip	Shyqeri	Pero	107	.62
105	PS	104	Fatmir	Myrto	Zanaj	92	.73
106	PS	24	Hamdi	Hasan	Beshku	27	.16

107	PS	62	Shpetim	Ferhat	Kateshi	0	.00
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### PBDNJ Candidate List

Nr.	Party	Zone	First Name	Middle Name	Last Name	Votes	%
1	PBDNJ	114	Thoma	Jorgo	Mico	9803	62.16
2	PBDNJ	112	Vangjel	Jorgji	Dule	8021	51.97
3	PBDNJ	113	Vasil	Thoma	Melo	2174	15.86
4	PBDNJ	92	Anesti	Kristofor	Cerkezi	2142	22.02
5	PBDNJ	103	Kristaq	Thoma	Goci	1819	10.65
6	PBDNJ	115	Vasil	Dhimiter	Cako	1669	19.67
7	PBDNJ	109	Leonard	Foto	Solis	1563	11.18
8	PBDNJ	81	Thoma	Jani	Melo	1302	9.23
9	PBDNJ	93	Gjergji	Panajot	Leka	1284	9.12
10	PBDNJ	110	Kosta	Kristo	Makarjadhi	1111	7.40
11	PBDNJ	95	Aleks	Foto	Zhidro	1055	7.05
12	PBDNJ	94	Ligor	Jorgji	Karamelo	1013	9.20
13	PBDNJ	111	Thanas	Niko	Dhroso	1005	7.39
14	PBDNJ	108	Jorgji	Dhimo	Zaho	744	4.38
15	PBDNJ	96	Sokol	Zenel	Grabocka	719	3.63
16	PBDNJ	1	Tome	Gjeke	Curraj	609	4.08
17	PBDNJ	82	Edmond	Harrilla	Shkurti	604	4.92
18	PBDNJ	104	Petro	Llazo	Koca	594	4.70
19	PBDNJ	97	Thanas	Jorgji	Tona	578	4.12
20	PBDNJ	90	Albert	Sofokli	Mihali	563	4.23
21	PBDNJ	78	Oshise	Vangjel	Dhuci	534	3.37
22	PBDNJ	67	Foti	Jorgji	Mufali	519	3.65
23	PBDNJ	100	Gjergji	Petro	Karakosta	508	3.16
24	PBDNJ	80	Iilir	Sotir	Bello	460	2.55



24	PBDNJ	69	Agron	Petref	Cerriku	416	2.69
26	PBDNJ	77	Arqile	Pilo	Piperi	384	1.96
27	PBDNJ	42	Servet	Qemal	Hysaj	383	2.92
28	PBDNJ	9	Shefqet	Seit	Guri	380	2.56
29	PBDNJ	63	Spiro	Lefter	Faro	365	2.56
30	PBDNJ	16	Bajram	Xhelil	Cena	360	2.55
31	PBDNJ	101	Thoma	Nikolla	Pasko	349	3.75
32	PBDNJ	74	Jorgo	Panajot	Pandoza	340	2.13
33	PBDNJ	105	Jorgo	Vasil	Talo	324	2.17
34	PBDNJ	10	Millan	Vaso	Brajoviq	322	2.11
35	PBDNJ	68	Vangjel	Miho	Hanxhara	322	1.88
36	PBDNJ	75	Ibrahim	Hysni	Ymeri	316	1.83
37	PBDNJ	15	Ajdin	Zenun	Pashaj	302	1.97
38	PBDNJ	70	Vasilika	Dhimiter	Bardhi	296	2.22
39	PBDNJ	89	Naun	Mihal	Shkrepi	291	1.76
40	PBDNJ	20	Fran	Nikoll	Brozi	265	1.63
41	PBDNJ	54	Market	Mark	Gjergji	258	2.10
42	PBDNJ	43	Xhevdet	Ali	Shaqja	257	2.43
43	PBDNJ	98	Thanas	Pano	Tori	248	1.41
44	PBDNJ	72	Frosina	Aleko	Paco	239	1.77
45	PBDNJ	85	Piro	Jorgo	Leka	236	1.86
46	PBDNJ	102	Artur	Anastas	Cami	231	1.48
47	PBDNJ	31	Sherif	Isuf	Rinxhi	230	1.57
48	PBDNJ	46	Maksim	Apostol	Lico	230	2.13
49	PBDNJ	11	Marie	Hil	Gjinaj	228	1.68
50	PBDNJ	36	Aleksander	Tasi	Kolaci	228	1.67
51	PBDNJ	91	Esat	Ali	Pashaj	228	1.45

52	PBDNJ	86	Thimi	Ilia	Koci	227	1.55
53	PBDNJ	53	Jorgji	Vangjel	Vllaho	222	1.88
54	PBDNJ	49	Esat	Irfan	Basriu	217	1.93
55	PBDNJ	106	Llambi	Theodhori	Karanxha	214	1.59
56	PBDNJ	51	Kosta	Kristo	Qiriazati	213	1.65
57	PBDNJ	2	Gojko	Danil	Brajoviq	206	1.27
58	PBDNJ	8	Mahmut	Ibrahim	Culiqi	202	1.42
59	PBDNJ	83	Jorgji	Llambi	Bare	197	1.11
60	PBDNJ	47	Fuat	Nesim	Mehmeti	185	1.52
61	PBDNJ	73	Rami	Mitat	Zeqiri	184	1.03
62	PBDNJ	35	Sotiraq	Vasil	Prifti	180	1.14
63	PBDNJ	4	Domi	Gjergj	Zabeli	177	1.32
64	PBDNJ	21	Arben	Vasil	Feshti	174	0.95
65	PBDNJ	66	Vasil	Konstandin	Gega	163	1.13
66	PBDNJ	107	Petraq	Tasi	Mustaqe	158	1.11
67	PBDNJ	55	Andrea	Mihal	Ceko	156	1.20
68	PBDNJ	56	Arta	Janaq	Jica	156	1.19
69	PBDNJ	7	Luiza	Thanas	Vojushi	151	1.06
70	PBDNJ	88	Jorgo	Eligor	Thimjo	148	1.05
71	PBDNJ	52	Behar	Mithat	Sadiku	147	1.40
72	PBDNJ	71	Lulzim	Hodo	Sulollari	143	0.95
73	PBDNJ	48	Minella	Kristaq	Bombaj	141	1.05
74	PBDNJ	38	Jorgji	Mihal	Toli	140	1.01
75	PBDNJ	37	Leonora	Stefan	Qerama	136	0.94
76	PBDNJ	50	Gaqo	Vangjel	Bushaka	134	0.96
77	PBDNJ	76	Spiro	Nikolla	Kondi	118	0.58
78	PBDNJ	87	Simon	Jorgji	Kerri	109	0.66
79	PBDNJ	58	Jorgji	Naun	Koroveshi	108	0.68

80	PBDNJ	79	Vllasi	Kilo	Gjeci	108	0.66
81	PBDNJ	14	Avdyl	Rexhep	Peka	105	0.75
82	PBDNJ	44	Kosta	Andon	Qerama	100	0.85
83	PBDNJ	57	Fatmir	Vaso	Papadhima	94	0.72
84	PBDNJ	19	Mark	Ndrec	Ndreu	77	0.52
85	PBDNJ	41	Thanas	Spiro	Dede	70	0.36
86	PBDNJ	40	Gjergj	Nonda	Papuli	69	0.46
87	PBDNJ	22	Kico	Sokrat	Qendro	68	0.41
88	PBDNJ	3	Gjok	Palok	Vukcaj	60	0.37
89	PBDNJ	5	Aleksander	Thoma	Liti	57	0.41
90	PBDNJ	59	Miltiadh	Jani	Kuremeno	56	0.35
91	PBDNJ	28	Agim	Abaz	Kaca	53	0.34
92	PBDNJ	39	Shpetim	Elmaz	Metushi	48	0.30
93	PBDNJ	45	Genti	Koco	Pacma	42	0.37
94	PBDNJ	61	Llazar	Jovan	Mihani	35	0.15
95	PBDNJ	25	Edis	Jorgo	Kola	27	0.16
96	PBDNJ	26	Leonard	Sotiraq	Kazanxhiu	0	0.00

**PR Candidate List**

<b>Nr.</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Zone</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Middle Name</b>	<b>Last Name</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>%</b>
1	PR	20	Gjon	Mark	Markagjoni	10606	78.21
2	PR	99	Isa	Vait	Sinani	7124	64.79
3	PR	68	Bashkim	Shuaip	Hyseni	3326	19.45
4	PR	11	Fran	Ndue	Qafa	2449	18.00
5	PR	75	Dalip	Rexhep	Greca	2022	11.69
6	PR	71	Qerim	Kamber	Dashi	1354	8.99
7	PR	67	Konstandin	Miho	Ciko	1321	9.30
8	PR	102	Shkelqim	Nuredin	Jaupi	1311	8.41
9	PR	77	Fatmir	Ali	Mediu	1176	6.02
10	PR	39	Shkelim	Xhemal	Barushi	1122	6.97
11	PR	89	Kujtim	Hajdar	Braka	1045	6.32
12	PR	78	Lirim	Xhemal	Cuci	1000	6.32
13	PR	62	Cerciz	Kaso	Mingomataj	950	5.73
14	PR	73	Lulzim	Tafil	Skraqi	931	5.19
15	PR	74	Xhevit	Riza	Cela	930	5.83
16	PR	96	Vangjush	Stefan	Dishnica	918	4.64
17	PR	27	Premtim	Agim	Agolli	907	5.26
18	PR	33	Zamir	Eqerem	Faja	904	6.16
19	PR	42	Neritan	Xhevat	Alibali	897	6.83
20	PR	2	Muhamet	Sokol	Muca	886	5.44
21	PR	31	Ylli	Xhemal	Kaloshi	874	5.97
22	PR	83	Luan	Xhafer	Troka	845	4.78
23	PR	52	Sami	Riza	Brici	829	7.92
24	PR	48	Lutfi	Isufa	Dervishi	819	6.09

25	PR	23	Agron	Elez	Elezi	815	4.35
26	PR	19	Llesh	Rrok	Zefi	808	5.46
27	PR	28	Lutfi	Ismail	Bruci	777	5.00
28	PR	86	Faredin	Hysen	Haxhlaliu	768	5.24
29	PR	8	Vehbi	Idriz	Hoti	753	5.31
30	PR	85	Muharem	Haxhi	Kasemi	728	5.75
31	PR	36	Dilaver	Fehmi	Tepelena	714	5.22
32	PR	91	Albert	Xhemal	Metani	690	4.39
33	PR	66	Abdulla	Mustafa	Madhi	671	4.63
34	PR	79	Llambi	Luci	Gallani	660	4.02
35	PR	34	Hysen	Ismail	Haxhiaj	646	3.88
36	PR	95	Gazmor	Servet	Elezi	629	4.20
37	PR	84	Pellumb	Faslli	Nazeraj	621	4.20
38	PR	80	Mehdi	Shefit	Zeqaj	601	3.33
39	PR	107	Besnik	Razi	Nelaj	600	4.20
40	PR	38	Sabri	Feim	Godo	599	4.34
41	PR	40	Fatos	Qamil	Abdiu	595	3.97
42	PR	1	Martin	Prel	Grishaj	582	3.90
43	PR	35	Petro	Stefan	Xhaferri	578	3.65
44	PR	10	Fatbardh	Shaban	Sheqi	562	3.68
45	PR	60	Belul	Shaziman	Gixhari	556	3.39
46	PR	101	Agim	Hidajet	Shehu	554	5.96
47	PR	49	Agim	Rustem	Maluka	552	4.91
48	PR	92	Vladimir	Adil	Shehaj	544	5.59
49	PR	47	Edmond	Vangjel	Berberi	527	4.33
50	PR	108	Kajtaz	Isuf	Alikaj	526	3.10
51	PR	18	Pashko	Pjeter	Syku	522	3.31

52	PR	64	Sylejman	Shyqyri	Latifi	516	3.64
53	PR	69	Nazmi	Dane	Hoxha	514	3.32
54	PR	93	Petrika	Pandi	Saro	512	3.64
55	PR	94	Panajot	Gaqo	Gambeta	491	4.46
56	PR	55	Agron	Irfan	Jaupllari	487	3.75
57	PR	32	Aleksander	Minella	Garuli	481	2.69
58	PR	82	Ilia	Naun	Fili	477	3.89
59	PR	3	Pal	Mark	Ujka	473	2.94
60	PR	100	Engels	Bexhet	Barbuta	465	2.89
61	PR	105	Nestor	Tasin	Jonuzi	465	3.11
62	PR	97	Valter	Hasan	Agolli	463	3.30
63	PR	46	Maksim	Selman	Begeja	459	4.25
64	PR	63	Ardian	Shefqet	Kalia	458	3.21
65	PR	98	Kreshnik	Muharrem	Zgjani	455	2.59
66	PR	7	Gjeto	Dode	Vocaj	447	3.14
67	PR	88	Fatmir	Teme	Myrto	445	3.17
68	PR	81	Shefqet	Ramadan	Ternova	432	3.06
69	PR	110	Perparim	Niazi	Skenderi	407	2.71
70	PR	103	Miti	Thimo	Bombaj	404	2.37
71	PR	70	Agim	Pasho	Doko	401	3.00
72	PR	50	Maksim	Nesti	Haviari	397	2.84
73	PR	106	Qirjako	Irakli	Sava	397	2.96
74	PR	37	Arben	Naim	Babameto	391	2.69
75	PR	56	Ruben	Ramiz	Herri	376	2.86
76	PR	113	Eduart	Dragush	Mehmeti	372	2.71
77	PR	90	Leksi	Filip	Shkembi	369	2.77
78	PR	65	Arben	Fatos	Burburia	368	2.56
79	PR	44	Adnan	Ahmet	Bodinaku	364	3.08

80	PR	76	Saimir	Rauf	Kurteshi	364	1.79
81	PR	22	Ardian	Avdi	Doci	356	2.15
82	PR	41	Halim	Abaz	Taga	352	1.80
83	PR	53	Timo	Tetem	Luto	336	2.84
84	PR	61	Bashkim	Adem	Kushi	329	1.41
85	PR	29	Ismail	Sabri	Erebara	321	2.13
86	PR	45	Myzafer	Sami	Memushi	320	2.84
87	PR	43	Kujtim	Malo	Hashorva	310	2.93
88	PR	30	Myftar	Qazim	Citozi	295	2.26
89	PR	57	Shpetim	Bardhyl	Luzati	281	2.16
90	PR	72	Sali	Xheladin	Daja	264	1.96
91	PR	9	Xhevat	Elez	Gila	263	1.77
92	PR	6	Mark	Simon	Lukaj	261	1.76
93	PR	111	Edmond	Mustafa	Fico	252	1.85
94	PR	17	Llesh	Gjeto	Mataj	247	1.58
95	PR	21	Gezim	Demo	Sinani	247	1.35
96	PR	51	Odhise	Kristo	Grillo	242	1.87
97	PR	104	Genc	Rudi	Tepelena	237	1.87
98	PR	12	Hamdi	Zenel	Jekelezi	230	1.66
99	PR	5	Jak	Zef	Gjeci	229	1.63
100	PR	58	Arjan	Halit	Deda	205	1.29
101	PR	54	Mehmet	Ibrahim	Celiku	200	1.63
102	PR	87	Haxhi	Halit	Hoxha	198	1.20
103	PR	59	Hysen	Hamid	Dobjani	170	1.05
104	PR	13	Cen	Hasan	Haklaj	169	1.24
105	PR	16	Hamit	Minah	Noka	164	1.16
106	PR	15	Jemin	Kamber	Gjanaj	162	1.05

107	PR	14	Arben	Teki	Brace	139	0.99
108	PR	25	Seit	Nezir	Paci	131	0.79
109	PR	115	Jani	Kristo	Qirjaqi	78	0.92
110	PR	26	Medat	Halit	Zogu	65	0.36



### PBK Candidate List

Nr.	Party	Zone	First Name	Middle Name	Last Name	Vote	%
1	PBK	108	Duk	Azem	Muco	10964	86.98
2	PBK	76	Pellumb	Rrapush	Xhaferri	5308	26.06
3	PBK	75	Sheme	Kamber	Kaja	3625	20.95
4	PBK	104	Sqarim	Bexhet	Shehu	3381	26.73
5	PBK	105	Mexhit	Galip	Haxhiu	1635	10.94
6	PBK	103	Rajmondo	Ilmi	Xhaferri	1473	8.63
7	PBK	77	Albert	Xhevat	Hamitaj	1457	7.45
8	PBK	84	Bedri	Kujtim	Asimetaj	1378	9.31
9	PBK	73	Margarita	Petro	Lena	1370	7.63
10	PBK	80	Vladimir	Muke	Baruti	1274	7.05
11	PBK	83	Shkelqim	Avni	Muskaj	1213	6.86
12	PBK	107	Ejnar	Isuf	Hysenbegasi	1209	8.46
13	PBK	69	Ilir	Zyri	Hysa	1201	7.77
14	PBK	79	Baki	Mehmet	Cala	1138	6.93
15	PBK	91	Xhelal	Myslim	Qato	978	6.22
16	PBK	113	Fatmir	Avdul	Haxhi	898	6.55
17	PBK	78	Majlinda	Ylvi	Toro	887	5.61
18	PBK	68	Hysen	Petrit	Moli	878	5.13
19	PBK	10	Qamil	Sul	Gjyrezi	857	5.61
20	PBK	94	Alfred	Bajram	Cako	853	7.75
21	PBK	97	Luan	Rasim	Mollaj	720	5.13
22	PBK	90	Romeo	Myslim	Arizi	710	5.34
23	PBK	96	Jetnor	Emin	Cenolli	701	3.54

24	PBK	101	Kujtim	Mufit	Zeneli	700	7.53
25	PBK	74	Raif	Njazi	Lumi	692	4.34
26	PBK	59	Fatbardh	Fetah	Hushi	655	4.04
27	PBK	112	Anila	Velo	Mema	651	4.22
28	PBK	7	Alfred	Kole	Fishta	613	4.31
29	PBK	42	Astrit	Haxhi	Gjoka	613	4.67
30	PBK	33	Klement	Koco	Zguri	590	4.02
31	PBK	67	Arta	Habib	Bajrami	588	4.14
32	PBK	61	Rexhep	Ibrahim	Demiri	581	2.49
33	PBK	63	Rudolf	Taq	Deliana	559	3.92
34	PBK	81	Vllasi	Naun	Milaj	546	3.87
35	PBK	98	Aleksander	Gjorgji	Petre	538	3.06
36	PBK	70	Artur	Muhamet	Zaimi	526	3.94
37	PBK	5	Gjergj	Ndrec	Dodani	524	3.74
38	PBK	102	Selami	Hysni	Gjoni	523	3.36
39	PBK	64	Dilaver	Islam	Kruja	498	3.51
40	PBK	93	Arben	Aris	Hoxha	469	3.33
41	PBK	15	Basri	Shani	Elezi	459	2.99
42	PBK	71	Mitat	Bukurosh	Blloshmi	441	2.93
43	PBK	82	Zaim	Hysen	Muskaj	433	3.53
44	PBK	34	Petrit	Sulejman	Sulejmani	428	2.57
45	PBK	99	Syrja	Eqerem	Shkullaku	424	2.87
46	PBK	1	Lulzim	Sulejman	Lekaj	409	2.74
47	PBK	111	Arshi	Firuzan	Peca	402	2.96
48	PBK	95	Vasillaq	Dhimeter	Kolevica	393	2.63
49	PBK	8	Ylber	Zija	Kraja	384	2.71

50	PBK	56	Adnan	Osman	Kusuri	382	2.91
51	PBK	88	Ferdinand	Faslli	Mimani	380	2.71
52	PBK	65	Taulant	Hysen	Ceka	376	2.61
53	PBK	100	Hasan	Hamdi	Bylyku	375	2.33
54	PBK	86	Sokol	Krenar	Malasi	363	2.48
55	PBK	110	Bujar	Isa	Fezga	345	2.30
56	PBK	87	Besnik	Qemal	Dervishi	339	2.05
57	PBK	89	Muhamet	Rapo	Myftiu	336	2.03
58	PBK	60	Hekuran	Selman	Xhani	321	1.96
59	PBK	48	Zef	Palok	Kurti	314	2.34
60	PBK	58	Durim	Ali	Faslliu	300	1.89
61	PBK	53	Ardian	Ismail	Dervishllari	297	2.51
62	PBK	6	Mentor	Qamil	Quku	282	1.90
63	PBK	21	Hito	Bajram	Birce	281	1.54
64	PBK	35	Enver	Hysen	Agalliu	266	1.68
65	PBK	2	Edi	Uc	Smajlaj	256	1.57
66	PBK	19	Gjon	Pjeter	Gjomarkaj	236	1.60
67	PBK	47	Perparim	Demir	Alimadhi	232	1.91
68	PBK	36	Nikolla	Kristo	Kirka	223	1.63
69	PBK	37	Ahmet	Sadik	Dakoli	199	1.37
70	PBK	44	Besnik	Ali	Troplini	199	1.68
71	PBK	109	Hekuran	Emrulla	Iljazi	190	1.36
72	PBK	17	Lavdosh	Azem	Shehaj	189	1.21
73	PBK	55	Bashkim	Deno	Canaj	189	1.46
73	PBK	66	Ardian	Dilaver	Cani	187	1.29
75	PBK	72	Misir	Qani	Kopaci	182	1.35

75	PBK	18	Zef	Ded	Coku	179	1.14
77	PBK	43	Aleko	Vangjel	Gjergo	174	1.64
78	PBK	54	Skender	Ragip	Kalenja	173	1.41
79	PBK	11	Qazim	Man	Laci	164	1.21
80	PBK	45	Miranda	Tajar	Zaimaj	164	1.45
81	PBK	39	Elmira	Servet	Asllani	145	0.90
82	PBK	51	Agron	Esat	Rumi	140	1.08
83	PBK	4	Sokol	Ndreke	Fusha	139	1.04
84	PBK	46	Hajredin	Mehmet	Zaimi	133	1.23
85	PBK	32	Artur	Daut	Roshi	130	0.73
86	PBK	38	Igli	Ali	Hasho	124	0.90
87	PBK	115	Ismet	Mustafa	Xhibro	116	1.37
88	PBK	41	Mhill	Pjeter	Hasani	104	0.53
89	PBK	14	Muhamet	Halit	Jaku	93	0.67
90	PBK	26	Spahi	Muharrem	Musta	86	0.48
91	PBK	13	Ali	Brahim	Gjyriqi	78	0.57
92	PBK	24	Ymer	Ahmet	Shahini	1	0.01

## **Appendix IX. IRI Observation Sites**

<b>Observer</b>	<b>Zone</b>	<b>Center</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Municipality</b>
Soderstrom	115	6	Saranda	Saranda
	113	38	Saranda/Delvina	Saranda
	114	34	Saranda/Delvina	Mesopotam
	112	74	Gjirokastra	Gjirokastra
	111	33	Gjirokastra	Gjirokastra
	111	34	Gjirokastra	Gjirokastra
	110	2	Permet	Kelcyra
	101	1	Tepelena	Tepelena
	102	1	Mallakastra/Tepelena	Qesarati
	102	58	Mallakastra	Greshica
	84	3	Mallakastra	Ballshi
	103	10	Vlore	Novosele
	80		Fier	Levan
	77	21	Fier	Fier
Garrett	71	1	Librazhdi	Librazhdi
	64	13	Elbasan	Elbasan
	64	19	Elbasan	Elbasan
	66	5	Elbasan	Labintot-Fushe
	64	14	Elbasan	Elbasan
	65	18	Elbasan	Elbasan
	93	10	Korca	Korca
	92	7	Korca	Korca
	94	3	Korca	Korca
	96	30	Korca	Progri/Cargon
	100	2	Devolli	Bilishta
	100	3	Devolli	Bilishta

	97	20	Korca	Libarik
	98	3	Pogradec	Pogradec
	98	8	Pogradec	Pogradec
	99	14	Pogradec	Udenisht
	72	16	Librazhdi	Perrenjas
	71	24	Librazhdi	Hotolisht
	94	4	Korca	Korca
Lombard	45	7	Tirana	Tirana
	46	3	Tirana	Tirana
	50	8	Tirana	Tirana
	50	9	Tirana	Tirana
	42	17	Tirana	Vore
	32	40	Kruja	Bubq/Bilaj
	31	1	Kruja	Fushe Kruja
	31	2	Kruja	Fushe Kruja
	22	15	Kruja	Kurbine/Mamurres
	22	16	Kruja	Kurbine/Mamurres
	22	11	Lac	Lac
	22	2	Lac	Lac
	31	11	Kruja	Fushe Kruja
	32	1	Durres	Shijak
Lloyd <sup>5</sup>			Durres	
			Kavaja	
			Peqin	
			Lushnje	

Observer covering these areas is unable to provide information on voting center numbers.

			Kucova	
			Berat	
Surotchak	15	8	Kukes	Kukes
	15	12	Kukes	Kukes
	16	1	Kukes	Bicaj
	14	37	Has	Kolsh
	12	43	Tropoja	Malzi/Shemri
	11	18	Puka	Fushe-Arrez/Qaf-Mali
	11	25	Puka	Fushe-Arrez
	11	1	Puka	Puka
	11	36	Puka	Qerret/Luf Qender
	5	11	Skhodra	Lac Vau i Dejes/Lac
	6	22	Skhodra	Bushat/Stajka
	6	21	Skhodra	Bushat/Stajka
	8	15	Skhodra	Skhodra
	7	20	Skhodra	Skhodra
	10	15	Skhodra	Skhodra
	1	18	Malesi e Madhe	Koplik
	2	36	Malesi e Madhe	Gruemire
	9	7	Skhodra	Skhodra
	3	3	Skhodra	Berdice/Berdice