THE REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA:
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
JULY 2005

Report
by
Jan Hugo Holtan
NORDEM, the Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights, is a programme of the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR), and has as its main objective to actively promote international human rights. NORDEM is jointly administered by NCHR and the Norwegian Refugee Council. NORDEM works mainly in relation to multilateral institutions. The operative mandate of the programme is realised primarily through the recruitment and deployment of qualified Norwegian personnel to international assignments that promote democratisation and respect for human rights. The programme is responsible for the training of personnel before deployment and reporting on completed assignments and plays a role in research related to areas of active involvement. The vast majority of assignments are channelled through the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

NORDEM Report is a series of reports documenting NORDEM activities and is published jointly by NORDEM and the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights.

Series editor: Siri Skåre

Series consultants: Hege Mørk, Lisa Kirkengen and Christian Boe Astrup

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the publishers.

ISSN: 1503–1330

NORDEM Report is available online at:
http://www.humanrights.uio.no/forskning/publ/publikasjonsliste.html
Preface

Upon the invitation of the Government of The Republic of Albania, the OSCE/ODIHR established an Election Observation Mission (EOM) to Albania to observe the parliamentary election taking place on 3 July 2005. The EOM was headed by Ambassador Jørgen Grunnet (Denmark). A core team of 12 election experts was based in Tirana. 25 long term observers (LTOs) arrived on 18 May 2005 and were deployed to Tirana District and nine other locations two days later. An additional LTO arrived on 24 May to complete one of the two teams based in Tirana.

On election day, 408 short term observers (STOs) from 36 OSCE participating states were deployed under the auspices of the EOM, including parliamentarians from the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (PACE) and the European Parliament (EP). The STOs visited about 1 200 polling stations of a total of some 4 700 countrywide. OSCE/ODIHR observers submitted reports from 97 of the 100 Counting Centres (CCs).

The Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights (NORDEM) was asked by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to identify one LTO to join the EOM. Jan Hugo Holtan was recruited and deployed to Peshkopi covering the Dibër region together with an observer from Germany.

NORDEM also recruited four STOs, who arrived in Albania on 29 June. On 1 July Kris Ann Riber was deployed to Durrës region, Trond Erik Sletmo to Korče region and Lorentz Petter Stavrum and Kari Margrethe Osland to Fier region.

The Norwegian Centre for Human Rights / NORDEM
University of Oslo
May 2006
Contents

Preface

Contents

Map of Albania

Introduction ............................................................................................................................1

Political Background..............................................................................................................2

The Legislative Framework ...............................................................................................3

  The Election System .........................................................................................................4

  Assessment of the Legal Framework ................................................................................5

The Electoral Administration ..............................................................................................6

Voter and Civic Education ................................................................................................8

Voter Registration ...............................................................................................................9

Candidate Registration .................................................................................................. 10

The Election Campaign ................................................................................................ 11

The Media ............................................................................................................................ 12

Observation on Election Day ............................................................................................ 13

  Observation of the Opening .......................................................................................... 14

  Observation of the Polling ............................................................................................. 14

  Observation of the Closing and Counting .................................................................. 15

The Review of Complaints Process ................................................................................... 18

Conclusions and Recommendations ............................................................................... 19

Comments on the Election Observation Mission ............................................................ 20

Appendices .......................................................................................................................... 21
Map of Albania
Introduction

The OSCE/ODIHR was invited by the government of Albania to observe the 3 July parliamentary election and assess its compliance with the national legislation of Albania, OSCE and Council of Europe commitments and other international standards for democratic elections. 57 political parties and four political coalitions had been registered for the elections by 2 June 2005.1 1230 candidates competed for single mandates in the 100 election zones.

The Socialist Party (SP) and their coalition partners had stayed in power since the 1997 elections. Their main rival on the political scene, the Democratic Party (DP), was anticipating a change and thus a take over of government. The elections also had vital implications for Albania's relationship to Europe and especially to the European Union because the holding of elections in accordance with international standards would be essential for Albania to continue to pursue its aim of European integration.2 International analysts had noticed the lack of real progress in combating corruption and fighting organised crime.

Among the main challenges and concerns related to the election were:

- The elaboration of a new computerised final voter list
- Use of reliable identification papers preventing fraud
- The performance of the Central Election Commission (CEC)
- The establishment of counting centres in each of the 100 zones
- Avoidance of a reiteration strategies employed in 2001 to circumvent Article 67 of the electoral code, which aims to provide as much proportionality as possible in the allocation of seats in the Assembly.

This report is based on briefings held by the EOM, observations made by the LTO team covering the Dibër region, previous studies and reports by OSCE/ODIHR, observations of the Norwegian STOs and analyses produced by other international actors.

Dibër region includes the districts of Mat, Bulqizë and Dibër. The region's capital Peshkopi is located in Dibër district. There are five election zones in the region of which three were dominated by the SP and two by the DP. (During the elections there was a change in all five zones resulting in a net gain by the DP of one seat.) The region has a total of 243 000 inhabitants. Topographically the eastern flank is very mountainous and forms part of the border with Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Road

---

1 See Appendix.
2 Shortly before the election The Albanian Daily News published an article by the European Union High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, on the importance of the 3 July parliamentary election for Albania's efforts to join the EU, which stated: "The European way of Albania passes through free and fair elections. Next Sunday will be an important day for Albania's democratic development, while the Albanian citizens will cast their vote to elect their new parliament".
conditions are generally very poor. Agriculture is the main source of income. Some villages are not accessible by car.

Political Background

During the 1990s a variety of political parties were constituted. However, the political scene was soon polarized around two parties, the SP and the DP. A winner-takes-all mentality characterised Albanian politics and handover of power proved to be very difficult. Governance was politicised due to relatively low administrative capacities and the lack of a tradition to maintain administrative impartiality. The political actors did not have faith in a de-politicised administration, which implied recurrent deadlocks in Albania's public life.

In the last years civil society has tended to claim increasing independence from the political parties. According to some commentators this is based on a growing apathy and an aspiration for promoting different politics. Administrative capacities seem to have been reinforced in recent years, but more at the central than at the local level. Emergence of new parties and new candidates is evident. Nevertheless, the main feature of the Albanian political scene is that it has remained polarised, distinguished by antagonism and clashes of interests.

The SP emerged from the Party of Labour of Albania in June 1991 and thus became the successor of the party that had governed Albania during the Hoxha Communist regime. SP is considered to have the strongest countrywide structure, is well established in the south and promotes strong state intervention in the economy. However, a careful study of party initiatives and government policy reveals little in the way of a true leftist orientation or even support for the principles of social welfare. SP held 65 seats in the parliament before the elections. Together with the Social Democratic Party (SDP, 3 seats), Social Democracy Party (SDY, 1 seat), Environmentalist Agrarian Party (EAP, 3 seats), Human Rights Union Party (HRUP, 2 seats) and Democratic Alliance Party (DAP, 1 seat), it formed the ruling coalition.

The DP was founded in 1990 and Mr. Sali Berisha was elected chairman in 1991. While the DP is still perceived to be a party of northern Albania, it achieved some very encouraging results in the south in the 2003 local elections by winning the mayor's office in several municipalities. Mr. Berisha had before the elections widened the DP's appeal to civil society groups in order to attract academics and professionals. At the party convention in April 2005 proposals ranging from doubling government expenditure for education to supporting farmers and making commitments to close the income gap were approved. These measures were foreseen financed by cuts in the public administration. Analysts noted that the convention’s announcement of actual political issues as the basis for the DP’s electoral campaign constitutes a new and positive trend. The DP held 33 seats in the assembly and formed the right-wing opposition together with the Liberal Union Party (LUP, 2 seats), New Democrat Party (NDP, 5 seats), Demo-Christian Party

---

3 OSCE Presence in Albania, Political Affairs Unit: "Summary of Major Political Forces" May 2005
In 1992 the DP won a landslide victory with 62% of the votes that translated into 92 out of the 140 seats in the assembly. Mr. Berisha was the same year elected as the first non-Communist head of state following the resignation of the Mr. Ramiz Alia. In 1993 the SP chairman Mr. Fatos Nano was imprisoned on charges of misappropriation and associated abuse of office and falsification of documents. In May 1996 the SP lost heavily in the parliamentary elections, which were marred by violence and fraud and were widely criticised internationally. During the ensuing unrest due to the collapse of the fraudulent pyramid schemes in 1997, which resulted in a total breakdown of law and order, Mr. Nano was released. Later the same year the SP won 101 out of 155 seats in the parliamentary elections and Mr. Nano became prime minister. Mr. Pandeli Majko and Mr. Ilir Meta have in periods replaced Mr. Nano as prime minister due to internal conflicts within the SP. The SP won again in the elections in 2002, but ODIHR was critical of the conduct of the elections. Mr. Alfred Moisiu, who was supported by both SP and DP, was elected president in 2002. Mr. Nano took over as prime minister after Mr. Majko the same year. A period of "consensus" between the two antagonists evolved lasting for some months until the run up to the local elections in October 2003. At the SP Congress in December 2003 Mr. Meta and his faction were forcibly sidelined and consequently established the Socialist Movement for Integration (SMI) in 2004. The party, which has a social-democratic orientation and had 9 seats in the assembly, positioned itself between the two main blocs in the 2005 elections and declared that it did not foresee an alliance with either the SP or the DP.

The Legislative Framework

The legal framework of the parliamentary elections is based on:

- The Constitution of Albania of 1998
- Electoral Code of 2005
- CEC decisions and instructions

Despite substantial concerns expressed by the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe and the OSCE/ODIHR in their Joint Recommendations of 2004 and serious shortcomings pointed out by the EOM in their Statement of 4 July 2005, the EOM in the same Statement noted that

> the legislation can provide an adequate basis for a democratic election if there is a willingness from public authorities and political parties to implement the provisions of the Electoral Code in good faith.4

4 OSSE/ODIHR: "Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions", p. 4
The code was adopted in June 2003 and was amended three times during 2004 and 2005. The amendments, which endeavour to address some of the Joint Recommendations\(^5\), brought along several changes,

\textit{in particular concerning the election administration, the compilation of voter lists, the criteria for establishing electoral zones, counting proceedings, and proceedings for complaints and appeals.}\(^6\)

## The Election System

The following presentation is based on the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Report of 7 November 2005.\(^7\)

Article 64 of the constitution establishes that the number of seats in the assembly is 140. 100 deputies (71\%) are elected directly by the voters in single member electoral zones ("single seat" mandates), while 40 (29\%) are elected from party or coalition lists ("supplemental" mandates). The total number of deputies of a party shall be, to the closest possible extent, proportional to the valid votes won by the party on the national scale. Parties must obtain at least 2.5\% of the valid votes and coalitions must obtain at least 4\% of the valid votes to participate in the allocation of the 40 supplemental mandates.\(^8\)

The current election system is based on an interpretation of Article 64 of the constitution. To win a "single seat" mandate requires a simple majority (the first-past-the-post system). The 40 "supplemental mandates" are allocated according to the proportional percentage of votes won by the multi-name lists of electoral subjects.\(^9\) These provisions do not create a "parallel" election system since the allocation of the 40 mandates is intrinsically linked to the number of "single seats" won by candidates of each party or coalition. The objective is to achieve proportionality of representation in the parliament. If a party receives more single seats than it would have been entitled to if all 140 seats had been allotted through a fully proportional system, the party will receive none of the 40 supplemental seats.

Article 67 of the Electoral Code seeks to respect the constitution by seeking to rebalance the total composition of the assembly. However, the objective of proportionality in the composition of the parliament is hampered by four different factors:

- The number of supplemental mandates is fixed rather than variable.
- The number of supplemental mandates is relatively small (40) and thus may not be sufficient to achieve proportionality.
- It is impossible to take away any of the single seats won by a party.

\(^5\) OSCE/ODIHR: Needs Assessment Mission Report 12 – 16 April 2005

\(^6\) OSCE/ODIHR: "Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions", p. 4


\(^8\) ibid.

\(^9\) Electoral Code, Article 65. Electoral subjects (Electoral Code, Art. 2.25) are political parties, coalitions registered with the CEC, their candidates as well as independent candidates registered with a ZEC (see below).
The Electoral Code, Article 90 stipulates that the election is a two-ballot contest. The legal framework cannot safeguard the objectives of the constitution. By using various strategies the political parties can circumvent the aims of the election system and distort the allocation of the supplemental seats in their favour. If the voters systematically split their two votes by choosing a certain candidate from party A in the zone election and use their second ballot for one of party A's coalition/allied partners in the proportional vote, the two parties' gain is in total likely to be higher and thus disproportionate. Even if this strategy seems to be within the law, it raises various concerns:

- It can only work by lessening the effectiveness of article 67 of the Electoral Code in meeting its purpose and is at odds with the stated objective of the constitution.
- It significantly weakens the "linkage" between the two parts of the election, de facto making the election similar to a "parallel election".
- It necessarily results in fewer mandates being awarded to parties that do not engage in the same or similar strategy.
- It blurs distinctions between political parties and could therefore mislead voters
- It does not enable voters to know exactly how their votes will translate into seats.

Despite international concern about these problems, the provisions for the proportional vote had remained largely unchanged since the 2001 parliamentary elections, where such strategies had been applied.

**Assessment of the Legal Framework**

This presentation is mainly based on the OSCE/ODIHR EOM Report of 7 November 2005.

International standards are still violated in that the Electoral Code allows submission of party agreements to the CEC for re-ordering mandate recipients according to criteria established by the parties. This practice makes the allocation of the mandates to the party lists less transparent and thus blurs the political process. Likewise Article 163 of the electoral code, which grants parties influence over the selection of the pool of judges that hear election appeals, is contrary to international commitments.

Even if the assembly, the president and the High Council of Justice have a prerogative to elect the members of the CEC (see below), this privilege is limited by the nomination power that is given to the political parties. The EOM contends that "the two largest political interests control the functioning of the CEC through their nomination of members." 

---

10 In the OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report of April 2005 tables were presented showing how party strategies could influence on the allocation of the supplemental seats in a way contrary to the aims of the domestic legislation.


Parties not affiliated to any of the political wings are discriminated against in the election system. Smaller parties are also disadvantaged because they are given the opportunity to buy only half the amount of the airtime provided to the larger parties. This undermines the internationally recognised principle of a "level playing field" for contestants. The candidates only have to declare expenditures made within a limited campaign period. Requirements of financial reporting can therefore be circumvented by planning donations and expenditures. Transparency is also compromised in that the parties do not have to submit their financial report until 45 days after the election.

The Electoral Administration

The electoral administration was organised in a three-tiered structure, consisting of the CEC, 100 Zone Election Commissions (ZECs) and 4764 Voting Centre Commissions (VCCs). A novelty since the previous election was that the count was conducted by counting teams (CTs) in 100 counting centres (CCs), one in each zone.

The CEC has seven members with seven-year mandates. Two were appointed by the assembly, two by the president and three were appointed by the High Council of Justice. Following an agreement between SP and DP, four CEC members are nominated by the majority and three by the opposition. The duties of the CEC are to:

- implement the law through decisions and instructions
- unify the electoral process
- appoint, dismiss and supervise the ZEC members
- examine and resolve claims of contestants
- train election officials
- conduct voter education
- declare the final election results and the names of elected deputies from the lists
- publish detailed election results electronically; and
- impose administrative sanctions and file criminal charges for violations of the Election Code.

The CEC holds public meetings on a daily basis during the election period. Quorum for a CEC meeting is four members, unless items requiring a qualified majority (five of seven) are on agenda. The following decisions must be taken by qualified majority: Declaration of election results for the list-based component, decisions related to appeals against ZEC decisions regarding election results and decisions on requests to declare elections invalid. There has been a fear that the CEC members would vote along party lines, which would affect the professionalism and independence of their performance.

13 OSCE Copenhagen Document 1990
The ZECs have seven members and a secretary and are appointed by the CEC six – eight months before the expiry of the assembly’s mandate. Three members are proposed by the majority political bloc and three members by the minority. The seventh member is proposed by the majority in half of the zones and by the minority in the other half. The ZEC secretary and deputy chair are nominated by the minority and the chair by the majority. The ZEC chair and deputy are appointed by the CEC.

The main competencies of the ZECs are to

- administer elections in their zone
- appoint members and secretaries of VCCs
- verify documentation of candidates
- register information and claims from electoral subjects in the zone and verify them
- post final voter lists and other material
- ensure timely distribution of election material
- receive voting material and ballot boxes from VCCs
- prepare results tabulation in the zone and forward it to the CEC; and
- declare the election results and the winning candidate in the zone.

The ZEC meetings are public and the meetings are valid if more than half of the members are present. Decisions are taken by majority vote. The secretary does not have the right to vote. If a ZEC fails to reach a decision within the legal deadline, the case must be sent to the CEC for examination within 24 hours. ZEC decisions can be appealed to the CEC by an interested electoral subject. Parties and coalitions are entitled to have observer status at the ZECs.

The LTO team attended training sessions for ZEC members from four different zones. This program was supported by USAID. Instruction was facilitated by a regional coordinator appointed by the CEC. The training was conducted very professionally. At the completion of the training course, a test was administered and those participants who obtained a satisfactory score were "certified" as election administrators. (The LTOs are not aware of any candidates not passing the test.) The appointments of the ZECs had been delayed due to the political parties failing to nominate candidates within due time. The ZECs were operational from 20 May. During the election campaign the members received a full time salary. During the counting procedure the regional coordinator gave invaluable support to two of the ZECs in interpreting the provisions of the Electoral Code, the counting manual and other instructions from the CEC.

The VCCs are appointed by the ZEC in their zone in accordance with the same rules as for the ZECs. The latest date for appointment of VCC members is ten days before election day. VCCs are responsible for the conduct of elections in their voting centre. Special VCCs operated in institutions such as prisons, pre-trial detention centres and hospitals.

---

14 OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report 12 – 16 April 2005
The VCC meetings are public and valid if more than half of the members are present. Decisions are taken by majority vote. The secretary does not have the right to vote. If a VCC fails to reach a decision within the legal deadline, the case must be sent immediately to the ZEC for examination. VCC decisions can be appealed to the ZEC by an interested electoral subject. Parties and coalitions are entitled to have observer status at VCCs. The VCCs decide on

- the opening of the voting centre
- suspension of voting
- requests for assistance from the state police to restore order
- removal of police force after order has been restored
- the removal of unauthorised persons from the voting centre; and
- the closing of the voting process.

In Dibër the parties did not comply with the deadline to present their nominations of VCC members to the ZEC. As a result of this they missed the training sessions facilitated by the CEC appointed trainers, which complicated the run-up to election day.

**CTs** have seven members and a secretary appointed by the ZEC. Nomination rules are the same as for ZECs. The CT members can be nominated up to two hours before the closing of polls. A ZEC can appoint up to five CTs. The CTs work until the completion of the count and are not entitled to breaks or suspensions of counting.

The EOM emphasised that the CEC conducted its meetings collegially and transparently. All the ZECs were also functioning. Nevertheless some significant administrative, financial and logistical challenges remained. In Dibër region the ZECs seemed to work in a friendly and collegial way. Only two out of 40 members were female. The LTOs were always politely welcomed and were provided with all information requested. During the counting process, however, the members in one zone in particular were all too unprofessional and exhausted to conduct their duties in a proper way.

**Voter and Civic Education**

Except for information spots on the national TV channels informing the voters about the procedures for voting, the LTOs did not observe any initiatives to teach voters about the upcoming elections. The CEC published comprehensive information about the election on their web site.
Voter Registration

Every Albanian citizen who is 18 years of age on the election day or before and who fulfils the provisions of the electoral code has the right to vote. Citizens who have a final court judgement declaring them as incapable to act due to mental disorder do not have the right to vote.

Voter lists in previous elections were often contentious. The voter lists are now compiled by the local government on the basis of information from the civil status books, which are maintained by the local government. There is no national voter list. The Ministry for Local Government and Decentralisation (MLGD) performs checks of the lists and notifies local government about errors, incomplete data, duplicates etc.

The major challenges to elaborating a voter list have been:

- Major population movements in the past years combined with a high degree of "informality"
- The ongoing development of a proper address system. Civil registries are being updated to include a ten-digit “numerical address” identifying citizens' residence.
- The technical and logistical challenges of a computerisation of civil registries with regard to resources, training, electricity etc.
- A short time frame for compilation of voter lists due to late amendments to the election code.

The mayors must make voter lists available to electoral subjects upon request and free of charge. Heads of special institutions (prisons, hospitals) prepare special voter lists, which are sent to the mayor where the special institution is located. The civil registry offices update lists under the authority of mayors based on extracts of the National Civil Registry. The mayors allocate voters to voting centres. The preliminary voter lists are made public by the mayors, copies are sent to the civil registry office and the National Directorate of the Civil Registry (NDCR) and voters are notified. Requests for changes to the preliminary voter list have to be decided by the mayors, whose decisions can be appealed in court. The final voter list is sent to the ZECs no later than 25 days before election day in three formats: A list by voting centre for display 20 days before election day, a list by voting centre for the respective VCC and a list for the whole zone or local government unit. Voters not on a final voter list can request to be added by court decision until 24 hours before election day. Voters with court decision are added to a special register on election day. The decision and certificate are attached.

Most of the major parties claimed to have been very active in obtaining lists and making sure that their potential voters had been registered.

Before the elections the EOM questioned the issuance of a significant number of birth certificates, which could be used as identification document by voters on election day. There were concerns that these could facilitate multiple voting. Such concerns were more frequent in locations with a high number of voters with so-called "999 entries", i.e. entries lacking a complete numerical address, on the voter list. Here voters had been included in the voter lists without a verification that the voter actually lived on the stated address.
The LTO team in Dibër noticed that the number of “999 entries” were much higher in urban than in rural areas. At some VCs in the countryside such entries were non-existing. In Burrel municipality however, the LTOs visited nine out of 12 VCs and noticed that 25.4% out of a total of 8 541 voters were registered under the “999 category”. The person in charge of the finalisation of the voter list explained that the “999 entries” were people registered within the administrative unit, but who the verification groups had been unable to locate.

Due to the theft of a significant number of unused birth certificates the CEC had on 27 June decided on additional rules. In a case where two or more of the VCC members expressed their doubts about the voter's identity as confirmed by a birth certificate, an old model passport or a passport, the voter had to supply an additional proof of his identity. Ten days before the elections, the LTOs found that no records of numbers of issues of birth certificates and names of the recipients were kept and that the registry offices had no communication with the ZECs.

The mayors had problems to finalise the voter lists in due time and the ZECs informed the LTOs that they had to send repeated requests to the mayors and even threaten with fines. These delays jeopardised the holding of the election.15 When spot checking the final voter list the team found several VCs where the displayed copy of the final voter list was absent or already had been destroyed.

Candidate Registration

Candidates must be eligible to vote. Persons serving a prison sentence are not eligible to stand as candidates. A variety of holders of public offices may not run unless they resign. Parties wishing to nominate candidates must be registered with the CEC as "electoral subjects" no later than 40 days before election day. Parties registered with the CEC may form coalitions by submitting their coalition agreement to the CEC no later than 35 days before election day. Parties can form two kinds of coalitions:

a) as a single political subject with a joint candidate list ("joint multi-name list")
b) as separate political subjects with individual lists ("composed multi-name list")

The candidates running in zones must submit the documentation of their nomination no later than 32 days before election day. Candidates of non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates who are not serving as members of parliament (MPs) must submit 300 support signatures. ZEC verifies the documentation no later than 30 days

15 Situations such as these were foreseen in the report "Joint recommendations on the electoral law and the electoral administration in Albania" prepared by the Venice Commission and the OSCE/ODIHR, which stresses that the deadlines in the Code, particularly those related to the preparation of voter lists, the designation of voting centres and registration of political parties and candidates did not seem realistic with a view to administrate the election in a professional and efficient manner. The report stated that all deadlines were in need of a review to ensure that there was enough time to prepare for all election processes.
before election day. A candidate can correct documentation until 28 days before election day. The ZECs have 24 hours to check corrected documentation and approve or reject it. A candidate who withdraws within 24 hours of the verification may be substituted by his or her party. If a registered candidate dies before election day, the elections in that zone are postponed for 4 weeks, and the candidate may be replaced. Party and coalition lists for the list-based component of an election are submitted to the CEC for registration. The deadlines for registering candidate lists are the same as for candidates running in zones. Non-parliamentary parties must provide support signatures of 7,000 registered voters. Coalitions must provide 10,000 support signatures, unless they hold at least as many seats in the outgoing parliament as the number of parties in the coalition. Party and joint coalition lists must contain at least 20 names. For coalitions with composed lists, there must be ten names per party.

The LTOs met candidates representing the most important parties. Many of them expressed a lack of confidence in their rival candidates and claimed that public servants misused their position in order to favour a certain political party. The candidates often conveyed allegations and accusations instead of presenting political issues.

The Election Campaign

The law provides for a period of electoral silence that lasted from 00:00 on 1 July. No publications of opinion polls were allowed during the five last days before election day.

No foreigners were allowed to take part in the campaign. The neutrality of government institutions and employees at all levels is established by law. Expenditures of public resources for campaigning were limited by legal provisions. Fair and impartial access to public places, disclosure of party/candidate finances, and equitable access to public TV and radio is also guaranteed by law.

The strict rules for equitable access to and coverage in public and private TV and radio were implemented as well as equitable purchase of paid political advertising on private TV and radio. No individual campaign contributions in excess of 1 million LEK (included in-kind goods and services) was lawful.

There was an expenditure limit provision of ten times the largest amount received by a political party from public funds. Financial disclosure forms have to be submitted to the CEC within 45 days of election day. Within 90 days the accounts are published with information on campaign expenses, donations (cash, goods and services) and names of donors and amounts of donations in excess of 100,000 LEK (equivalent to approximately 1,000 USD).

The electoral campaign was lively and visible. Despite a rancorous tone there was a general abidance with the Code of Conduct initiated by the President of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Moisiu, which the representatives of the participating political parties had signed. A variety of debates, rallies and door-to-door canvassing were carried out that gave the opportunity to voters to access ample political information. However, some serious problems were noted, such as pressure on public servants and intimidation of
voters, police interference in the campaign, several violent incidents and alleged widespread vote-buying practices.

In Dibër the LTOs received copies of various protests, requests and complaints submitted to the OSCE Permanent Presence, ODIHR, embassies and the CEC related to the campaign. None of the complaints were filed with the judiciary.

The team attended five different rallies in Bulqize and Peshkopi. Mr. Nano as well as Mr. Berisha, Mr. Meta and the Republican Party (RP) chairman Mr. Fatmie Mediu visited the region.

During the campaign the EOM noticed that some political parties had adopted election strategies to exploit shortcomings in the election system. Such strategies might lessen the reliability of the election system to allocate mandates consistent with the constitutional principle of proportionality, blur political identity and reduce the transparency of the process. In Dibër region the LTOs experienced examples of two co-operating parties receiving almost exactly the reverse percentages of votes in the single mandate vote and the proportional vote respectively, which suggested that they had instructed their electorate to vote in a pattern that would exploit the system in order to receive a larger number of seats.

The EOM stated on 14 July:

smaller parties involved with the main two parties prior to the election have received significantly more votes at national level than their weight in the outgoing parliament would suggest.16

It was, however, not possible to quantify the effect of such strategies. The EOM further stated in its final report:

An analysis of the impact of electoral strategies on the extent to which the objective of proportionality has been achieved is not included, as the OSCE/ODIHR is not in a position to predict voters’ choices under different coalition modalities.17

The Media

In the EOM preliminary report on 4 July the media coverage of the official campaign period was assessed as overall sufficiently politically balanced to enable most parties across the political spectrum to present their programs. Free airtime had been provided in the public media. Both private and public media were required to cover parties' campaigns according to their relative strength in the outgoing parliament. However, media monitoring data showed that the two main contesting parties had received more airtime in news content than their legal entitlement.

The LTOs had a meeting with the journalist in charge of the local TV station Dibra Vision in Peshkopi. 10 000 people were said to watch the channel daily. The station was

16 OSCE/ODIHR Interim Report 3. 4 -14 July

17 OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report, op. cit. p. 30
owned by an Albanian residing in Italy. The journalist had been trained by the Albanian Institute of Media\textsuperscript{18} to facilitate a 90 minutes program in which the representatives were asked to present the programs of their parties on certain political issues. There were no discussions between the politicians. They merely answered the questions from the facilitator within a fixed time frame. As the candidates had to answer the same questions, the electorate was given an opportunity to compare the candidates' platforms. Similar programs were produced in the two other main municipalities in Dibër, namely Bulqizë and Burrel. During the election campaign a variety of debates and other election related programs and features were broadcast in national media.

Observation on Election Day

The EOM stated that the atmosphere on election day was generally peaceful despite the killing of a party supporter in zone 37. The VCCs were mostly co-operative. A variety of allegations about irregularities were made to the international community, but very few were pursued in the courts. A considerable amount of VCs did not open on time, overcrowding was observed in urban areas and disabled persons had difficult access in 14 % of the VCs observed. Voters were turned away because they were not registered in the final voter list in half of the polling stations. Most of the VCCs were aware of the CEC instructions to ask for an additional proof of identity when needed. In rural areas voters in 19 % of the VCs were not checked for indelible ink, which was used to reduce the possibilities of multiple voting. The principle of secrecy was violated in some cases where the screens of polling booths were insufficient. Most of these irregularities were also noted by the observers in Dibër and by the Norwegian STOs.

The EOM had divided the observation teams into A-teams, who observed the voting, and B-teams, who observed the counting. This arrangement meant that fewer VCs were visited during election day than what is normally the case. Two of the Norwegian STOs were assigned to work in A-teams and two were assigned to B-teams. The counting teams were encouraged to visit a few VCs during election day. The voting teams were obliged to relieve the B teams during the morning on 4 July.

The Norwegian STOs in A-teams observed in zone number 68, Roskovec, and 85, Pogradec, while the B-teams observed the counting in zone number 29, Durrës, 70, Cakran, and 73, Mallakaster.

Zone 68, Roskovec in the Fier region, had 38 VCs. The area of Roskovec is rural, with generally poor road conditions. The great majority of the population in Fier region are Albanians. There are also some refugees from Kosovo, as well as Greeks and Roma. The area is highly affected by emigration.

Zone 85, Pogradec in the Korçë region, had 39 VCs and is situated in the South-Eastern part of the country. Pogradec borders Macedonia and Greece partly by the lakes Ohrid and Prespa. The population of 90 000 consists mainly of Albanians and also of a quite

\textsuperscript{18} This project had been supported by USAID and International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX)
sizeable Roma community. The Macedonian minority lives mainly in the area of Licenas. There are also Egyptian, Arumanian and Greek communities.

Zone 29, in the city centre of Durrës in the Durrës region, had 39 396 registered voters and 51 VCs. The team was designated to follow the reception of materials at the CC and to observe the counting of the ballots.

Zone 70, Cakran in the Fier region, is situated between the regions Fier, Mallakaster and Vlore in South-West Albania (Vlore North, Mallakaster and Fier South). The team observed voting and counting in polling stations and the CC of the Cakran zone, and the following day also in Ballsh, the administrative centre in the zone 73, Mallakaster. The Cakran zone had approximately 23 000 registered voters, whereas the Mallakaster zone had approximately 25 000 registered voters.

Below is a summary of the findings of the Norwegian STOs.

**Observation of the Opening**

**Zone 68, Roskovec**

The STO team arrived at a VC in Bubullim at 06:30. The atmosphere was good. All the election material was present in accordance with election instructions. The VC opened at 07:00. The team observed no irregularities. The team stayed until 08:30, after the first voter had arrived.

**Zone 85, Pogradec**

The opening of the VC, regarded as the main VC in the area, was delayed by one hour because one of the VCC members expected that everything would be ready when he arrived at the time of the opening of the VC. Due to this incident the voters were queuing up outside. Some unrest and discussions occurred. When the voting process finally started it proceeded in accordance with the regulations.

**Observation of the Polling**

**Zone 68, Roskovec**

The team visited nine polling stations in the area. Most of the VCs in the area were located in rural areas, Roscovec being an exception. All the VCCs had received the necessary election materials from the ZEC. In general, the polling was conducted in an orderly manner and in accordance with the electoral procedures. There were, however, some exceptions such as a few cases of family voting. Some voters, who were turned away because their name was not on the voter list, were told to contact the ZEC (which in such cases was supposed to check whether their names were on the list of a different VC or registered in another zone). These irregularities seemed rather to be the result of inexperience than of any deliberate intention to compromise the integrity of the process. In some of the VCs, the VCCs complained about the complicated electoral legislation.

The team went back to visit VC 3035 in Marinez, where it had been alleged that the VC was situated in a private building belonging to a prominent party member. This turned out to be false, as the VC was in a public school building.

With one exception, the VCCs consisted only of men.
The VCs were overcrowded by domestic and international observers and the team feared there was a danger that the voters could feel intimidated by this.

Zone 85, Pogradec

The voter lists were generally displayed so that they were easily seen. At some polling stations, however, they were posted in a manner that made them difficult to read. There were some problems and confusion related to the voters’ list. Discussions arose and some voters were denied to cast their vote. Variations in the procedure for checking the indelible ink were observed. It spanned from checking both thumbs to no checks at all. The latter was mainly noted in the rural areas, where the VCCs explained that they knew the voters. A few incidents of family voting were observed, but not in significant numbers. The voting booths were placed with the open end facing the VCC. This measure was meant to give the VCC an opportunity to control that the voters did not do anything "irregular", but may in effect have compromised the secrecy of the vote. In the rural areas the situation inside and outside the VCs was generally calm and orderly. In the urban VCs, however, there was a clear tendency of overcrowding. This caused considerable unrest both outside and inside the VC premises. In Pogradec town heated and loud discussions outside some of the VCs was observed. The STOs were addressed by a local journalist who complained that he had been denied the right to take pictures. He also reported that a colleague of his had his accreditation confiscated. The team told him to bring his complaint to the VCC. After the intervention of a ZEC member the problem was resolved.

Zone 70, Cakran

The team visited five local polling stations during the early afternoon on election day. Generally the polling was carried out correctly, in accordance with the provisions of the election code. There were few problems with the voter list and no significant irregularities were observed. No complaints were reported. The atmosphere at the polling stations was good.

Zone 29, Durrës

During election day the team observed voting in the afternoon in five VCs. There were few voters in the VCs and no overcrowding or disturbances were observed. Voters not registered in the voter list were assisted to check where to cast their vote on a CD-Rom serviced by the ZEC. The team did not observe any unauthorised observers in any of the VCs. In all the VCs, voting booths were placed with the opening towards the centre of the room. Although the booths were narrow, the secrecy of the vote could have been jeopardised by this layout if anyone cared to pay attention, which no one did while the team was present. Indelible ink seemed to be used only randomly.

Observation of the Closing and Counting

Zone 68, Roskovec

The team observed the closing in Roskovec. The VC closed on time at 19:00. No voters were turned away. Although there was some confusion about the interpretation of the provisions, the VCC followed the procedures for closing in accordance with the electoral code.
As soon as the VCC completed its verification and had sealed all the boxes, these were brought to the CC. The boxes were transported by foot, accompanied by all VCC members and a police officer. After arrival at the CC, the material was handed over to the ZEC, where the receiving teams carried out the verification of the material. This process was somewhat chaotic, but the team had the impression that the process was carried out in accordance with the electoral code.

The ZEC had established five CTs. After opening the ballot box, the CT chair and deputy counted all ballots and announced the total number. The ballots were then divided into stacks for each contestant and counted separately. No significant problems were experienced by the counting team during the verification. However, several recounts of ballots and signatures during the verification were required. The CT was able to resolve some disagreements between team members during the count, but normally the ZEC had to intervene. It seemed to do so in an impartial and consistent manner.

There were both party and candidate representatives as well as domestic non-partisan observers present during the counting. The ZEC had requested the presence of two police officers. Some unrest and tension did occur due to various accusations regarding the vote count.

The team was replaced by the STO B team at 22:00 and replaced them again the next day at 07:00 to continue to follow the counting process. The B-team reported that there had been some tension during the night. During the day, however, it was mainly quiet. There were some allegations that the votes for smaller parties were given to the larger ones. Besides, one domestic observer told the STOs that a member of the CT had been threatened to ensure a just and fair counting process. Ballot boxes from two of the polling stations were claimed to be invalid due to broken seals. At 16:00 on 4 July the STOs were again replaced by the B-team, which followed the end of the counting until 20:00.

Zone 29, Durrës

When the STO team visited the CC at 16:00 the composition of the counting teams was finalised based on the lists submitted by the political parties. As the majority of the members in the CTs and Reception Teams were also VCC members, no one had turned up to receive training.

The training of the 3 Reception Teams began at 19:00. The first ballot boxes and voting material from the VCs were received at 19:50. When the last ballot boxes had been received the training of the five CTs started. The opening of ballot boxes, reconciliation of protocol figures, checks of the voting material and counting of the ballots began at 23:10 and was completed on 4 July at 18:45.

The layout of the CC, a sports venue, entailed that the reception teams and CT were placed in the middle of the premises with the observers behind barriers on seats looking down from a distance of at least 4 – 5 meters from the tables where the reception and counting took place. This made it hard to observe the details of the reconciliation and counting.

The chairman of the ZEC appeared to lead the count in an efficient, well-organised and professional manner, resolving disputes among the counting team members and keeping order in the CC. He was also very cooperative with the STO team.
There were many observers present, both authorised and unauthorized, for example children and other family members of the CTs. At the beginning of the count the deputy chair of the ZEC attempted to expel the unauthorised persons by telling everybody to leave and come in again showing IDs and accreditation. As the public simply refused to move, the deputy chair gave up and let people come and go unchecked for the remainder of the count as long as they respected the barrier.

**Zone 70, Cakran**

The CC was located in a public bar in the town of Cakran. Because the observers stayed rather far from the tables where the counting took place, the possibilities for accurate observations were not optimal. The considerable number of observers further complicated the observation of the counting and tabulation process.

There were only five counting teams and too many members in each team. Thus the counting process took unreasonably long time. The accuracy of the counting is likely to have been negatively influenced by the process lasting for about 18 hours without a break. Additional counting teams with fewer members in each group would probably have improved the counting process.

The regulations concerning the delivery and reception of the ballot boxes seemed unnecessarily complicated. In some instances, the VCC members delivering the election material to the ZEC had not followed the procedure correctly. The hand over of spare material was handled ineffectively. This resulted in long and intense discussions among the officials of the ZEC on whether or not to accept the ballot boxes. Less detailed regulations on this issue could have prevented disagreements, and thus made the process more professional.

The ZEC officials were co-operative with the observers, and treated all observers equally and correctly.

In spite of delays and disagreements with regard to delivery procedures as described above, the counting process as a whole was carried out in accordance with the election code and additional provisions. The irregularities were few and minor. All participants in the election process were treated properly. The shortcomings observed did not significantly influence the election process.

The counting was completed in the early afternoon on 4 July. No complaints were registered by the ZEC or the observers, and no one contacted the observers with allegations or complaints against the election officials, the local police or other persons participating in the process.

The STO team was in the afternoon on 4 July instructed to assist another B-team in the Mallakaster zone in Ballsh to observe the finalisation of the counting process. The ZEC was located in the premises of a cinema and the observation area was even farther from the counting tables. Noise and poor illumination made regular observation difficult. Thus the possibilities to observe the work of the CTs and the ZEC were limited. The team was not able to observe any particular irregularities. The problems and shortcomings observed were mainly connected with the regulations and procedural system rather than with insufficient skills of the election officials.
The Review of Complaints Process

Electoral subjects registered with the CEC can in accordance with the electoral code, file complaints to the CEC against ZEC decisions that damage their legal interests. Appeals of any CEC decisions are handled by the Electoral College of the Court of Appeals of Tirana. The Electoral College consists of eight judges chosen from a pool of all appellate judges by drawing lots. Cases are decided by a five judge panel. Decisions are made on admissibility and on merits. The College can compel the CEC to make a decision. Its decisions are final with no right to appeal.

Prior to 3 July 34 appeals were filed with the Electoral College. Nine were overturned, two were returned to the CEC for further investigation and the remaining appeals were either dismissed or upheld. The EOM assessed the performance of the College as unbiased. Parties were allowed to present their views without restrictions.

Citizens omitted from the voter list were entitled to seek a review by the district court. The law is not clear with regard to which type of documents are required to prove the voter's identity. The EOM observed inconsistent practice by the courts in handling this issue.

Until 8 July the CEC announced it had received nearly 230 complaints from political subjects against the decisions of the ZECs. A considerable part of these complaints had been returned due to formal mistakes. The examination took place in the presence of interested parties in sessions open to the public. The parties were allowed to provide explanations and arguments to support their claims. The CEC emphasised that its decisions are the result of a regular, legal and constitutional process guaranteeing the fairness and the rights of the parties in the process.

On 14 July the CEC announced that the post-election complaint process had ended. 303 complaints had been examined. The same day the CEC started the examination of requests for the invalidation of the election. In total the CEC had received 281 appeals against the results decided by the ZECs and 107 requests for the invalidation of the election results.21

The EOM commented on the work of the CEC on 14 July and claimed that many of the complaints filed were without merits and often reflected a refusal to accept electoral defeat. However, the CEC appeared to decide many appeals rapidly without taking the time necessary to consider all the evidence requested by parties. According to the EOM, 96 appeals against election results were not considered on procedural grounds.

Electoral subjects are permitted to appeal against a ZEC decision on the tabulation of the election results. Provided the appeal is submitted on time and meets other legal requirements, the appeal must be adjudicated within ten days by the CEC.

19 Electoral Code, article 146
21 In the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report op. cit. (p.22) it was noted: “Of the remaining 185, most were adjudicated by the CEC before it heard the requests of invalidating the elections largely because requests to invalidate results in the specific zone were filed after the CEC heard the original appeal.”
The CEC can declare the results of an individual voting centre, an individual election unit or the entire republic as invalid. Violations of the law, severe natural disasters and suspension of voting for more than six hours are reasons to invalidate elections. The electoral process must have been affected to such a degree that it may have impacted on the allocation of the mandates for the assembly. A request for invalidation must include legal causes, description of cases of violations and detailed reasoning with regard to consequences. The CEC makes a decision after consultation with the ZEC. A rerun of the election may be ordered only if the allocation of mandates has been affected.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In the EOM’s press release of 4 July the CEC was mainly assessed to have administered the process transparently, professionally and in line with the provisions of the Electoral Code. The Electoral College was deemed to have adjudicated pre-election complaints against CEC decisions in a fair and impartial way.

The new framework of voter registration had resulted in clarity in the division of responsibilities between various public bodies. This had in many zones resulted in a more accurate final voter list.

Voters had a variety of parties and candidates to cast their vote for. The contestants had mostly kept to the Code of Conduct they signed before the elections. The electoral campaign was varied and contestants were very visible throughout the country. The media had offered a variety of programs and spots dealing with the elections.

However, the establishment of voter lists needs to be improved. A national voter list will decrease inaccuracies and possibilities for fraud. The number of multiple entries will be reduced if the local administrative units have procedures to communicate with each other. The confusion with regard to voter identification caused anger and distrust among voters. The insecurity was to some extent reduced when all the final voter lists of the local administrative units were published on the CEC website on 28 June.

The political parties and the politicians are still focused on making derogatory allegations about others instead of presenting their own programs. The impact of tactical voting has not been fully assessed, but the fact that DP only received 10% of the votes in the proportional system could be an indication that the aims of the electoral code were not fulfilled. The two political forces that had chosen to run without any help from the two main political contestants, namely SMI on the left and the Movement for National Development (MND) on the right, could be the losers of strategic voting. The election system with both zones and one nation wide constituency needs to be reviewed.

22 Electoral Code, article 117.

23 See the preliminary statement of the EOM on 4 July 2005: “State and local authorities and major political parties have yet to demonstrate political will that corresponds with their responsibilities for the electoral process”.

The new system of one counting centre per zone could have improved the quality of the counting. However, training of the officials participating in the count was often lacking and the duration of the count in some cases lasted for 48 hours. To request the staff of CTs and ZECs to work without any breaks and without any people relieving them jeopardises the accuracy of the counting and tabulation. VCC members chosen to serve in the CTs began their assignment two hours before the VCCs closed after having started their work as VCC members at 06:00 on election day.

On 1 September, after the expiry of all appeal deadlines, the final election results were announced by the CEC. After eight years in opposition, the DP and its allies reclaimed a parliamentary majority from the ruling SP-led block. With a total of 80 out of 140 seats in the assembly, the new government was established with Mr. Berisha as prime minister. The EAP and the HRUP with their six seats after the election turned away from the left wing coalition and participated in the formation of the new right wing cabinet.

Comments on the Election Observation Mission

The core team worked professionally and effectively. The fortnightly meetings in Tirana were very informative and useful. The EOM provided the LTOs with adequate information. However, due to very poor internet access in Dibër, the LTO team was often prevented from accessing information and instructions from the head quarter. The driver and interpreter recommended by the permanent OSCE Presence were both excellent.

Presentations and written material provided to STOs were impressive. The logistical management of such a large number of observers was of a very high quality.

Most of the STOs allocated to Dibër proved very capable and dedicated to their work. However, the counting lasted for so many hours that the STOs regrettably had to leave before the finalisation of the tabulation. In Peshkopi both observers from the European Network of Election Monitoring Organisations (ENEMO) and National Democratic Institute were present, as well as local NGOs such as Society for Democratic Culture and political parties.
Appendices

Registered political parties and coalitions for the parliamentary election 2005

OSCE/ODIHR EOM: Parliamentary Election, Republic of Albania – 3 July 2005,
Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions
## REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES FOR THE 2005 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY NAME</th>
<th>INITIALS</th>
<th>CHAIRMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partia Konservatore</td>
<td>PKons</td>
<td>Armando Ruço</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Demokracia Sociale e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PDSSH</td>
<td>Paskal Milo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia e Punës e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PPSH</td>
<td>Xhevdet Pataj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Levizja per te Drejtat dhe Lirite e Njeriut</td>
<td>LDLNJ</td>
<td>Ligoraq Karamelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Levizja e Legalitetit</td>
<td>PLL</td>
<td>Ekrem Spahiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Demokrate e Re</td>
<td>PDR</td>
<td>Genc Pollo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Levizja Socialiste per Integrim</td>
<td>LSI</td>
<td>Ilir Meta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia e Unitetit Kombetar</td>
<td>PUK</td>
<td>Idajet Beqiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Emigracioni Shqiptar</td>
<td>PESH</td>
<td>Kostaq Papa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Ambientaliste</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Nasi Bozheku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Demokracia e Re Europiane Shqiptare</td>
<td>PDRESH</td>
<td>Koçi Tahiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PartiaTë Gjelbërit e Shqipërisë</td>
<td>PGjSh</td>
<td>Edlir Petanaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Balli Kombëtar</td>
<td>PBK</td>
<td>Adriatik Alimadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Demokracia Paqësore e Shqipërisë</td>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>Haki Hysa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Forca Albania</td>
<td>PFA</td>
<td>Iledin Pillati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Socialdemokrate e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PSD</td>
<td>Skender Gjinushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia per Drejtesi dhe Integrim</td>
<td>PDI</td>
<td>Tahir Muhecdini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Demokratike Peza Gjirokaster e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PDPGJSH</td>
<td>Fetah Dedej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Socialiste e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PSSH</td>
<td>Fatos Nano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Alenca Demokratike</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Neritan Ceka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Demokristiane e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PDK</td>
<td>Nikolle Lesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Socialkristiane Shqiperise</td>
<td>PSKSH</td>
<td>Fran Bruka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Bashkësia Kombetare Shqiptare</td>
<td>PBKSH</td>
<td>Henry Perolli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Lëdhja e Blerte Shqiptare</td>
<td>LBKSH</td>
<td>Brixhida Kokedhima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia per Mbrojtjen e te Drejtave te Punetoreve</td>
<td>PMDPSH</td>
<td>Kadri Isufaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Aleanca Popullore</td>
<td>PAP</td>
<td>Fatjon Softa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partia Komuniste e Shqiprise</td>
<td>PKSH</td>
<td>Hysni Milloshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Partia Demokratike e Rinovuar</td>
<td>PDRn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Partia Demokratike Demokracia e Re e Djathte Shqiptare</td>
<td>PDDRDSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Partia e Reformave Demokratike Shqiptare</td>
<td>PRDSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Partia Aleanca Liberal Demokrate e Shqiperise</td>
<td>PALD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Partia Bashkimi Demokrat Shqiptar</td>
<td>BDSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Partia Bashkimi per te Drejtat e Njeriut</td>
<td>PBDNJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Partia Demokratike</td>
<td>PD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Partia Agrare Ambientaliste</td>
<td>PAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Partia Republikane</td>
<td>PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Partia Levizja Monarkiste Demokrate Shqiptare</td>
<td>PLMDSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Partia Aleanca Nacional Shqiptare</td>
<td>PAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Partia Integrimi Social Kombetar</td>
<td>PISKSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Partia e Çeshtjeve Shqiptare</td>
<td>PCSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Partia Shqiptare Atdheu</td>
<td>PSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Partia Rruja e Vertete Shqiptare</td>
<td>PRVSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Partia Rruja e Lirise</td>
<td>PRRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Parti per Mbrojtjen e te Drejtave te Emigranteve</td>
<td>PMDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Partia e Sigurise Kombetare Shqiptare</td>
<td>PSKSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Partia Komuniste e Shqiperise 8 Nentori</td>
<td>PKSH 8 Nentori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Partia Balli Kombëtar Demokrat</td>
<td>PBDK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Partia Ardhmeria Shqiptare</td>
<td>PASH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Partia Lidhja Kombetare Shqiptare</td>
<td>LKSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Partia Bashkimi Liberal Demokrat</td>
<td>BLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Partia Aleanca per Mireqenie dhe Solidaritet</td>
<td>AMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Partia e Pajtimit Kombetar Shqiptar</td>
<td>PPKSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Partia Bashkimi Republikan Shqiptar</td>
<td>PBR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Partia e te Drejtave te Mohuara</td>
<td>PDM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Partia Levizja Punetore Shqiptare</td>
<td>PLPSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Partia Aleanca Socialiste Shqiptare</td>
<td>PASSH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Partia e Biznesit Shqiptar</td>
<td>PB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## REGISTERED COALITIONS FOR THE 2005 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coalition Name</th>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Levizja per Zhvillim Kombetar</td>
<td>(Partite Perberese: Partia Levizja e Legalitetit, Partia Demokratike e Rinovuar, Partia Konservatore)</td>
<td>LZHK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Levizja Demokratike per Integrim</td>
<td>(Partite perberese: Partia Reformave Demokratike, Partia Bashkimi Republikan, Shqiptar Partia Forca Albania, Partia Demokracia e Re Europiane Shqiptare, Partia Biznesi Shqiptar)</td>
<td>LDI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Partite e Spektrit Social + Partia e Unitetit Kombetar</td>
<td>(Partite Perberese: Partia e Unitetit Kombetar, Partia Punetore Shqiptare, Partia Ambientalistë, Partia për Mbrojtjen e te Drejtave Punetoreve)</td>
<td>PSSSH+PUK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aleanca për Liri, Drejtësi dhe Mirëqenie</td>
<td>(Partitë përbërëse: Partia Demokrate e Re, Partia Republikane, Partia Demokristiane, Partia Bashkimi Liberal Demokrat, Partia Balli Kombëtar Demokrat, Partia Bashkimi Demokrat, Partia Lëvizja për të Drejtat dhe Liritë e Njeriut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>