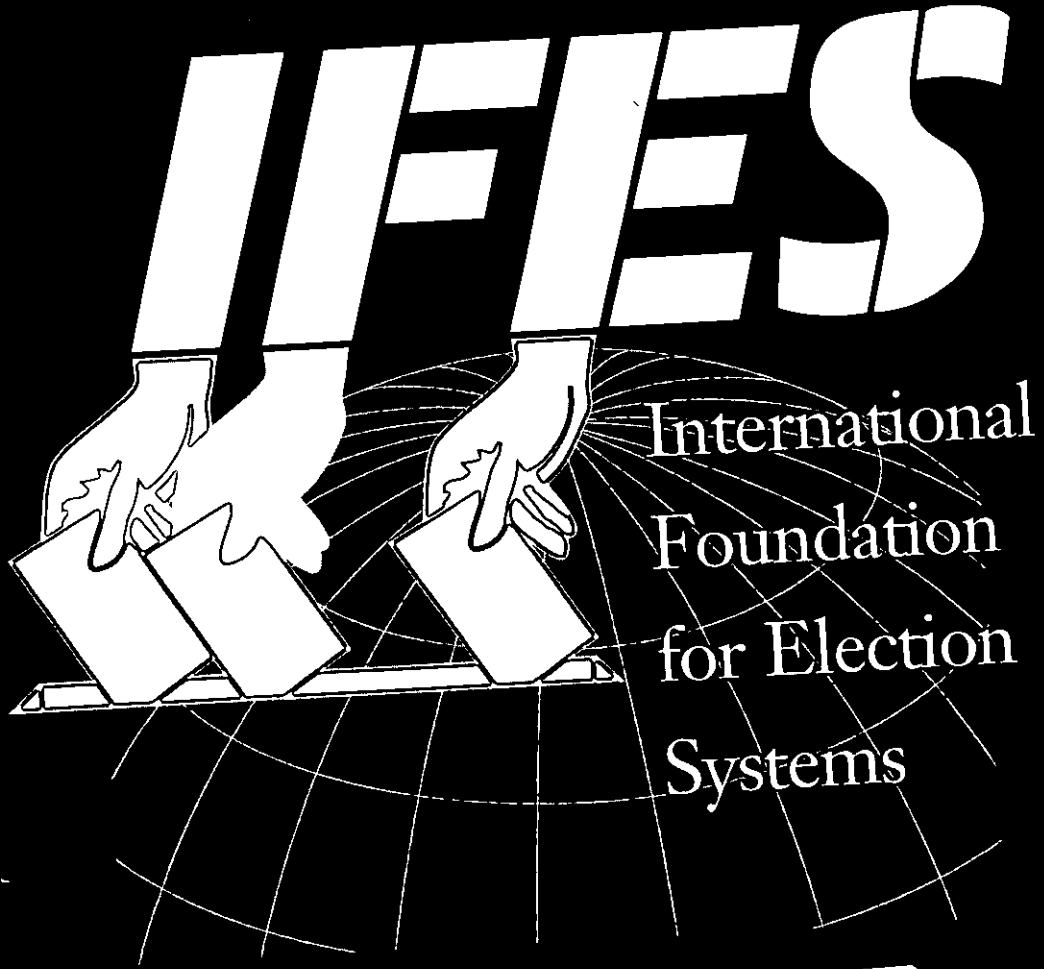


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REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
PRE-ELECTION TECHNICAL
ASSESSMENT

APRIL 1997

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
ONE INTRODUCTION & OVERVIEW	3
I. INTRODUCTION	3
A. SCOPE OF WORK	3
B. COUNTRY BACKGROUND	3
II. OVERVIEW OF ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES	4
A. CODIFICATION	4
1. CONSTITUTION	
2. PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION LAW	
3. LAW ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	
4. YUGOSLAV CITIZENSHIP LAW	
5. MEDIA LAW	
B. ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY	7
C. POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES	8
1. SPS AND THE RULING COALITION	
2. <i>ZAJEDNO</i> : A LASTING POLITICAL FORCE?	
3. THE RADICAL PARTY OF SERBIA: THE OTHER OPPOSITION	
4. BOGOLUB KARIC AND NEBOJSA COVIC: INFLUENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS?	
5. MINORITY POLITICAL PARTIES	
TWO ISSUE EVALUATION	11
I. ELECTORAL PROCESS ISSUES	11
A. ELECTION ENVIRONMENT	11
1. PROMULGATION OF AN ELECTION CODE	
2. ELECTORAL ISSUE DEBATE AND DIALOGUE	
3. TRANSPARENCY IN ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY	
B. DELIMITATION OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS AND SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATION	13
C. VOTERS LISTS AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE	14
D. ELECTION DAY PROCEDURES	15
1. BALLOT SECURITY	
2. VOTE COUNTING AND TABULATION OF RESULTS	
E. CONTROL OF THE ELECTIONS	16
1. INTERNATIONAL MONITORS	
2. INADEQUATE PARTY REPRESENTATION AT THE PRECINCT LEVEL	
3. A ROLE FOR DOMESTIC OBSERVERS?	

II.	LEGAL/JUDICIAL PROCESS ISSUES	18
A.	SEPARATION OF POWERS	18
B.	ADJUDICATION OF GRIEVANCES AND ANNULMENT OF ELECTIONS	19
1.	INCONSISTENT AND CONFUSING APPEAL PROCEDURES	
2.	INVALIDATION OF RESULTS BASED ON TECHNICALITIES	
C.	PERFORMANCE OF JUDGES	20
III.	POLITICAL PROCESS ISSUES	21
A.	NOMINATION AND REGISTRATION PROCEDURES	21
B.	CAMPAIGNS AND FINANCING	22
1.	POLITICAL FINANCING	
2.	MEDIA ACCESS AND CAMPAIGNING	
3.	ADJUDICATING MEDIA COMPLAINTS	
C.	ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS	23
D.	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	24
1.	ELECTION RELATED NGOS	
2.	STUDENT MOVEMENTS AND THE CHURCH	
E.	VOTER INFORMATION	26
IV.	SPECIAL ELECTORAL ISSUES	26
A.	POTENTIAL FOR AN OPPOSITION BOYCOTT	27
B.	REFUGEES AND CITIZENSHIP	27
C.	ELECTIONS IN KOSOVO AND VOJVODINA	28
1.	KOSOVO	
2.	VOJVODINA	
THREE	RECOMMENDATIONS	31
I.	ELECTORAL PROCESS RECOMMENDATIONS	31
A.	ELECTION ENVIRONMENT	31
B.	DELIMITATION OF DISTRICTS	31
C.	VOTERS LISTS	32
D.	ELECTION DAY PROCEDURES	32
1.	BALLOT SECURITY	
2.	BALLOT COUNTING AND TABULATION OF RESULTS	
E.	CONTROL AND MONITORING OF THE ELECTIONS	33
1.	INTERNATIONAL MONITORS	
2.	PARTY APPOINTEES ON POLLING COMMITTEES	
3.	DOMESTIC OBSERVERS	
II.	LEGAL/JUDICIAL PROCESS RECOMMENDATIONS	35
A.	SEPARATION OF POWERS	35
B.	ADJUDICATION OF GRIEVANCES	35
C.	PERFORMANCE OF JUDGES	36

III.	POLITICAL PROCESS RECOMMENDATIONS	36
A.	NOMINATION AND REGISTRATION PROCEDURES	36
B.	CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES AND FINANCING	36
C.	ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS	37
D.	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	38
E.	VOTER INFORMATION	38
IV.	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPECIAL ELECTORAL ISSUES	39
A.	POTENTIAL FOR AN OPPOSITION BOYCOTT	39
B.	REFUGEES AND CITIZENSHIP	39
C.	ELECTIONS IN KOSOVO AND VOJVODINA	39
	1. KOSOVO	
	2. VOJVODINA	
V.	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT	40
A.	INTERNATIONAL ELECTION-ORIENTED ASSISTANCE	40
B.	INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SUPPORT	41
FOUR	CONCLUSION	43
FIVE	ATTACHMENTS	45
A.	BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON ASSESSMENT TEAM	
B.	LIST OF MEETINGS	
C.	GUIDE TO THE ELECTIONS (DECEMBER 1993)	
	1. PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION LAW	
	2. LAW ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	
	3. INSTRUCTIONS ON CARRYING OUT THE ELECTION LAWS	
	4. DATA ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	
	5. RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE MASS MEDIA	

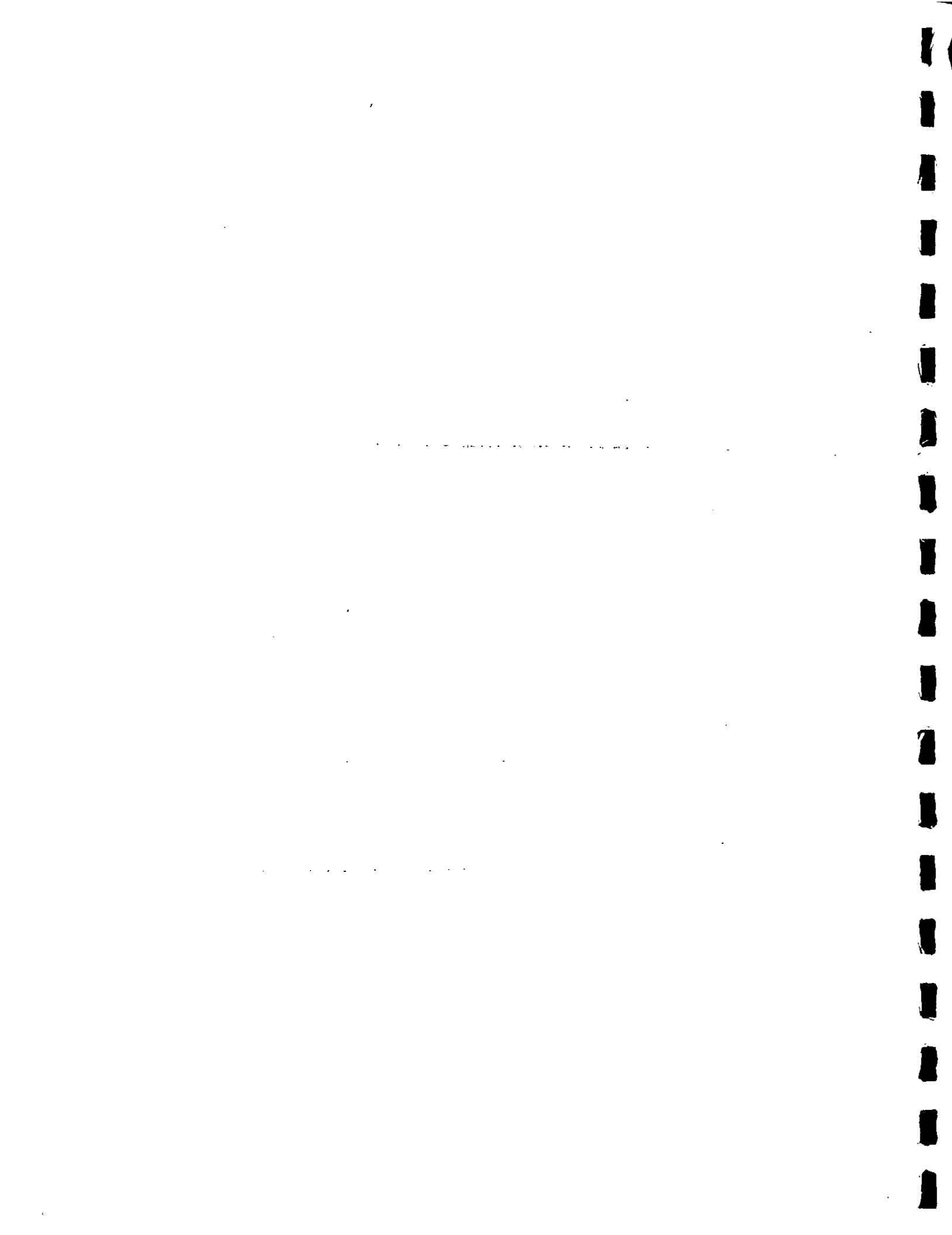
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In April the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) conducted a two week pre-election technical assessment (PETA) in preparation for the 1997 presidential and parliamentary elections in the Republic of Serbia. The IFES team analyzed the internal strengths and weaknesses of the electoral laws and administration of Serbia, including the appeals process, identifying and examining both where the electoral process is vulnerable to external influences and where it is open to independent monitoring. This report identifies ways to improve and safeguard the integrity of the electoral process, including methods for independently verifying its integrity.

In Serbia, there appears to be a widespread desire for substantial international involvement in this year's republican elections. The government and ruling party have expressed their support for international observation and seemed open to receiving some form of limited assistance during the election period. An even greater international effort is generally desired by opposition groups and NGOs, as well as substantial segments of the public.

For the opposition and its supporters, the effectiveness of the OSCE Delegation may have raised expectations about the extent of possible international involvement to an unrealistic level. At the same time it is clear that international monitoring and other involvement in the upcoming elections should be extensive, active, and long-term. Based on these findings, the international community could play a useful and constructive role in the following areas of the election process by:

1. Providing advice and information on comparative election law and procedural practices, and facilitating discussion of election-related issues.
2. Promoting voter awareness and initiative by identifying target groups and effective projects, producing relevant materials, and initiating republic-wide programs. This should be accomplished through coordination with political parties and through partnerships and direct funding of NGOs and media outlets.
3. Facilitating greater domestic involvement over the control of the process by creating and disseminating training materials, and training trainers of expanded Polling Station Committee members (not formally trained by official structures) to man some 10,000 stations.
4. Providing long-term monitoring of both the overall election process and key events such as the compilation of voters lists the nomination and registration of candidates, the appointment of election commissions, administration of elections, and the adjudication of grievances.
5. Providing long-term monitoring of both the private and public media, including direct coverage of campaigns, access to media by political parties and candidates, and use of the media to disseminate election related information.



ONE INTRODUCTION & OVERVIEW

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Scope of Work

Under the framework of Indefinite Quantity Contract AEP-5468-I-00-6003-00 with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) conducted a two-week pre-election technical assessment (PETA) in Serbia in April 1997. In the Delivery Order request to IFES, the assessment was "to analyze the internal strengths and weaknesses of the electoral laws and administration of the Republic of Serbia, including the appeals process, and to identify and analyze the points at which the electoral process is vulnerable to external influences or open to independent monitoring." The Delivery Order request further states that, "The analysis shall also include discussion of indirect impediments to free and fair elections (non-technical and non-legal). The ultimate goal [has been] to identify, in preparation for the Fall 1997 Serbian republic election for the Presidency and the Assembly [Parliament], ways in which to improve and safeguard the integrity of the process, including methods for verifying the integrity of the electoral process independently."

In its assessment planning, IFES sought to identify team members who possessed both regional experience and vocational knowledge in elections and political processes. In particular three skill sets were identified: election law, political party organization, and election administration. Biographical information for the team members is included as Attachment A.

The assessment plan sought to capture information from original sources in both personal interviews and English language translations of laws, documents, and political analyses. Over 45 meetings were held with representatives of political parties, non-governmental organizations, media organizations, government departments, election commissions, research institutions, and international organizations (see Attachment B). Documents researched included the laws applicable to the election process, news accounts, and reports from other organizations.

Although many of the persons to be interviewed resided in Belgrade, the assessment plan sought to include areas outside of the capital. Kosovo and Vojvodina were the two regions selected for one-day special focus assessments because of their unique political circumstances and complexities.

B. Country Background

President Slobodan Milosevic of the Republic of Serbia is expected to announce that elections for the National Assembly as well as the Presidency will occur later this year, most likely sometime between September and December. These elections will mark the end of the President's current term, which began in 1992, and that of the National Assembly, which commenced in 1993.



Elections have already been held for the Federal Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), composed of Serbia and Montenegro, in November 1996. Indirect elections for the Presidency of FRY are slated for June 1997. There is widespread speculation that President Milosevic will announce his departure as Serbian President and run instead for the federal post. Aside from his fading popularity, Milosevic faces a dispute concerning whether an attempt to seek another term is in accordance with the Serbian Constitution, which prevents anyone from being elected to the republican presidency more than twice. On the other hand, constitutional obstacles and political difficulties associated with an attempt by Milosevic to ascend to the Federal Presidency and retain the power of his current post, may encourage him to seek another term at the republic level.

Despite the relative proximity of the elections in time, their potential importance to regional peace and stability, and the numerous local difficulties and international efforts that occurred in the aftermath of the November 1996 municipal elections in Serbia, there is little overt sign of a major effort by international groups to monitor the upcoming elections or represent the interests of the international community. Nevertheless, the expectations of the Serbian political opposition and local NGO's from the international community appear to be great.

Some of these expectations can be linked to the Gonzalez Delegation commissioned by then-OSCE Chairman-In-Office, Flavio Cotti of Switzerland, which led to the confirmation of opposition victories. The active role of the international community (e.g., the Gonzalez Delegation) and the ability to initiate change through peaceful, mass demonstrations, appear to have opened a window of opportunity for many sectors of Serbian society to affect positive, systemic change in the electoral process. The openness expressed by the organizations and individuals interested and actively involved in the electoral process allowed the IFES team to conduct the following analysis and to identify ways to improve and safeguard the integrity of the process.

II. OVERVIEW OF ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES

An overview of the laws, administrative structure, and political players that will play a role in the upcoming Serbian elections is provided below:

A. Codification

1. Constitution

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, adopted in September 1990, created a more unified republic by eliminating aspects of political autonomy for Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo in the south. It sets forth basic conditions for multi-party elections to the National Assembly and elections for the President. The President is to be directly elected for a term of five years, but the Constitution

clearly forbids a person from being elected more than twice. Therefore, it appears that President Milosevic will be compelled to amend the constitution if he wishes to run again for the Republican Presidency.

Representatives to the 250 seat National Assembly sit for four years, barring early dissolution of the body. Milosevic, as President of Serbia, has the right to dissolve the Parliament and call for new elections within 60 days. Likewise, elections for the Presidency must be held within 60 days after the resignation of the President or within 30 days of the end of his five year term.

The Constitution addresses the basic rights of voters and candidates by allowing only *citizens* who have reached the age of 18 to vote and be elected in "direct elections and by secret ballot" for both representatives of the National Assembly and for President. By explicitly allowing "a political party, other political organization, or a group of citizens" to nominate candidates, attempts to revise the nomination procedure may also require a constitutional amendment. Many other issues directly related to election administration, such as the establishment and organization of election commissions, are left to be addressed through electoral legislation.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, declared in April 1992, should also be mentioned. While it does not have a direct impact on the upcoming republican elections, it may affect the timing of the elections. If Milosevic chooses not to run for Presidency of Serbia, he has the option of running for the Presidency of the FRY, which is indirectly elected by the Federal Assembly. Under the FRY Constitution, he would be required to resign his current post before becoming President of the FRY.

2. Parliamentary Election Law

The Law on Electing Representatives (Parliamentary Election Law) was adopted in November 1992, following the declaration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia earlier that year (see Attachment C). This Law has been in force for both the 1992 and early-1993 elections to the National Assembly. However, it is widely expected that a new law will be promulgated with little or no public discussion shortly before the President calls for new elections. While there are no special provisions in the Constitution concerning election laws, local legal experts reported that adopting or amending the Parliamentary Election Law would require a 2/3 majority in the Parliament.

The current Parliamentary Election Law is quite detailed. If applied in a fair and proper manner, it could for the most part provide a sufficient legislative basis for the conduct of parliamentary elections. At the same time, the provisions of the law, both as drafted and particularly as applied, are susceptible to confusion and fraud. This potential for confusion and fraud, especially in the conduct of elections and adjudication of grievances, recently manifested itself in the events surrounding the November 1996 municipal elections in Serbia which were held under distinct but similar legislation.

Perhaps the most important of the other laws affecting the elections in the current context are the Law on Electoral districts, the Yugoslav Citizenship Law, and the proposed Media Law discussed below. Additional legislation that will affect the upcoming elections include the legislation on political organizations, judicial review, and administrative procedure which are addressed in other areas of the report.

3. Law on Electoral districts

Electoral districts, and the number of representatives to the Serbian National Assembly to be elected (through proportional representation) from each district were specified in the 1992 Law on Electoral Districts (see Attachment C). Under this law, nine electoral districts were created for this purpose. However, as with the Parliamentary Election Law, a new Law on Electoral Districts is also expected to be adopted shortly before the President calls for new elections:

4. Yugoslav Citizenship Law

The Yugoslav Citizenship Law, which recently came into effect on January 1 of this year, clears up the citizenship requirements for the hundreds of thousands of refugees without citizenship, and subsequently without the right to vote. The Law, adopted on the federal level, affects both potential Serbian and Montenegrin citizens. Under it, persons who were citizens of the former Yugoslavia and had citizenship in Serbia or Montenegro when the FRY Constitution was declared on April 27, 1992 are considered Yugoslav citizens.

The 1997 Citizenship Law also contains transitional provisions for persons who were citizens in a republic of the Socialist Federal Yugoslav Republic (SFRY) other than Serbia and Montenegro. Those residing in Serbia or Montenegro when the FRY Constitution was declared have one year until January 1, 1998 to apply for Yugoslav citizenship, or up to three years in special cases. Refugees from other former SFRY republics (arriving after April 27, 1992) who do not have another citizenship may be admitted as citizens by decision of the appropriate republican and federal authorities, but only "taking into account the justification of reasons stated in the submitted application and bearing in mind the interests of security, defense and international position of Yugoslavia." Others may apply anytime, as "foreigners," with their cases subject to individual consideration.

5. Media Law

Interest in promulgating new legislation on information and the media appears to stem both from recommendations in the OSCE's Gonzalez Report calling for a reforms in the media and from the Government's interest in modifying past legislation as a result of current developments. The process is principally aimed at informational rather than entertainment-oriented programming, thereby setting the environment for presenting campaign and other election oriented information. Currently,

there is legislation regulating information, the distribution of frequencies, and Radio/Television Serbia (RTS).

The Minister of Information believes that serious regulation is needed in the sector of the so-called "yellow press," namely media financed by foreign sources. The new Media Law proposed by this Ministry seeks to make international support of media outlets more difficult, if not illegal. This could potentially affect international support for even non-partisan election-oriented coverage and programming by domestic media.

The proposed Media Law also seeks to regulate the broadcast media, especially the many media outlets operating through unregistered broadcast frequencies. For regulating the print media, the draft legislation includes provisions granting the Government more control over access to materials of production. In addition, there are provisions that essentially criminalize what the Government views as libelous statements. Although these provisions were proposed by the Ministry to "protect the citizens from the media," they appear to be a reaction to an increase in the level of criticism of government action by independent media outlets.

B. Administration and Policy

There is essentially a new and distinct set of administrative bodies organized to carry out each municipal-, republican-, and federal-level election held in Serbia. In November 1996 the Federal Election Commission of FRY oversaw elections to the Federal Assembly and the several Municipal Election Commissions (MEC) oversaw the municipal elections. However neither of these will be involved in the upcoming elections for the Republican Parliament and Presidency. Although those who served on the MECs in 1996 may be appointed to serve on the elections bodies that will be established for the upcoming republican elections, the current arrangement discourages administrative continuity from one election to the next.

The Serbian Parliamentary Election Law establishes a three-tier system of election administration for the upcoming republican elections. The Republican Election Commission (REC) is responsible for overseeing the overall conduct of the elections, as well as subordinate election commissions. For each electoral district delimited by the special law, there is a corresponding District Election Commission (DEC) overseeing several Polling Station Committees (PSC). In 1993 there were a total of nine DEC's and nearly 10,000 PSC's.

On April 15 the National Assembly established the Republican Election Commission that will organize and conduct the elections. The REC and subordinate DEC's have both a permanent (core) and expanded membership. The core membership consists of a chairman and six other commissioners appointed for four year terms. There is also a secretary who must come from the staff of the National Assembly. In accordance with law, the Chairman of the REC, Judge Balsa Govadarica, and his Deputy are also members of the Supreme Court, while the other core members

are required to be judges. Although judges are not allowed to be members of political parties, this requirement to have judges on both election commissions and in courts converges two otherwise distinct bodies directly involved in the adjudication of election related grievances.

The expanded members of the REC are named by each political party or other organization submitting electoral lists in at least two-thirds of the electoral districts, along with one representative from the Republican Statistical Institute (RSI).

DEC expanded members are appointed by those parties or organizations putting forward candidates for at least three-quarters of the representatives in the respective electoral district. Once named, these expanded members will have the same rights and responsibilities as core members, but will be dismissed at the completion of the elections.

The polling stations are to be established for no more than 2500 voters. The core members of the Polling Station Committees are formed at least ten days before the elections, and consist of a chairman and two members. The expanded membership of the PSCs are also appointed by parties or organizations putting forward candidates for at least three-quarters of the representatives in the respective electoral district. Under certain circumstances, two additional members may be appointed jointly by other parties or organizations submitting lists.

C. Political Parties and Candidates

The political landscape in Serbia is dominated by coalitions of mostly smaller parties limited to promoting their own political interests. Since the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia's political arena has gone through a series of rapid changes. Serbia moved from a single-party system to an atomized pluralistic one with over 100 relatively weak parties overshadowed by a single dominant party. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), successor to the Communist Party of Serbia, still retains control of the Parliament and nearly all the republican-level government posts in Serbia, as well as those on the federal level. However, the consolidation of political parties and the formation of coalitions has seen a resurgence of a number of viable alternatives to the present ruling party. This is underscored by the victories of the opposition coalition *Zajedno* in recent November 1996 municipal elections. Even if *Zajedno* may split apart before this year's elections, a new major opposition coalition will likely be formed.

1. SPS and the Ruling Coalition

The ruling coalition led by the SPS is perhaps the most powerful, due in large part to its control of the Parliament and other governing structures, and its influence in the state-run media. The SPS is dominated by Serbia's powerful President, Slobodan Milosevic, and has the material, human, and financial resources to play a prominent role in the election process. Comprised of left-oriented parties and movements, the ruling coalition includes a group of small ideologically based socialists

and the United Yugoslav Left (JUL). JUL, lead by Milosevic's wife Mirjana Markovic, is made up of a number of political organizations who seem to be seeking political and economic power through the SPS.

Finally, New Democracy (ND), which was originally a part of the former democratic opposition, Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS), is currently in the ruling coalition. However, ND appears to be distancing itself from the SPS in a stated attempt to claim the "independent center."

2. *Zajedno*: A Lasting Political Force?

Formed in 1996, *Zajedno* joins together the Civic Alliance of Serbia (GSS), the Democratic Party (DS), and the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) into the largest opposition coalition. The Association of the Independent Unions is also a member, though less prominent. Neither the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) nor Democratic Center (DC), smaller parties that split from Democratic Party, joined the *Zajedno* coalition for the municipal elections in Serbia on November 17. The coalition draws a great deal of support from the younger, urban population in Serbia that has the potential to be tapped for election-related activities.

Since the municipal elections, smaller parties and personalities have shown an interest in joining *Zajedno*, but the viability of including new partners and political views in an umbrella opposition coalition is unclear. On 18 April, the partners signed a new power-sharing agreement that gained the blessing of Milan Panic, the former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia. The agreement allows Vuk Draskovic of SPO to run for President; and, should they win a majority in the parliamentary elections, Zoran Djindjic of DS to become Prime Minister and Vesna Pesic of GSS to become Speaker of the National Assembly. Despite this agreement, public squabbling between coalition partners, in particular over their individual roles and over the question of expanding the coalition, threatens its future. Should the coalition disband, there is speculation that a new, broader-based coalition, perhaps without the SPO, could emerge.

Zajedno has been an intermittent player in the political arena on the republican level since boycotting the National Assembly over severe cutbacks in live televised parliamentary sessions. This boycott has given the ruling party a free hand to promote itself in televised parliamentary hearings and panels, and to enact legislation at will. However, *Zajedno*'s victories across Serbia's most important municipalities have allowed it a certain level of influence in the upcoming elections. The coalition will have the opportunity to affect local media coverage of the elections. It may also be able to clean-up outdated and, in some cases, fraudulent voters lists. In addition, *Zajedno* candidates may enjoy the benefits of incumbency (in those municipalities they control), which may, however, begin to decline as the euphoria immediately following their victories wears off.

3. The Radical Party of Serbia: The Other Opposition

The strongest opposition force behind *Zajedno* is the right-wing Radical Party of Serbia (SRS), headed by presidential candidate Vojislav Seselj. SRS advocates a strong pro-Serbian, nationalist position and has grown quickly in the last few years. It has supporters among low educated voters in rural areas and Serbs who long to live under a strong leader that will not let the country be humiliated again. This pro-Serbian stance has allowed Seselj and the Radical Party to take the support of the substantial refugee population away from the SPS.

4. Bogolub Karic and Nebojsa Covic: Influential Presidential Hopefuls?

Two additional, well-known presidential candidates are Bogolub Karic and Nebojsa Covic. Karic has serious financial backing and owns BK television, which covers about 80% of Serbia and is the only independent television outlet with the ability to provide the state television, Radio/Television Serbia, with any competition. While he does not appear to have a large organizational base, his BK television has the ability to change RTS's traditional domination over election information. The other candidate, Covic, gained popularity as the former Mayor of Belgrade who was ousted from the SPS for supporting the opposition victories.

Despite the fact that Karic and Covic openly opposed President Milosevic's response to the 1996 municipal elections, both are actually rumored to be allies of the President. It is also speculated that he may groom one of these men for the Presidency of Serbia should he seek the FRY Presidency. However, the viability of each of these candidates to win the Presidency is still uncertain.

5. Regional Minority Political Parties

The role of regionally-oriented minority political parties is mixed. Some are very well organized and are able to provide a voice for their constituents on the republican level, while others are encouraging a complete boycott of republican structures. On the one hand, the Coalition of Party for Democratic Action (PDD) and the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA) has joined the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM) in a parliamentary bloc in the National Assembly to represent the interests of minority populations. In addition, the relatively new Coalition Vojvodina recently made a strong showing in the 1996 municipal elections and may continue to gain support in the upcoming elections. The importance of active minority parties in reaching segments of the population which may be neglected by traditional voter education and mobilization campaigns should not be underestimated. On the other hand, the Democratic League of Kosova (DSK) and the Parliamentary Party of Kosova (PPK) both advocate boycott by the ethnic-Albanian population of all republican structures in Serbia.

TWO ISSUE EVALUATION

The following sections describe electoral, legal, and political issues which portray areas where the election system can be subject to external influence or represent some form of impediment to a free, fair, and transparent outcome.

I. ELECTORAL PROCESS ISSUES

The general environment surrounding the upcoming elections, including the level of debate among the political players and the level of transparency in administrative structures, is discussed below. This section also describes crucial concerns about the delimitation of electoral districts, the legitimacy of the voters lists, and election day procedures. Finally, important issues surrounding the control of the election process are addressed.

A. Election Environment

1. Promulgation of an Election Code

Every legislative election in Serbia following the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia has occurred under new electoral conditions. Either a new method of representation was chosen (e.g., proportional representation *versus* a multi-round absolute majority system in single-mandate districts) or the number of electoral districts was changed significantly.

With the announcement by the Vice President of Serbia that the Government plans to introduce a new election law, the electoral conditions for the upcoming elections, which could occur as early as August, remain unclear. Last year, in advance of the November 1996 federal elections, a new Law on the Election of Federal Deputies for the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly and a new Federal Electoral districts Law were enacted. The latter increased the number of federal electoral districts in Serbia from 19 to 29 (while creating seven districts in the Republic of Montenegro). Similarly, the same is expected to occur on the republican level this year.

Although the intention to introduce a new Parliamentary Election Law is common knowledge, parliamentary and public debate is not occurring. The main opposition and the ruling party are at opposite poles, with the former boycotting the Parliament and the latter arguing that the election law is a parliamentary matter that should be debated within the structure of that institution; that public debate is not yet appropriate. The issues are not being discussed openly in either forum, leaving legislative activity regarding electoral issues shrouded.

2. Electoral Issue Debate and Dialogue

The Gonzalez Delegation sent by then-OSCE Chairman-In-Office during the crisis that followed the municipal elections last year included in its recommendations two items that went beyond resolving immediate local election issues. It stated that the Government should engage in a public dialogue with the opposition on both the Media Law and on electoral conditions in general.

While some panel discussions of the Government's proposed Media Law were broadcast by Radio/Television Serbia, these discussions have not addressed other electoral issues in any detail. Unlike the situation with respect to the Media Law for which two drafts have already been made public, the Government has not published any proposals in the election area.

Zajedno has boycotted media-related panels, arguing that the current public discussions do not fulfill the recommendations of the Gonzalez Report. Similarly, the opposition points out that the Government has failed to address the issue of consultations on electoral conditions. The opposition and most observers doubt that the Government will do so, expecting the Government to introduce its election law(s) up in the current Parliament without any substantial public consultations beforehand.

Meanwhile, however, the Government has already begun to prepare for the elections by naming the Republican Election Commission on April 15 that will organize and conduct the elections. The Parliament selected current Acting President of the Supreme Court, Judge Balsa Govadarica, as the Chairman of the REC. He was the same judge who led the Supreme Court during its consideration of the appeals arising from last year's municipal elections. It is generally thought that the Court compromised its integrity by regularly siding with the ruling party on the numerous complaints and appeals that threatened to negate opposition victories and contributed to the widespread public protests beginning last Fall.

3. Transparency in Administration and Policy

The absence of transparency of key parts of the administrative process under the 1992 Parliamentary Election Law is another concern. For example, it is unclear from the Law how the Republican Election Commission and other election commissions obtain the necessary administrative and technical support to fulfill their responsibilities.

The REC is responsible for appointing all the core members of the District Election Commissions which must be lawyers. Each DEC has a chairman, six other core members and their deputies, and a (nonvoting) secretary. The REC will be required to fill a large number of posts quickly, especially if the number of electoral districts increases as expected. Similarly, the various DEC's are responsible for appointing members of the many Polling Station Committees, or polling boards, in their districts. Since there are some 10,000 polling stations operating republic-wide on election days,

each DEC is responsible for speedily forming over 1,000 PSCs (assuming nine electoral districts, the current number). Each PSC has a chairman and two other core members, making it necessary for each DEC to appoint more than 3,000 officials prior to ten days before the election.

The large number of appointments to the DEC and PSCs required in such a short timeframe raises questions about an already shrouded appointment process. The absence of any formal public procedure leaves it unclear where the list of qualified individuals is to come from and allows for unnecessary government influence in the selection of election commissioners.

Government influence in the election process has manifested itself in the decision-making process of the election commissions. All decisions must be made by majority vote, whether the commissions are in their permanent or expanded makeup. It was reported that core members of the DEC's sometimes reached decisions in the absence of the expanded membership. Furthermore, at polling stations there were numerous complaints that political party appointees were not allowed to participate fully in the operations, particularly in counting, or that they were even removed from the voting premises.

The evident lack of transparency and unnecessary government influence in the selection of election commissioners has allowed biased election administrative structures. While the law specifically states that "[n]o political party or other political organization may have more than half the members in the [core] makeup of any authority for carrying out the elections," there were many complaints that the Government has in the past effectively controlled decision-making in the REC and DEC's, as well as most of the PSCs. At the very least, it appears that the Government ensures a working majority of partisan support in the election commissions through its influence on the parliamentary-appointed members and the inclusion of an additional SPS representative, as well as possibly other parties in the governing coalition. Finally, since the selection process for republican election authorities minimizes the influence of municipal authorities, *Zajedno*'s recent victories will have little affect in this area.

B. Delimitation of Electoral Districts and the System of Representation

It seems very likely that the Government is planning major changes in the establishment of electoral districts. Electoral districts and the number of representatives to the Serbian National Assembly to be elected (through proportional representation) from each district were specified in the 1992 Law on Electoral Districts. Under this law, nine electoral districts were created. Adoption of this law, similar to the Parliamentary Election Law, followed recommendations by a group of experts who argued that eight electoral districts are optimal, considering the natural geographic and economic divisions of the country, and the working of the contemplated proportional representation method of election to parliament.

It appears that the SPS is devoting considerable resources to districting and other election law and procedure issues. SPS representatives made it clear that the establishment of electoral districts is not a technical issue but rather a political calculation of how to achieve the most favorable results in the election. Essentially, the larger the number of districts created the greater the difficulty for the opposition to mobilize and contest the various districts. They also argued, however, that the number of districts should not grow so large that the ability of minorities to be represented in the Republican Parliament would be unduly infringed. The SPS coalition increased their representation in the Federal Assembly through the multiplication of districts to 29 in the November 1996 federal elections. There is speculation that the Government may move to create a similar large or even greater number of districts, perhaps 40-60, for the republican parliamentary elections.

C. Voters Lists and the Right to Vote

The voters lists are produced by each municipal authority with assistance provided by the Ministry of Justice. The physical record-keeping for the lists vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, with some municipalities automating their lists while others retained their lists in hard copy only. The accuracy of the voters lists was widely cited as a major issue in previous elections, with specific complaints taking several forms. Lists were reported to be ill-maintained, including the names of people registered in more than one municipality and even deceased individuals. In some cases, voters stated that they were omitted from the list despite a period of verification. There were also reports that individuals had been registered in households who were unknown to the residents actually living in the household.

Under the Parliamentary Election Law, the voters list is to be made available for review within three days after elections are called, and finalized 15 days before the elections. Citizens are permitted to inspect the list, although it is not clear in the law how far that right extends. The language in the law is as follows:

Within three days of the day of calling for elections, the competent agency shall notify citizens, by way of a public announcement or through the mass media, that they may inspect the electoral roll and request in or removal from the electoral role, as well as its modification, amendment or correction.

- Article 21

After the election, parties have the right to inspect election materials, including voters lists, but it would presumably be difficult for them to conduct a comprehensive review and mount an appeal within the necessary time period. The language in the law is as follows:

Representatives of the submitters of electoral lists and candidates for representatives have the right to inspect the electoral materials, and specially the extracts from the electoral rolls, the minutes of the electoral commissions and the ballots. This can be done in the official premises of the electoral commissions, as well as with the authorities keeping the electoral materials.

Inspection of the electoral materials can be carried out within five days of the day of holding of elections.

- Article 74

Based on information from local legal experts, it seems that voters may in fact check other names in addition to their own prior to election day, and take action to challenge them if necessary. These checks may also, it seems, be made by individuals on behalf of a party or other nominating organization. However, the current legislative procedure and regulatory provisions as generally applied in practice appear to permit review of the voters list only by individuals with respect to determining if they themselves (and perhaps their families) are properly listed. In some areas election administrators have made it difficult to conduct a systematic review of the list by imposing certain conditions on inspection and review (e.g., by prohibiting photocopies to be made of the list, necessitating it to be copied by hand).

Finally, the inclusion of additional names on voters lists also leaves voting more open to fraud. In such cases PSCs or others could insert extra ballots into the counting stream without leading to invalidation of the results at that station, provided the names were checked off in an equivalent number

D. Election Day Procedures

1. Ballot Security

The system of controls on the printing, distribution, voting, tabulation, and storing of ballots and ballot stock are all issues of ballot security. Under the current arrangement, ballots are printed in a decentralized manner with several printing facilities being used throughout the Republic. Special ballot stock with fibers, watermarks, or seals used as a deterrent to counterfeiting have not been employed. Ballots distributed to election commissions and polling stations have not been subject to the level of accounting for used, unused, and spoiled items that requires pinpoint accuracy and provides an audit trail if follow-up evaluation is needed.

At the polling station, the procedure for distributing ballots to the voters leaves room for fraud. Under the current procedure, voters are required to present valid identification, at which time they will receive their ballot and the Polling Station Committee member will circle the number next to the voter's name. No other means, such as the voter's signature, is required.

2. Ballot Counting and Tabulation of Results

The system of counting ballots and tabulating results involves a network that includes Polling Station Committees, District Election Commissions, the Republic Election Commission, the Belgrade and District offices of the Republic Statistical Institute (RSI), and the National Assembly. This combination of institutions and various interests complicates the counting procedure and possesses inherent weaknesses in data control.

The Republic Statistical Institute is the central data-processing bureau for tabulation. The RSI, administered under a law on statistics, will have representatives in each electoral district. The overall mission of the RSI is to gather, analyze, and publish statistical information about the Republic including data from industry, agriculture, trade, demographics, education, and culture.

The Polling Station Committees start the ballot counting process at the close of polls in each of the projected 10,000 stations. A protocol is completed and forwarded to the District Election Commission for review. After the DEC's have reviewed the protocols, they are forwarded to the corresponding District office of the Statistical Institute for summary tabulation. After all the District offices have reported, the tabulated data is forwarded to the Republican Election Commission. Republic-wide final results are then tabulated at the parliament building under the supervision of the Republic Statistical Institute. The REC certifies the final results which are published by the RSI. The final results of the 1993 elections were published within one month of the elections:

The RSI pointed to several controls on the counting and tabulation process. For example, protocols which are not adequately completed are returned to the Polling Station Committee, and tabulation checks are built into the software and public tests of the software are conducted.

However, points of exposure to error or fraud exist at each of the five transfers of tabulation data from one institution to another; that is 1) from polls to DEC; 2) from DEC to RSI; 3) from RSI to DEC; 4) from DEC to REC; and 5) from REC to Parliament. This volume of handling creates a weak environment for data control. Although political party agents are legally permitted to monitor the tabulation from several vantage points, the complexity of the process makes it difficult to track and document. Finally, the fact that final results are calculated in the parliament building creates an impression that those contesting for seats may be able to influence the results.

E. Control and Monitoring of the Elections

1. International Monitors

Encouraged by the success of the OSCE mission recently sent to Serbia, members of the opposition and the NGO community have made clear their interest in extensive and active involvement by international monitors in the upcoming election process. In response to international concern as well as domestic unrest that followed the nullification of opposition victories in last Fall's municipal elections, the Serbian Government permitted then-OSCE Chairman-In-Office Flavio Cotti to send the Gonzalez Delegation. Ultimately, the Government endorsed the recommendations submitted by Gonzalez, including those concerning the necessity for dialogue on media issues and electoral conditions in general. In addition, the Government implemented the Delegation's findings on the municipal elections by enacting a special law (*lex specialis*) confirming opposition victories in the disputed

elections despite the fact that various judicial appeals were still pending.¹

As for the upcoming elections, the FRY authorities are aware of international interest in both long-term activities and short-term election observation. According to government sources, there is currently a draft law in the Federal Assembly that would set regulations for international organizations wishing to establish a presence in Serbia. While the provisions of the draft law remain unclear, such a law would undoubtedly affect any international organization wishing to conduct long-term monitoring of the election process. In addition, the FRY Foreign Ministry, the body responsible for processing all visa requests, appears to be establishing a policy for dealing with an increasing flow of requests in the coming months.

2. Inadequate Party Representation at the Precinct Level

The ability of political parties to detect fraud at the precinct level has been greatly impeded by the absence of a sufficient number of trained and motivated party appointees to the expanded membership of Polling Station Committees. As discussed above, political parties have the right to name acting members to all levels of the electoral administrative structures. The Republican Election Commission seems to be able to mandate the level of involvement of these party appointees in election day activities. However, in past elections, their actual role appears to have varied from one polling station to the next.

Training and locating personnel to fill the slots in the thousands of polling boards located across the country will likely prove difficult for the political parties facing limited resources. In the past it was only the SPS that appeared to have the resources to find and compensate individuals to take these posts. According to *Zajedno's* spokesman, even the main opposition coalition managed to provide training only to some 200 party representatives (making it possible to cover only two percent of the polling stations with trained representatives) before last year's municipal elections.

3. A Role for Domestic Observers?

There are no provisions in the Parliamentary Election Law that explicitly prohibit domestic observers. Beyond allowing party appointees to sit on PSCs though, the Law does not clearly address the ability of domestic observers to participate in the election process. Article 69(3) states that "[a]ny and all persons who have no rights and duties regarding the carrying out of elections as foreseen by this Law are forbidden to linger or remain at the polling place." However, it is possible that Article 44(4), which

¹ Law on Declaring as final the Temporary Results of the Elections for Councillors of the Assemblies of the Municipalities and Cities Indicated in the Report of the OSCE Mission, adopted 11 February 1997. As is often noted, this law -- while it solved the immediate political problem -- is in fact an undemocratic measure since it declared the results of elections through a legislative enactment without resolution of the various legal claims that had been brought concerning these elections pursuant to law.

allows the Republic Election Commission to further elaborate on rules on the working of Polling Station Committees, could be used to allow other forms of domestic observers in the polling station on election day.

Local elections experts in Serbia did not seem to believe that there was any possibility of a direct domestic observation effort during the upcoming elections. In the past, there were reports that so-called "citizen" observers had been admitted to polling stations by PSC chairmen. While it was alleged that these individuals were SPS supporters without legitimate credentials, it may be that such individuals actually obtained membership on the PSCs as representatives of citizens' groups (or combinations of citizens' groups) who fielded candidate lists. The lack of clarity surrounding this issue underscores the importance of clear and transparent procedures to reduce the potential for allegations of fraud and impropriety which may threaten the overall election process.

II. LEGAL/JUDICIAL PROCESS ISSUES

Particular election-oriented issues concerning Separation of Powers, the adjudication of grievances, and the performance of judges are addressed below.

A. Separation of Powers

The election laws of Serbia give Parliament the power to establish and make appointments to the Republican Election Commission. The current Serbian Parliamentary Election Law, in Article 38, provides that the Chairman of the REC and his Deputy be appointed by the National Assembly from among judges of the Supreme Court. The Assembly also appoints judges to the other core membership and deputy positions. In addition, the REC has a secretary appointed from the staff of the Parliament which raises serious questions from the standpoint of Separation of Powers and also the autonomy and accountability of the Commission.

The doctrine of Separation of Powers embodied in many constitutional systems usually prevents the legislative branch from taking specific actions of an executive character, including those that are not addressed through legislation. Appointments of officials to state bodies, such as the REC, are usually considered to be reserved for the executive branch of government, although the legislative branch may legitimately have a role in such appointments (either through proposing candidates or confirming the selection).

B. Adjudication of Grievances and Annulment of Elections

1. Inconsistent and Confusing Appeal Procedures

Political rivalries between the governing and opposition parties during the 1996 municipal elections led to a morass of complaints and counter-complaints, moving between the election commissions and various courts, including the municipal courts, the Supreme Court and even the Constitutional Court. Some complaints (often those of the governing party) were acted upon speedily, while others (sometimes those of the opposition) were deferred, many times for procedural reasons. In addition, even when appeals were brought by certain individuals or parties, all affected interests were not informed and given the opportunity to join the proceedings.

One source of confusion that arose concerning judicial appeals with respect to last year's municipal elections, the applicability of a provision in the Self-Government Law for Municipalities that gives municipal courts very wide and undefined jurisdiction in cases affecting municipal government, will fortunately not apply to the upcoming republican elections. Nevertheless, Serbian law on judicial appeals is very complex, and a complete examination of it is outside the scope of this report.

There are, however, two broad categories of judicial action in this area which contain different standards, procedures, and remedies. These come from the Law on Judicial Review which is reportedly more like a rehearing of an entire case on the one hand, and Law on Administrative-Judicial Review which is limited to issues of procedural and constitutional validity on the other. In addition, there is language on the appeals process in the Parliamentary Election Law itself stating that "[a]n appeal against a ruling of the appropriate electoral commission rejecting or refusing an appeal may be lodged with the Supreme Court of Serbia [which shall] rule on the appeal according to the laws regulating procedure in administrative cases." There are also provisions with respect to a special kind of appeal to the Constitutional Court.

2. Invalidation of Results Based on Technicalities

A large number of complaints were filed by the ruling party and its supporters against opposition victories during the November 1996 municipal elections. In Belgrade alone, some 200 complaints were submitted concerning the 110 municipal races. *Zajedno* initially took 70 of the 110 available seats, but, as a result of various complaints and appeals, these victories were reduced first to 60 and then to 27.

Most of the complaints regarding the municipal elections were based on the alleged discovery of irregularities at polling stations, some of which, if proved, could require invalidation of the results at these stations. Further, some of these concerned events could not be proved to have occurred on election day. The Law on Municipal Elections allows some flexibility which appeared to vary from one election commission to another. For example, with respect to violations of the ban on posting campaign materials near polling stations, the Novi Sad Election Commission decided to accept complaints only if they could

be proven and it were also shown that 20 voters felt that their voting decision had been influenced by exposure to the materials.

In general, however, Serbian election practice appears to lead to annulment of the results at a polling station for even minor infractions that are discovered there. The Parliamentary Election Law is very strict regarding the necessity of nullifying results at a polling station when certain irregularities are detected, including the posting of campaign materials too close to the polling station, and any discrepancy in the number of ballots cast.

Article 66 states:

- Every voter must vote personally.
 - A voter may vote only once in the course of an election.
 - Voting is secret.
 - Voting shall be performed on stamped ballots.
 - At the polling place, and within a circle of 50 meters from the polling place, it is prohibited to display symbols of political parties and other propaganda material.
- ▶ If the rules from paragraphs 1 through 5 are infringed in the course of voting at a polling place, the polling board shall be dissolved, and voting at this polling place shall be repeated.

Article 79 states:

- The members of the polling boards may not in any way influence the choice of the voters.
 - The members of the polling boards are bound to explain the voting procedure repeatedly at a voter's request.
 - The members of the polling boards are bound to pay special attention that the voter is not disturbed while marking out his ballot, and to ensuring the total secrecy of the vote.
- ▶ If the rules set down in paragraphs 1 through 3 of this Article are infringed, the electoral commission shall dissolve the polling board, name a new one, and order the repetition of voting at the polling place.

Article 90 states:

- ▶ If it is established that the number of ballots in the ballot box is larger than the number of voters who have voted, the polling board shall be dissolved, a new one named, and voting at that polling place shall be repeated.

These provisions were included as amendments when the Law was adopted by the Parliament in 1992, and their existence leaves open the possibility of widespread challenges to opposition victories in the upcoming elections, similar to the situation that arose during the municipal elections last year.

C. Performance of Judges

It is widely felt in Serbia that the judicial establishment discredited itself in the aftermath of the municipal elections by failing to act independently either as members of election commissions or as judges hearing complaints and appeals. Several judges have protested in a letter, and a few have even formed an independent jurists association. This experience may lead to the improvement of judges performance.

Meanwhile, it may be desirable to explore other ways of selecting both the judicial members of election commissions and the judges who preside over election related cases, so that appearance of undue influence by the governing party can be reduced.

Another concern that arises due to the questionable performance of judges involved in election administration and review concerns the fact that judges are chosen to work on election commissions as well, including the Republican Election Commission. This means, for example, that Supreme Court judges will be asked to rule on appeals from the body presided over by their own Acting President, Judge Balsa Govadarica, who was recently appointed Chairman of the REC.

III. POLITICAL PROCESS ISSUES

This section discusses issues concerning nomination and registration procedures, campaign activities, and access to media. The level of voter awareness and initiative in Serbia is also addressed, along with the role that political parties, the media and the non-government sector can play to increase the overall integrity and transparency of the electoral process.

A. Nomination and Registration Procedures

Current election laws permit candidates to be nominated by citizen groups as well as political parties, and in certain respects even treat these groups more favorably than parties. The same number of supporters, which is very low, is required for each; but the parties, unlike citizens' groups, are required to register with the government. The opposition claims that the Government or its supporters have taken advantage of these provisions in the past to confuse the nomination and campaign process by fielding bogus candidates. There is concern that this will happen again.

The current Parliamentary Election Law does little to constrain candidacies with marginal support or which are put forward for devious reasons. The signature requirement for slates of candidates is 1/1000, or 0.1%, of the number of voters in the district in question. Assuming the current number of districts remains nine, the number of required signatures would only be about 1,000. With more districts, the numerical requirement would be even lower. These figures are significantly below prevailing international standards in this area. There is also additional legislation that covers the requirements for the registration of political parties and formation of citizens' groups.

It is obvious that having a large number of candidates, including many bogus ones, may confuse voters and lead to distortion and manipulation of the election campaign. For example, fringe candidates may claim rights to media access, preempting coverage for legitimate candidates. Groups that are successful in fielding a sufficient number of candidates can also seek representation on election commissions and PSCs, potentially complicating operations there.

The right of citizens' groups to nominate candidates for political office however is guaranteed by the Serbian Constitution. Such a provision is actually common in election laws in the other former socialist countries throughout the region. In this context, it is hard to argue against this practice in and of itself. However, in Serbia there appears to be a problem with low substantive standards for candidate nominations (e.g., a low threshold of membership for the group in question and low requirements for the number of signatures needed to put forward a candidacy).

B. Campaign Activities and Financing

1. Campaign Financing

The Parliamentary Election Law provides for an overall state subsidy for campaign purposes to parties and other organizations of only 1,000 times the average monthly per capita net income. This sum would be divided among the parties according the number of candidates they have nominated. The only limitation on non-governmental funding in the Law appears to be a prohibition against contributions from foreign or corporate sources. There are no provisions for disclosure or reporting of private contributions.

The SPS has tremendous advantages in this area. As successor of the Serbian Communist Party, it has considerable resources available that include funds and properties formerly maintained by the Communist Party, as well as its interests in state and commercial enterprises. In addition, the Government and ruling party also have great influence over the republic-owned media (particularly radio and television).

2. Media Access and Campaigning

Qualifying political parties and other nominating organizations are allowed equal access to publicly provided air time on Radio/Television Serbia. It is not difficult to qualify for these slots, which are shown at prime-time and distributed by lot. There have been widespread media-related complaints, stemming from the plethora of parties and citizens' groups, running in past elections, that inevitably emerge due to the relatively simple ballot access requirements. Political party representatives and media watch groups argue that this situation distorts the electoral landscape presented on RTS by placing competitive parties in with small irrelevant ones. For the 1996 municipal elections it was reported that SPS chose not to accept its free time slot. The allocation and presentation on RTS is even more important, given the dominance of RTS over the information provided across the territory of Serbia.

3. Adjudicating Media Complaints

The 1992 Parliamentary Election Law includes a code of conduct for the media, but these rules are reportedly flouted, especially by the state-owned press (see Attachment C). NGOs with an interest in the press would like to see not only a panel that addresses the Media Law but also takes up specific cases that arise with respect to elections. On the other hand, some press organizations in Serbia would likely resist such a move as a limitation on their journalistic freedom.

The need to consider some means of responding to press abuses during the election period is clear. During the most recent elections the complaint mechanisms failed to address such cases effectively. For example, there were several reports of violations of the ban on certain political coverage 48 hours prior to election day and on election day. For the 1993 elections a supervisory committee was established to regulate the media, but it was reportedly partisan and lacked any enforcement capability. In addition, while it seemed that media-oriented complaints were generally treated as being outside the jurisdiction of the election administrative structures, it was unclear which juridical body was supposed to address such complaints.

C. Role of the Media in the Electoral Process

The mass media in Serbia, particularly television and radio, are one of the most effective means of reaching potential voters, thereby influencing their preferences and affecting their ability to be informed and participate actively in the electoral process. According to the data of the Serbian Audience Research Center, 98.2% of the population watches television daily and 62% listen to radio broadcasts, while only 13.7% read newspapers which are often expensive and harder to obtain. These numbers underscore the impact of the broadcast media in Serbia.

Although there are several types of broadcast media operating on several levels, Radio/Television Serbia, operating under the republican governing structures, is the only one that broadcasts nation-wide 24 hours a day. Through its relatively high level of funding and quality of facilities RTS is able to provide better produced and more aesthetically attractive programming. Thus, through its reach and comparative advantage, particularly in the rural areas, RTS will likely maintain its role as the primary source for information in the upcoming elections. In addition, other than what is prescribed by law, it appears unlikely that RTS will undertake any significant voter education or mobilization effort.

Campaigns and other election-oriented information will also be aired on several local public television and radio stations across Serbia. These operate under the municipal governing structures. While these media outlets are purportedly independent of the central government, RTS has traditionally played a large role in the production and programming of local media across Serbia. However, this changed with the recent 41 municipal victories by the opposition, which took control over respective local stations. Some of these stations were reportedly stripped of equipment (in one case a broadcast tower) by their former occupants. With the arrival of the new governments in these municipalities, programming in many areas literally changed overnight.

Anecdotal information suggests that the informational programming of the radio and television stations controlled by *Zajedno* will not be uniform. It is still too early to tell to what extent these stations will express the interests of local authorities, especially in coverage of the election process. In some areas it appears that the new *Zajedno*-controlled stations may turn out to be as biased and partisan, in favor of the opposition, as they were under SPS control. However out of step with the standards of free media, some may argue that this would be necessary to balance the blatant pro-government coverage on the

republican level. In other areas though, there are very clear attempts to encourage these stations to transform into editorially independent and impartial, albeit publicly financed entities. In any case, *Zajedno's* stated interest in promoting voter information and mobilization campaigns would be expected to become apparent in most of these stations' programming.

Private media, independent of local or governing structures, are likely to augment voter education oriented programming and provide aggressive coverage of the election process. Several small private broadcast stations have emerged recently, and many played a significant role in the recent demonstrations. Although their coverage tends to be limited, efforts appear to be under way to join together smaller media outlets and provide coordinated programming, which could be beneficial to the election process.

Both local public and private broadcast media outlets face many obstacles; such as lack of funding, extensive government interference, and potentially repressive media legislation. The impact of these obstacles on the coverage of election-related issues remains unclear. However, with the new Media Law, the Government appears to be attempting to establish provisions that will allow it greater control over these outlets during the election period.

Print media is another conveyer of election oriented information. The Parliamentary Election Law has provisions for various election-related information to be announced in official government newspapers. In addition, there are many private print media and educational publications produced by NGOs (some of which are foreign financed). The role that the print media will play in the upcoming elections will likely depend in large part on the Government, which appears to have many means at its disposal to control the production and distribution of these various print media, including controls over paper, printing, and distribution.

D. Non-Governmental Organizations

The break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the ensuing violence seems to have motivated many people to become active, resulting in a proliferation of domestic non-governmental organizations. The first NGOs were anti-war, ecological and human-rights oriented. Since 1990 an estimated one thousand independent, non-governmental, non-profit organizations have been established which today promote everything from peace to healthy living. While most NGOs are located in Central Serbia, they also exist in significant numbers in Vojvodina, and to a lesser degree in Kosovo.

A number of legal hurdles however make it harder to work in Serbia. Laws concerning the registration and regulations of NGOs vary according to the scope of the organizations and are both outdated and complicated. Organizations carrying out activities across the Federation are registered with the FRY Ministry of Justice, while those working only in Serbia register with the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The NGO community also faces a number of social and financial obstacles. Despite the plethora of NGOs, the idea of civic initiative and the type of work they conduct are novel concepts to many in Serbia, especially in the rural areas where the population tends to resist change. There is a general lack of understanding and interest in the problems and activities of these organizations, caused by the absence of experience with civic activities. These social burdens are aggravated by a general lack of funding that limits the amount of work that such organizations are able to undertake. On the other hand, a number of well established NGOs receive at least partial funding from external sources such as USAID and SOROS. Those receiving foreign funding however are sometimes tagged as subversive by nationalistic forces in Serbia.

It is unreasonable to expect these often small and poorly funded NGOs to have an overnight impact in the prohibitive atmosphere in which they work. They themselves seem to realize this and do not appear to harbor overly ambitious or unrealistic plans. While they appear to be proceeding at a deliberate pace, representatives of the NGO community seemed committed and genuinely interested in working together with the international community as well as with other domestic groups in order to achieve their goals.

1. Election Related NGOs

Organizations involved with election related issues seemed willing to take whatever steps were necessary to ensure a greater level of transparency in the upcoming elections. The focus on the recent municipal and federal elections and the upcoming republican elections has led to a proliferation of NGOs involved in election-oriented activities. These organizations have often evolved from human rights or anti-war groups. While many of these groups try to remain non-partisan, that is quite difficult within Serbia's current political climate.

This community is a small one, with those involved often wearing two or three hats working with other organizations or political parties. The representatives of these organizations were articulate and seemed to be well educated with many appearing to have legal educations. Several organizations are already involved in or preparing to conduct voter education and mobilization campaigns, design training materials for pollworkers, and undertake monitoring of the election process.

2. Student Movements and the Church

Student Protest 96/97 played a central role in the recent protests which resulted in the declaration of the opposition's November 1996 victories. This movement, started by a small group of dissatisfied students, grew into a large-scale organization. The demonstrations spawned the Student Parliament and the organization Student Initiative, which is the heir to Student Protest 96/97. Student Initiative has plans to join together other student groups across Serbia. Although it is unlikely that the Student Parliament or Student Initiative will play a major role in fielding candidates or influencing political parties, their ability to draw people onto the streets should not be underestimated. More importantly, these organizations have the potential to play a substantial role in youth voter education and mobilization

campaigns.

The Church recently demonstrated its desire to be active as a unifying force. During the recent demonstrations, the Church uncharacteristically took a political stance, favoring the opposition. Asking for the recognition of the original election results, the Church Council stated that “[i]t is not a question of mere politics or political parties, but a question of fundamental and ethical nature crucially important to the entire nation.” Barring any major challenges to the unity of the nation, however, it is unlikely that the church will play any visible role in the upcoming elections.

E. Voter Information

As with most developing democracies, especially when the rules of the game are constantly changing, active measures are required to inform the electorate about the rights and responsibilities of voters. In particular, there are often segments of the population that need special attention, because they are neglected by the mainstream media or because they feel alienated by the system. Whereas representatives of the governing structures did not feel that voter education was necessary, representatives of opposition parties and coalitions and many NGOs felt that voter education was extremely important. Those cited as being in need of particular attention included women, youth, workers (a large segment of which are on unpaid leave), and the various minority groups. Voters in rural areas also appeared to be in need of more information. Finally, were refugees to gain the ability to vote, this would be another segment of the population in need of extensive, targeted voter information campaigns.

There is a great deal of potential for conducting non-partisan voter information and mobilization campaigns outside of the republic-controlled structures, which do not appear to be undertaking such efforts. There are political parties, NGOs, and media outlets that were interested, or had already begun preparing these types of projects. Despite the competence and interest expressed by many of these organizations, these projects face financial constraints and a lack of coordination that risks limiting their impact considerably.

IV. SPECIAL ELECTORAL ISSUES

This section addresses three distinct election-oriented issues and their potential to affect the overall process in Serbia: the possibility of an electoral boycott by *Zajedno* or other major opposition groupings; the inclusion of the refugee population in Serbia; and elections in the former autonomous republics of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

A. Potential for an Opposition Boycott

At the beginning of this Spring, *Zajedno* placed a number of general conditions on their participation in the upcoming elections. More recently a group of 12 opposition parties, including *Zajedno* coalition partners, did the same. Although the internal struggle within *Zajedno* has obviously reduced the coalition's ability to make coherent and credible demands, the recent wide-spread support for these issues across the democratic opposition may serve bolster the creditability of a potential boycott.

There are certain issues pertaining directly to election law and procedures that singly or together, according to *Zajedno*'s spokesman, would cause the opposition to call a boycott of the elections. One issue involves concerns that a major redistricting effort is under way. While the current nine districts are not ideal for *Zajedno*, they would be acceptable. Any significant increase at this late stage would adversely affect the opposition, in addition to hindering the establishment of effective administrative structures. Other important issues include: changing provisions in the election law to prevent minor technical flaws from being used as justification to annul results; ensuring adequate review and appeal of voters lists; ensuring adequate control of the elections; and fair access to media.

While some of the talk about a boycott is probably political posturing to ensure the best possible electoral conditions for the opposition, representatives of the opposition appeared to be adamant about withdrawing should bottom-line conditions not be fulfilled. *Zajedno* representatives stated that they would even consider calling people back onto the streets. This may be difficult to accomplish however, considering the length and emotional level of the recent demonstrations.

B. Refugees and Citizenship

There are over 650,000 registered refugees in Yugoslavia who have not yet formally been granted citizenship, and subsequently the legal right to vote, despite the fact that most of them desire to remain in Serbia and Montenegro. In addition, there are over 100,000 persons from other republics of the former Yugoslavia living in Serbia who also have not formally obtained citizenship. Although a marginal number of refugees have reportedly managed to obtain citizenship through various means, by the end of April it did not appear as if any refugees were granted citizenship as a result of the Yugoslav Citizenship Law, which was only adopted recently.

Unlike in 1993, when as many as 300,000 refugees were reportedly eligible to vote, apparently because their names were on the voters lists, it is unlikely that the current group of potential voters will be enfranchised in time for the upcoming elections. First, since refugees have turned overwhelmingly against the ruling SPS, it would not be in the interest of the Government to grant citizenship *en masse*. Although the Government has the possibility to selectively grant citizenship to potentially loyal voters, this is unlikely to happen for these elections, at least not on a large scale due to the time and resources that would be required. Second, the Government would be entirely justified under the new Citizenship Law to ensure that those without citizenship who voted in 1993 are struck from the list. Finally, whereas

the Yugoslav identification card, which does not contain citizenship information, was reportedly widely accepted as identification by Polling Station Committees in the past, it is speculated that formal proof of citizenship may be required for the upcoming elections.

C. Elections in Kosovo and Vojvodina

Despite the dominance of ethnic Serbs in the central governing structures of the Republic, Serbia is a multi-ethnic state. Substantial minority populations are located in two previously autonomous republics within Serbia, Vojvodina to the north and Kosovo in the south. Each region will face different electoral issues in the upcoming elections.

1. Kosovo

Kosovo is inhabited by predominately ethnic Albanians, approximately 92%, who have been boycotting all Serbian government structures since the autonomous status of Kosovo was taken away. This boycott is led by two opposing political parties. The Democratic League of Kosova (DSK) is headed by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, President of the self-declared Republic of Kosova, while the Parliamentary Party of Kosova (PPK) headed by Adem Demaci. Ethnic Albanians boast a Parliament, as well, which they claim is open to all Kosovars, including ethnic Serbs. In April, Rugova was preparing to hold elections to this Parliament, which were postponed, apparently due to a lack of international support, poor organization, and fear of government repression.

Rugova seems content to seek international recognition through negotiation and international pressure. Demaci's PPK, on the other hand, is interested in stepping up the fight through active, non-violent protest, such as taking over schools (which they are currently boycotting). Assurances were received that these protests would in no way affect the balloting for the upcoming Serbian elections. Both parties, however, made it very clear that under no conditions would the ethnic Albanian population participate in the elections.

The lack of participation of this sector of the population in Kosovo poses problems in terms of representation and control. First, ethnic Albanians would have the opportunity to gain as many as 20-25 seats in the Serbian Parliament. However, their boycott allows the small, mostly ethnic Serb, portion of the population of Kosovo to be overly represented. With less than two percent of the overall population they stand to gain ten percent of the seats in the National Assembly. Second, despite the boycott, eligible ethnic Albanians remain on the voters lists. The large number of voters on the voters lists who will not cast their ballots, together with the current lax procedures for distributing ballots to the voters, increases the ease with which fraud can occur.

2. Vojvodina

Vojvodina is comprised of a large number of ethnic minorities, among the most vocal being the ethnic Hungarians and Croats. There are also a large number of ethnic-Serb refugees. Unlike the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, these groups have chosen to accept the official "national minority" status and fight for their rights through political means and parliamentary representation. Although ethnic Hungarians have representation in Parliament through Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM) and the recently formed Coalition Vojvodina which performed well in last year's municipal elections, the Hungarian community remains split into six political parties. Despite past difficulties in consolidating political factions, leaders of the two major Hungarian parties are optimistic about forging a coalition in time for the upcoming elections. They are also interested in continuing cooperation with *Zajedno*, as long as the main opposition group has a favorable policy towards minorities.

Ethnic Croats have not been so successful, failing to win representation in the Serbian Parliament. With a smaller percentage of the population, the Democratic League of Croats in Vojvodina blames the current delimitation of electoral districts for their inability to be represented. In general, the issue of drawing electoral districts is particularly important for all minority political parties seeking representation in the National Assembly.

Voters from ethnic minorities in Vojvodina appear to have become significantly more apathetic since the last elections. The turnout of ethnic Hungarians has reportedly dropped from about 75% in 1993 to 50% in 1996. The reason for this drop appears to be both a lack of information and a confusing electoral process. Since there is only one Hungarian newspaper, no Hungarian radio station, and the television is almost completely controlled by the Serbian government, the political parties and other election oriented NGOs face a difficulty reaching potential voters. This lack of information was reportedly compounded by a confusing ballot in the 1996 municipal election, which in one municipality reportedly contained 28 candidates and five languages.



THREE RECOMMENDATIONS

The following three sections describe policy-oriented and procedural changes which address the process concerns raised by the electoral, legal, and political issues addressed above.

I. ELECTORAL PROCESS RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Election Environment

The problems in the current system tend not to derive from the election laws, but, rather from their manner of application. Furthermore, constant changes in the system tend to confuse and alienate the electorate, making them cynical about the ability of the democratic system to represent their interests. To avoid this, the number of districts should be retained at nine, the current number, and the basic aspects of the election process (including the system of representation) should not be altered.

In light of the Government's commitment to promulgate a new election code, increased public discussion on electoral issues should be considered a priority. Such discussion, also recommended in the OSCE's Gonzalez Report, would be meaningless, however, unless the SPS and all major opposition coalitions and parties participate. The current uncompromising attitudes of both the SPS and *Zajedno* risks the promulgation of laws and other procedural guidelines that will lack the support of the major political players and endanger the election process as a whole.

In addition, the lack of transparency in both appointments to the core membership of the election administrative structures and decision making procedures within these structures also threaten the legitimacy of the process. Transparency can be increased in two specific ways:

1. Appointment procedures and the means in which other administrative issues, such as logistical and resource-oriented issues on election day, are dealt with need to be clarified, either in the law or administrative guidelines.
2. Once the expanded members have been named to election commissions, all decisions made by these commissions should be made with both permanent and expanded members present, with the rights of these members clearly stated.

B. Delimitation of Districts

However imperfect, the current electoral districts should remain intact. This decision would add continuity to an ever-changing electoral system. A change in districts this late in the process may also have direct implications on the makeup and quality of the election administrative structures. The sooner the uncertainty surrounding the delimitation of the districts is resolved, the sooner that the District

Election Commissions can be appointed, trained and ultimately function.

C. Voters Lists

Issues surrounding the accuracy of the voters list can be addressed through the following informational, technical and observational remedies:

1. A voter information effort designed to instruct electors on the procedures surrounding the voters list could be conducted. In this effort, registration specific information would be provided so that voters understood how their names are added to the voters list.
2. Standardization on maintenance procedures for the lists from one municipality to the next should be written into the election law. When voters request a change to the list (name change, address change, addition, etc...) a receipt in some form should be provided so that voters and municipalities alike can track these requests and assure their completion (carbon copy, stub, etc...).
3. The process of compiling a voters list should be subject to greater observation by international groups and political parties. In fact, an organized review involving all political parties could be conducted to randomly check a statistically significant number of names on the list for currency and accuracy.
4. For those jurisdictions with automated records, database comparisons should be run between municipalities to search for individuals who may be registered in more than one location. Voters lists by municipality could be printed out in both address form (as a check for bogus registrations by household); and in numerical or alphabetical order (to check for duplicate registrations within a municipality). Vital statistics data could also be compared with voters lists to assess the level of deceased on the list, and youth of voting age who are not yet registered.

D. Election Day Procedures

1. Ballot Security

Three modifications to enhance the level of ballot security should be developed:

1. Special ballot stock and printing requirements should be introduced. The ballot stock should possess a watermark which would render counterfeit ballot printing operations extremely difficult. Political party monitors should be permitted at the ballot printers. The ballot printers should also be required to subscribe to a set of security procedures which may include burning unused ballot stock or mistaken printing runs; locking print plates and film when unused; and posting security around printed ballots.

2. The format of the ballot should be altered to include a stub or counterfoil with a ballot number, but no numbers should appear on the actual ballots to ensure privacy. When a voter is provided a ballot, the perforated counterfoil is retained by the poll worker, but the secrecy of the ballot is maintained. The counterfoil and number serve as a reconciliation device at the close of polls to match the total number of ballots voted with the total number of voters accounted for during the day.
3. Additional security measures should be added to the procedure for distributing ballots to the voters. Under the current procedure voters are required to present valid identification, at which time they will receive their ballot and the Polling Station Committee member will circle the number next to the voter's name. The voter's signature should be required, increasing the difficulty of fraudulently crossing off a voter's name.

2. Ballot Counting and Tabulation of Results

The existing five transfers of ballot and protocol data in the tabulation process may be unavoidable in the short term, but two modifications could be introduced to lend greater transparency to the process:

1. An additional protocol should be completed and certified by pollworkers and posted outside each polling station, allowing all voters and monitors to collect and summarize the results from official documents. Distributing a copy to each expanded member of the PSCs, those appointed by political parties or other groups fielding candidate lists, would add further transparency.
2. For the site of final tabulation a venue other than the parliament building should be selected. The Offices of the Republic Election Commission or even the Republican Statistical Institute may offer sufficiently neutral environments for conducting such business.

E. Control and Monitoring of the Elections

1. International Monitors

Based on the Government's past actions with respect to the OSCE's involvement in Serbia and discussions with government officials, the Serbian Government is expected to be receptive to international observation of the upcoming elections, as well as a range of related international assistance. At the same time, it is not clear whether the Government will cooperate fully with a longer-term activity covering the pre-election and immediate post-election periods, and even beyond.

To be effective, international monitoring of the election process must go beyond the traditional short-term observation of election day and the week or so preceding it. A successful international presence should include two complementary facets:

1. Long-term process monitoring of the campaign, dissemination of information, and the media should be undertaken.
2. Critical points and activities in the election process should be monitored, including: the announcement of elections; candidate and party filing deadlines (which will also determine if parties are boycotting the elections); opening and closing of the period for scrutinizing and changing the voters lists; announcement of the polling sites; ballot printing; election day procedures; counting and tabulation; and adjudication of grievances.

2. Party Appointees on Polling Committees

Party appointees on Polling Station Committees that makeup the expanded membership of some 10,000 PSCs (potentially 30,000 or so individuals) require the same technical and procedural knowledge as core members of the commission. However, little or no official training is available. Due to this lack of education and experience, party appointees on PSCs often lack an adequate understanding of their rights and responsibilities, including the ability to effectively observe the voting and participate in the counting procedure to the extent mandated by the Republican Election Commission. In past elections, the actual role of party appointees appears to have varied from one polling station to the next.

Three steps should be taken to allow these party appointees on PSCs to be effective and observant pollworkers, thereby adding another layer of transparency in the conduct of elections:

1. Locating appropriate individuals to serve on the PSCs should be the first step. Parties should seek to enlist the help of "youth wings" affiliated with political parties, student groups, and other NGOs.
2. Deploying party appointees more effectively across Serbia, especially in areas where particular attention is warranted, should be ensured. Increased coordination among parties and organizations with similar interests would also help assure a more balanced deployment of party appointees on PSCs.
3. Competent training should be provided, along with related materials, so that these appointees are adequately trained to understand their rights, observe the voting and counting procedure, and detect indications of fraudulent activities.

3. Domestic Observers

Despite the reported practice of by some Polling Station Committee chairmen of arbitrarily allowing "citizen" observers on polling day, whether the presence of other domestic observers at polling stations or other election operations is actually permissible under the law should be explored in more detail. While not affecting party appointees, Article 69(3) of the Parliamentary Election Law that prohibits

individuals without specific "rights or duties" under the Law from lingering at the polling station may be used by electoral authorities to prevent domestic observers. There are also provisions that appear to allow the Republican Election Commission to authorize such observers under the Law. This should be encouraged. Finally, efforts should be made to persuade election authorities to permit the participation of *bona fide* observers nominated by NGO's with a legitimate interest in human rights and civil society.

II. LEGAL/JUDICIAL PROCESS RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Separation of Powers

By not following principle of Separation of Powers in constituting the Republican Election Commission, there is an appearance that this body will be unduly subject to influence by political interests in Parliament. It would be preferable to change this approach through legislative amendment, or find some other way to ensure that the appointment of REC members results in the selection of appropriately qualified and politically disinterested individuals. Short of legislative changes, the Government could enter into consultations with the opposition prior to asking the National Assembly to exercise its power.

Other ways to address this issue could also be explored. For example, in Romania under the existing 1992 national election laws, the judges of the Supreme Court choose among themselves by lottery the necessary number for core membership positions in the Central Election Bureau. The Chairman of the Bureau is then chosen, again by lottery, from among the judges who have been selected in this manner.

B. Adjudication of Grievances

The situation that led to the recent morass of complaints and counter-complaints from the 1996 municipal elections, and the way they were addressed must be clarified. Three steps should be taken:

1. The Serbian election practice that has led to the annulment of the results at polling stations for minor infractions needs to be improved. The strict provisions in the Parliamentary Election Law should be changed so that minor infractions do not always require the dissolution of the election board and the repeating of elections. The existence of such provisions leaves open the possibility of widespread challenges to opposition victories in the upcoming elections.
2. The appeals process needs to be simplified and clearly delimited, allowing affected interests to be informed and given the opportunity to join the proceedings.
3. Increased efforts should be made to ensure and encourage the independence of the judiciary which is at the core of any legitimate adjudications process.

C. Performance of Judges

Judges in Serbia work as election officials and hear electorally-oriented complaints and appeals, including those made against election commissions. The independence and impartiality of judges should be encouraged in the following ways:

1. Other ways of selecting both the judicial members of election commissions and the judges who preside over election related cases should be explored, so that appearance of undue influence by the ruling party can be reduced.
2. Associations of independent judges should be promoted and supported through training and written materials.

III. POLITICAL PROCESS RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Nomination and Registration Procedures

The large number of candidates, political parties, and other nominating groups that tend to confuse voters and lead to distortion of the election process needs to be addressed. This may be done without eliminating citizen groups from the nominating process, which would require a constitutional amendment. Currently there is little distinction between political parties and citizen's groups, both of which must collect only about 1000 signatures in each of nine districts to put forward candidates. Two steps should be taken:

1. Ballot access requirements could and should be increased to bring them more in line with standard international procedures. Reducing the number of nominating groups could be achieved by raising the low signature requirement and low threshold of membership for a nominating group.
2. Other measures to encourage political party development that do not jeopardize constitutional guarantees for citizens' groups should also be explored.

B. Campaign Activities and Financing

Provisions should be established to increase transparency in the campaign process and level the playing field. The following three points should be considered:

1. A system of campaign finance and expense disclosure should be adopted. Under a simplified process, the sources of campaign revenue and the expenditures from a campaign would be revealed in a series of disclosure reports released to the Republic Election Commission as a

public document on a schedule of days: 30 days prior, 10 days prior, and 30 days after election day.

2. Measures should be taken to ensure increased availability of media access for all political parties with a reasonable chance of winning seats. While such a distinction may be difficult to make, past electoral experience could be taken into account.
3. A code of conduct for media coverage of the campaign period should be established to help ensure fair and accurate coverage. An independent adjudicative body to consider election-related complaints should also be considered to enforce the code of conduct.

C. Role of the Media in the Electoral Process

As with past elections, the free flow of campaign and other election oriented information is likely to be severely restricted, especially in rural areas. While the private media has grown considerably and many of the local public radio and television stations are in the hands of the opposition, Radio/Television Serbia maintains the furthest broadcast reach and the deepest pool of technical resources. Provisions in the draft Media Law, such as those that prohibit foreign funding and give the government increased control over frequencies, would assist RTS continue to dominate election-oriented information in the upcoming elections. The following steps should be taken to assist voters to receive freely, valuable election-related information:

1. To facilitate the free flow of information, greater cooperation and coordination among the various small private media should be encouraged, as should the non-partisan, independence of local public media outlets.
2. An independent supervisory committee with the ability to adjudicate election related complaints and levy sanctions should be established. Its independence could be encouraged by allowing one representative from each of the parties allowed to appoint a member to the REC, as well as one representative from RTS and one from each of the media outlets controlled by major municipal governments.
3. Election related information, involving provisions of the election law, election dates, voters list information, and the location of polling stations, should be disseminated freely by all media within Serbia. Election information for media consumption should be organized into accurate and understandable packages for dissemination. An election news service could be established to provide the media with legal, technical, and campaign-related information about the elections. The news service could provide information in hard copy through dispatches and press releases, and also by electronic means through e-mail, a web-site, video, and audio actualities.
4. Both electronic and print media should be employed to facilitate increased voter information and

mobilization campaigns.

D. Non-governmental Organizations

Although there are many NGOs interested and active in election-related activities from process monitoring to training, they are constricted by legal, social, and financial burdens. The following efforts should be made to allow these organizations to function more freely:

1. Legal provisions concerning the registration and regulation of domestic non-profit organizations should be simplified and clarified.
2. Public education on the role of the non-governmental community and the importance of volunteerism in the election process should be undertaken to reduce prejudice and increase popular involvement in the process.
3. There appear to be many worthwhile election-related projects involving information, training, and monitoring which should be encouraged through partnerships by working with the international community and through increased coordination among domestic groups, as well as through by direct funding. Roundtables or even a more formal association of interested NGOs should be considered.

E. Voter Information

There is both a need and potential for increasing voter awareness and voter initiative in the electoral process, particularly targeted toward such traditionally disadvantaged groups as youth, women, and the poor. Such projects, however, would generally have to occur outside of republic-controlled structures, requiring increased levels of coordination and flexibility. The first step should be to identify specific segments of the population that are in particular need of increased attention and the type of education needed. Then voter information run by political parties, NGOs, and various media outlets should be encouraged.

There are several political parties, NGOs, and media outlets that are interested in, or have already begun preparing these types of projects. Greater coordination among these organizations and media outlets needs to be facilitated to encourage adequate coverage of voter information materials and programs. An association of NGOs involved in these projects could also network and discuss targeted audiences and messages.

IV. SPECIAL ELECTORAL ISSUES

A. Potential for an Opposition Boycott

Steps should be taken to address the issue of a boycott by *Zajedno* or any other viable opposition groups participating in the elections. The current political climate appears to encourage rash political or even personally based statements and actions. Through political party training, parties should be instructed how to make informed decisions about when a boycott may be appropriate. The fact that election boycotts are extreme measures should be reinforced and reconciliation through a neutral venue among all political players within the political system should be encouraged.

B. Refugees and Citizenship

As no citizenship has yet been granted on the basis of the new Yugoslav Citizenship Law, it is unclear how the Government intends to implement its provisions. A coherent policy should be established and made public as to how the Government intends to process citizenship applications, especially if there is a possibility that there may be a large-scale granting of citizenship. Such a situation could seriously affect the conduct of the elections, since issues concerning the registration and education of these new voters would have to be dealt with within a very short time frame.

C. Elections in Kosovo and Vojvodina

1. Kosovo

The political complexities of Kosovo posed questions which go beyond the scope of this report. Claims of independence by ethnic-Albanian leaders in that region are not recognized by the international community. The Parliament of the self-declared Republic of Kosova and its electoral system are kept fragile institutions by near constant police interference and a paucity of resources.

Although proposals have been floated for various forms of representation for the Albanians to consider, any organized efforts to persuade ethnic Albanians to cast their ballots in the Serbian republic elections are probably futile. The impact of the boycott is to award an additional 20 or so seats to SPS supporters than would otherwise be electorally probable. These seats are won from an electorate shrunken dramatically by the boycott.

As a result, a special focus of monitoring, education, and training program activities should be focused in this region to reduce the opportunities for fraud in registration and voting. Because of the leverage which a few thousand votes possess in this region, a special team of monitors should be assigned to follow the registration, campaign, media, balloting, and tabulation over the election cycle.

2. Vojvodina

The ethnic diversity of the Vojvodina region is reflective of the Balkans as a whole. In situations of differing language, religious, and cultural backgrounds by neighboring areas, there must be sensitivity to each of these considerations in the development of voter information materials and messages. Training of political parties in effective use of resources, strategic planning, and coalition building could inhibit the tendencies toward fragmentation while still recognizing a multifarious body politic.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Throughout this report several areas have been identified where the international community could play a constructive role in supporting the development of pluralism and democracy in Serbia. The active role of the international community and the ability of the population to initiate change through peaceful, mass demonstrations across the Republic, appears to have opened a window of opportunity for many sectors of Serbian society to affect positive, systemic change in the electoral process. While the recent international involvement by the OSCE may have raised expectations about the extent and intensity of likely international involvement to an unrealistic level, it is clear that international monitoring and assistance in the upcoming elections should be extensive, active, and long-term. The international community could provide support for the election process both by providing targeted electorally-oriented assistance and by encouraging the current structures to strengthen the integrity of the process and increase transparency.

A. International Election-Oriented Assistance

Based on the findings in this assessment, the international community could play a useful and constructive role in the following areas of the election process:

1. Advice and information on comparative election law and procedural practices should be provided, and discussions among all major parties of election-related issues should be facilitated.
2. Voter awareness and initiative should be promoted by identifying target groups and effective projects, producing relevant materials, and initiating republic-wide programs. This should be accomplished through coordination with political parties and through partnerships and direct funding of NGOs and media outlets.
3. Greater domestic involvement over the control of the process should be facilitated by creating and disseminating training materials, and training trainers of expanded Polling Station Committee members (not formally trained by official structures) to man some 10,000 stations.

4. Long-term monitoring of both the overall election process and key events such as the compilation of voters lists the nomination and registration of candidates, the appointment of election commissions, administration of elections, and the adjudication of grievances should be undertaken.
5. Long-term monitoring of both the private and public media, including direct coverage of campaigns, access to media by political parties and candidates, and use of the media to disseminate election related information should also be conducted.

B. International Political Support

The international community should complement its assistance efforts by encouraging the current structures in Serbia to strengthen the integrity of the process and increase transparency. In particular, the international community should do the following:

1. Support must be provided to international entities and organizations conducting programs in Serbia in order to assure their security and ability to conduct their work. Particular support should be provided for both long- and short-term international observation of the election process, thereby increasing the integrity of the elections.
2. The Government and the SPS should be encouraged to sit down with the major opposition parties and discuss electorally related issues via a non-partisan, perhaps foreign, mediator. Long-term international observers may serve as intermediaries and facilitate such a dialogue.
3. It should be of primary importance to discourage changing the system of representation and the current delimitation of the nine electoral districts when considering a new electoral code.
4. The voters lists should be made open to general public scrutiny immediately so that they may be brought up to date and to increase the overall transparency of the process.
6. The continued growth of the independent media should be encouraged. Likewise excessive regulation of the media inhibiting such growth should be discouraged.
7. The establishment of a truly independent supervisory committee to regulate the media in connection with election-related issues should be encouraged. To be affective it must be independent, have the ability to adjudicate election related complaints, and be able to levy sanctions.



FOUR CONCLUSION

This pre-election technical assessment addressed the electoral, legal, and political issues which portrayed areas where the election system in Serbia may be subject to external influence or represent some form of impediment to a free, fair, and transparent outcome. The report began with an overview of the laws, administrative structure, and political players in the upcoming elections. Then it discussed the election environment, delimitation of districts, voters lists, and election day procedures, as well as the control and monitoring of the election process. This discussion was followed by an examination of particular electorally-oriented legal and judicial issues, including an unclear separation of powers, a complex and unclear system for the adjudication of grievances, and the performance of judges.

Then larger political concerns were explored. These included the plethora of parties emerging from lax nomination and registration procedures, campaign activities and financing, the role of the media in the electoral process, the emerging non-government sector, and the level voter information. Three special electoral issues were also addressed, including the potential for an opposition boycott, the issue of refugees and citizenship, and elections in Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Specific recommendations for each of these areas were also made. This set of recommendations was followed by suggestions about where the international community could most effectively provide support, both through assistance efforts and through direct political pressure. Based on these recommendations, IFES believes that a coordinated strategy of voter education, training, and election process monitoring that involves the political campaign, registration, and media coverage, as well as technical assistance, would affect areas most in need of strengthening and where the process is most receptive to external influence.



FIVE ATTACHMENTS

- A. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON ASSESSMENT TEAM**
- B. LIST OF MEETINGS**
- C. GUIDE TO THE ELECTIONS (DECEMBER 1993)**
 - 1. PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION LAW**
 - 2. LAW ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS**
 - 3. INSTRUCTIONS ON CARRYING OUT THE ELECTION LAWS**
 - 4. DATA ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS**
 - 5. RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE MASS MEDIA**

ATTACHMENT A.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF ASSESSMENT TEAM

JEFFREY W. FISCHER
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

Jeffrey Fischer has extensive experience in election administration and a strong background in the Balkan conflict and post-Dayton developments. As IFES Executive Vice President, Mr. Fischer directs the daily operations of all IFES departments and programs. Mr. Fischer joined IFES as Executive Vice President in 1993 after several years of experience in field management of IFES' electoral assistance projects which included Haiti (1990-91) and Guyana (1991-92). Mr. Fischer has also worked on site on election or conference projects in Croatia, the Dominica Republic, Gaza/West Bank, Ghana, Hungary, Mexico, Peru, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Tunisia, Ukraine, and Zimbabwe. In 1996, Mr. Fischer was appointed by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as Director General of Elections for the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Previously, Mr. Fischer represented the *MicroVote Corporation* and in this capacity consulted with local and state administrators regarding their equipment needs. In 1985, Mr. Fischer was also appointed to a four-year term as Commissioner on the Kansas City Election Board and in 1990 he was appointed to the Missouri Campaign Ethics and Finance Review Board. He has lectured in the U.S. and abroad on the field of election administration and is author of several scholarly papers.

JEFFREY CARLSON
PROGRAM ASSISTANT, EUROPE AND ASIA
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

Jeffrey Carlson is a Russian speaker whose active role at IFES includes, but is not limited to, technical and administrative support to the IFES Russia Field Office. Mr. Carlson graduated from the University of Aarhus, International Guest Student Program and the University of Washington, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (JSIS): Russia and Eastern Europe Track. He has served as Program Assistant for Europe and Asia with IFES since September 1996. Mr. Carlson assists in the development of programming goals and specific projects, and reports on IFES' achievements in Russia. He also follows developments relevant to the current regional election cycle in Russia, compiles relevant information, and work closely with IFES experts to carry out legal and administrative reform, public information, and voter education programs across Russia's 89 Subjects. Prior to IFES, Mr. Carlson worked with the International Secretariat for the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

DANIEL FINN
ELECTION LAW SPECIALIST

Daniel Finn has served IFES on two recent occasions in 1996 as a technical legal specialist in Bosnia (as part of the IFES Technical Advisors Team) and in Romania as a legal advisor to the Romanian Bureau for Elections under the direction of the IFES Field Director in Bucharest. Mr. Finn has more than 20 years professional experience in law and public policy, primarily international relations, natural resources and environment. He has a doctorate in law and academic background, numerous publications and extensive government service. He has served as an independent consultant for the past four years working with IFES and other international organizations focussing on building democratic political and legal institutions and improving environmental and natural resources management. Mr. Finn has a LL.D from Harvard Law School, a JD from University of Hawaii and an MA from University of Toronto. Mr. Finn most recently worked with IFES in Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kazakstan as a legal and electoral advisor.

LUDMILA HAROUTUNIAN
POLITICAL PARTY AND NGO SPECIALIST

Ludmila Haroutunian has extensive experience in the areas of civic and voter education including the development of her own Survey Organization in Yerevan and the soon-to-be-constructed local NGO supporting democratic development initiatives in Armenia. She worked previously with IFES supporting its pre-election sociological survey of the electorate in 1996. Ms. Haroutunian, an Armenian citizen, attended Yerevan State University, The University for Professional Development, Moscow State University, and the Sorbonne University in Paris. She holds degrees in Economics, Philosophy, and the Institute of Sociology, Moscow (1986). She has served as Senior Lecturer and Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Yerevan State University (1963-1976); Chair of the Laboratory of Applied Sociology of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Science of Armenia (1976-1980); Chair of the Laboratory of Applied Sociology of Yerevan State University (1980-1986); Head of the Department of Sociology, Yerevan State University (1986-present); and as visiting professor at Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University (1996-1997). Ms. Haroutunian has also served as Vice Chair of the Women's Committee of Armenia (1987-1995); People's Deputy of the USSR (1989-1991); Member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1989-1995); Member of the World Inter-Parliamentary Association (1989-1991); Member of the Social-Economic Council of the President of the Republic of Armenia (1993-1994); and Leader of the Armenian Democratic Forum (1996-present).

ATTACHMENT B.

LIST OF MEETINGS

**Pre-Election Technical Assessment in the Republic of Serbia
Conducted by the International Foundation for Election Systems**

GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES

Ministry of Information of the Republic of Serbia
Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES

Municipal Authority of Novi Sad
Municipal Authority of Subotica

ELECTION COMMISSIONS

Republican Election Commission (former)
Belgrade Municipal Election Commission
Vozdovac Municipal Election Commission
Novi Sad Municipal Election Commission

POLITICAL PARTIES AND TRADE ORGANIZATIONS

Civic Alliance of Serbia (GSS)
Democratic Center Party
Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians (DMVZ)
Democratic League of Kosova (DSK)
Democratic Party (DS)
Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS)
Democratic Party of Croatsians of Vojvodina (DSHV)
League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina
New Democracy (ND)
Nezavisnost (Independent) Trade Union
Parliamentary Party of Kosova (PPK)
Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)
Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS)
Vojvodina Alliance of Hungarians (VMSZ)
United Yugoslav Left (YUL)

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

Center for Public Opinion Research
Medium Public Opinion Polling Center

MEDIA OUTLETS

Beta News Agency
Bjuku Daily
Dnevni Telegraph (DT)
KOHA
Kosova Information Center
Radio B92
Radio/Television Serbia
Studio B TV
ZERI

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Argument
Belgrade Center for Human Rights
Center for Anti-War Action
Center for the Development of the Non-Profit Sector
Center for Peace and Crises Management
Center for Women Studies
Council for Human Rights
Democratic Center
Forum for Inter-Ethnic Relations/Movement for Europe
Humanitarian Law Center
Odgova (Response)
Student Initiative (formerly Student Protest 96/97)

ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

Academy of Sciences, Institute for Balkanology
Institute for Political Science, Belgrade
Institute for Social Sciences, Belgrade
University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Law

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

Embassy of the United States
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
United States Information Service
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

ATTACHMENT C.

**REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
GUIDE TO THE ELECTIONS**

Produced By:

**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
DECEMBER 1993**

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

GUIDE
TO THE
ELECTIONS

December 1993

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before you is a collection of all relevant document concerning the early elections in the Republic of Serbia. It includes the decrees dissolving the National Parliament of Serbia and scheduling early Parliament elections, the laws regarding the election of Parliament Members and electoral districts for Parliament elections, instructions for the implementation of the law on the election of Parliament Members, data concerning the number of voters in various electoral district, as well as the regulations on the media behavior during the electoral campaign defined by the majority of parties taking part in the elections.

The publisher's intention was to alleviate the work of foreign correspondents and observers that will follow the parliamentary elections in Serbia. We also believe that the study of all these documents will allow an objective evaluation of the sense and the character of the early elections.

We are aware of the fact that the international community is watching closely and evaluating the course of the elections campaign in Serbia. This brochure should enable all sides to base their evaluation of the electoral regulations on facts and documents and not on apriori positions having no grounds. We also believe that the analyses and evaluations must not be burdened with preconceived stands, and that all considerations should be critical but objective - unbiased ideologically.

The Republic of Serbia is determined to be fully open for critical and competent international opinion concerning the forthcoming elections. We therefore expect that numerous international media will objectively cover all the phases of the elections, and that this collection of official documents will truly enable them to carry out their assignment competently.

Ministry of Information of the
Republic of Serbia

CONTENTS

PRESIDENTIAL DECISION TO DISOLVE THE NATIONAL ASSAMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	5
DECISION TO SCHEDULE ELECTIONS FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	7
LAW ON ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES	9
LAW ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS FOR THE ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	53
INSTRUCTIONS ON CARRYING OUT THE LAW ON ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES AND THE LAW ON ELECTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC	57
DATA ON THE NUMBER OF VOTERS IN THE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS FOR THE ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	69
RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE MASS MEDIA IN THE EARLY ELECTIONS	71
GUIDE THROUGH THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF SERBIA	77

Based on Article 89 paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, I hereby enact this

DECISION

The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia elected on December 20th 1992 is dissolved.

no. 15/93
Belgrade, October 20, 1993

The President
of the Republic of Serbia
Slobodan Milošević

(Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, no. 83 - October 20, 1993)

Based on Article 89 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and Article 28 of the Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia no. 22/93), I hereby enact this

**DECISION
TO SCHEDULE ELECTIONS FOR THE
REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA**

1. I hereby schedule elections for representatives to the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia to be held on December 19, 1993.

2. The period for election activities shall begin on October 21, 1993.

3. Elections for representatives shall be conducted by electoral bodies in the Republic of Serbia, in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Electing Representatives.

4. This Decision shall go into effect on the day it is published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

RS no. 86
Belgrade, October 20, 1993

National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia

President of the Assembly
Dr. Zoran Arandjelović

LAW ON ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES

I BASIC PROVISIONS

Article 1

This law regulates the election and termination of tenure of representatives in the National Assembly (henceforth: representatives).

Article 2

Citizens shall elect the representatives on the basis of free, universal, equal and direct suffrage, by secret vote.

Nobody has the right to prevent or force a citizen to vote, to take a citizen to account for voting or to demand from him to declare for whom he has voted or why he has not voted.

Article 3

The National Assembly consists of 250 representatives, who are chosen for a period of four years.

Article 4

Representatives are chosen in the electoral districts on the basis of lists submitted by the political parties or other political organizations and the lists submitted by groups of citizens (henceforth: electoral lists).

Mandates for representatives shall be apportioned in accordance with the number of votes obtained.

Article 5

Citizens have the right to be informed via the mass media about the electoral programs and activities of the submitters of the electoral lists, as well as of the candidates on the electoral lists.

The mass media have the obligation to ensure equality in informing about all submitters of electoral lists and candidates from said electoral lists.

Electoral propaganda through the mass media and by way of public gatherings and the publication of estimates of the outcome of the elections is forbidden for a period of 48 hours before the day of the holding of elections, and on the day of the holding of elections until the closing of the polling places.

Article 6

The authorities which shall conduct the elections are the electoral commissions and polling boards.

Article 7

Protection of voting rights is guaranteed by the electoral commissions, the Supreme Court of Serbia and the appropriate courts.

Article 8

The funds for conducting the elections are secured in the budget of the Republic of Serbia.

Article 9

Activities, documents, submissions and other papers filed in connection with the conducting of the elections and the termination of tenure of representatives shall be free of tax.

Article 10

Electoral districts and the number of representatives to be chosen in each electoral district shall be determined by law.

II SUFFRAGE

Article 11

Suffrage as used in this Law includes the right of citizens to the following, in the manner and according to procedures determined by this Law: to elect and to be elected; to nominate candidates and to be nominated as candidates; to decide on candidates nominated and on electoral lists; to publicly put questions to the candidates nominated; to be informed on time, truthfully, completely and objectively about the programs and activities of the submitters of electoral lists and the candidates on those lists, as well as to make use of other rights foreseen by this Law.

Article 12

A citizen of the Republic of Serbia who is at the same time a citizen of Yugoslavia, who is over 18 years of age, has the business capacity and is domiciled on the territory of the Republic of Serbia (henceforth: voter) shall have the right to elect a representative.

A citizen of the Republic of Serbia who is at the same time a citizen of Yugoslavia, who is over 18 years of age, has the business capacity and is domiciled on the territory of the Republic of Serbia shall have the right to be elected as a representative.

Article 13

A person who is at the same time a deputy in the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly cannot be elected as a representative.

A representative cannot at the same time carry out any judicial or other functions to which he has been appointed by the National Assembly, or be a functionary or an employee of an agency of the Republic carrying out duties related to the activity of such agency, except as in cases set down in the Constitution.

On the day of confirmation of the mandate of a representative, a person appointed by the National Assembly shall cease to perform this function, and the employment of an employee of an agency of the Republic shall be suspended.

III ELECTORAL ROLLS

Article 14

The roll of voters on the territory of a municipality (henceforth: electoral roll) shall be kept by municipal agencies as a delegated task.

The electoral roll is a public document and shall be kept as an official duty.

The electoral roll is a single and permanent document, and shall be obligatorily brought up to date in the year of the holding of elections.

Article 15

Voters are enlisted in electoral rolls according to their place of domicile.

A voter can be enlisted into only one electoral roll.

The electoral roll shall also include Yugoslav citizens temporarily residing abroad, in accordance with their last place of domicile before moving abroad.

Citizens currently serving in the Armed Forces or on a military exercise, as well as citizens under temporary arrest or serving a prison sentence, shall be enlisted into electoral rolls according to their last place of domicile.

Persons who have been deprived of their business capacity by a finally binding court sentence shall not be enlisted into electoral rolls. If such persons were previously enlisted into the electoral rolls, they shall be removed from them, and when their business capacity is reinstated by a finally binding court decision, they shall be again enlisted into the electoral rolls.

Article 16

Enlisting citizens into electoral rolls and deleting from them is carried out as an official duty, on the basis of data from registers of births, deaths and marriages, other official files, public documents and direct checking.

Enlisting citizens into electoral rolls and deleting from them is carried out at request of the voter, and on the basis of other reliable proof.

Article 17

The electoral roll shall be kept in volumes.

Volumes of the electoral roll shall be kept for every inhabited community.

The electoral roll shall contain: ordinal number, name, personal number, sex, year of birth, place of domicile (street and house number, township, village, hamlet, settlement), and a space for comments.

Article 18

Electoral rolls can also be kept in the form of card files, data files on magnetic tape or data files on magnetic disk.

When electoral rolls are kept in the manner described in paragraph 1 of this Article, a separate file card shall be kept for every voter, or a corresponding entry with the required data on magnetic tape or magnetic disk.

When electoral rolls are kept in the manner described in paragraph 1 of this Article, a list of names can be kept in addition

to the electoral roll, which shall list the voters according to their place of domicile.

Article 19

If the agency keeping the electoral roll finds out that a person who is deceased or has permanently changed place of domicile and is no longer resident on the territory of said electoral district has been enlisted into the electoral roll, it shall effect the removal of such a person from the electoral roll.

A ruling on the removing of a person as described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be drawn up.

The ruling described in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be handed over to the person who has changed his place of domicile if his new domicile is known, or published in the usual manner in his last place of domicile.

When a voter who has moved to the territory of a municipality is enlisted into its electoral rolls, the competent agency of the municipality in which the voter was previously enlisted in the electoral roll shall be notified.

On the basis of a notification as described in paragraph 4 of this Article, a voter shall be removed from the electoral roll.

Article 20

An appeal against a ruling described in Article 19 of this Law shall be decided upon by the ministry responsible for activities in the field of administration.

Article 21

Within three days of the day of calling for elections, the competent agency shall notify citizens, by way of a public announcement or through the mass media, that they may inspect the electoral roll and request enlistment in or removal from the electoral roll, as well as its modification, amendment or correction.

Requests for enlistment into or removal from the electoral roll, as well as requests for its modification, amendment or endorsement shall be submitted to the agency competent for keeping the electoral roll. The necessary evidence shall be submitted together with the proof.

The agency keeping the electoral roll shall rule on the request described in paragraph 2 of this Article within 48 hours

from the day of its receipt. The disposition of the ruling shall be handed to the plaintiff without delay.

An appeal can be lodged against the ruling described in paragraph 3 of this Article within 48 hours from the moment of handing over of the ruling with the court competent for ruling in administrative cases. The appeal is filed through the agency which has made the ruling, which shall be bound to hand over the appeal and all necessary files to the competent court within 24 hours of receipt of the appeal.

An appeal as described in paragraph 4 of this Article shall be ruled upon by the court within 24 hours of receipt of said appeal, in accordance with the regulations on administrative court procedures.

The decision of the court is binding and can be carried out.

Article 22

The electoral roll shall be concluded at the latest 15 days before the day of the election.

The electoral roll is concluded by a ruling of the agency keeping the electoral roll.

The ruling described in paragraph 2 of this Article shall determine the total number of voters enlisted in the electoral roll, the number of voters in each volume, the date of conclusion of the electoral roll, the signature of the responsible official and the seal of the competent agency.

When the electoral roll is kept in the manner described in Article 18 of this Law, into the ruling concluding the electoral roll shall be included in the adequate manner the data set out in paragraph 3 of this Article.

The ruling described in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be handed to the electoral commission at the latest 24 hours from the moment of its making.

Article 23

The electoral commission shall, at the latest 24 hours after receipt of said ruling, hand to the Republic Electoral Commission the data on the total number of voters in the electoral district.

Article 25

After conclusion of the electoral roll, enlistments, removals, modifications, amendments and corrections of the electoral roll

are published on the basis of decisions of the competent municipal court in extrajudicial procedure.

On the basis of the decision of the competent court, the electoral commission shall enlist the voter into the electoral roll at the latest 48 hours before the day set for holding the election, and determine the total number of voters in the electoral district.

Article 26

The competent agency which keeps the electoral roll shall compile an authorized extract from the electoral roll for every polling place, which shall be delivered to the electoral district at the latest 24 hours after from the moment of making the ruling on conclusion of the electoral roll.

The agency described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall issue certificates of suffrage.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall issue closer instructions about the content of the extract from the electoral roll, the form in which it is compiled and the manner of its authorization.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall set forth the rules for compiling the extracts from the electoral roll for voters living outside the place of polling, and will determine the form for the certificate of suffrage.

Article 27

If several votes are held simultaneously, as many authorized extracts from the electoral roll shall be issued as there are votes being held.

IV CALLING FOR ELECTIONS

Article 28

Elections for representatives shall be called by the President of the National Assembly.

The decision on the calling of elections shall also determine the day of holding of elections and the day from which the time limits for various electoral procedures shall run.

The decision on holding of elections shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

Article 29

No less than 45 days, and no more than 90 days shall pass between the day of calling for elections and the day of their holding.

Article 30

Elections for representatives shall be held no later than 30 days before the expiry of the tenure of representatives whose mandate is ending.

The tenure of representatives whose mandate is expiring shall end on the day of verification of mandates of the new representatives.

Verification of the mandates shall be carried out within 20 days of the holding of elections.

Article 31

If the National Assembly is dissolved, in accordance with the Constitution, the President of the Republic shall call for elections on the day of its dissolving.

V AUTHORITIES CARRYING OUT THE ELECTIONS

1. Status of the authorities

Article 32

The authorities carrying out the elections are autonomous and independent in their work, and operate on the basis of laws, and regulations made on the basis of laws.

The authorities carrying out the elections are responsible for their work to the body which appointed them.

All agencies of the state and other agencies and organizations are bound to help the authorities carrying out the elections and to supply them with data necessary for their work.

Article 33

The authorities for carrying out the elections may operate in permanent and expanded makeup.

The authorities for carrying out the elections shall operate in expanded makeup from the day of determination of said makeup until the conclusion of the elections.

The authorities for carrying out the elections take decisions by a majority of votes of members, both in the permanent and expanded makeup.

No political party or other political organization may have more than half the members in the permanent makeup of any authority for carrying out the elections.

Article 34

Members of the electoral commissions and their deputies are named for a period of four years. The members of the polling boards and their deputies are named for each election.

Article 35

Members of the authorities for carrying out the elections of representatives and their deputies must have suffrage.

Members of the authorities for carrying out the elections and their deputies shall cease to perform their duties in said authorities if they accept being a candidacy for representative.

Article 36

The work of the authorities for carrying out the elections is public.

The representative of the submitter of the electoral list and other persons following the work of the authorities for the carrying out of the elections are bound to behave in line with the rules set down by the Republic Electoral Commission.

When persons described in paragraph 2 of this Article infringe on the rules on behavior at the polling place or in any other way disrupt the work of the authorities for carrying out the elections, the authority carrying out the elections may remove them from the spot, entering a record of the event into the minutes.

A candidate from an electoral list which has been confirmed and proclaimed cannot be present at the work of the authorities for carrying out the elections.

2. Electoral commissions

Article 37

Electoral commissions are:

- 1) the Republic Electoral Commission;

- 2) electoral commissions of the electoral districts (henceforth: electoral commissions).

Article 38

The permanent makeup of the Republic Electoral Commission consists of: the president and six other members named by the National Assembly, while the expanded makeup includes one representative each of submitters of electoral lists who have put forward candidates for representatives in at least two thirds of the electoral districts in the Republic, as well as a representative of the agency of the Republic dealing with statistics.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall have a secretary, appointed by the National Assembly from the order of professional workers of its services, who shall participate in the work of the electoral commission without the right to participate in decisionmaking.

The president, other members of the Republic Electoral Commission and its secretary shall have deputies.

The president of the Republic Electoral Commission and his deputy shall be appointed from among the judges of the Supreme Court of Serbia.

The members of the Republic Electoral Commission appointed by the National Assembly and their deputies must be named from the order of bearers of judicial functions, while the persons appointed to the expanded makeup must be graduate jurists.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall make a ruling on which submitters of electoral lists fulfill the conditions for delegating his representatives to the expanded makeup of this body within 48 hours from the proclaiming of the electoral list.

The ruling on fulfillment or lack of fulfillment of conditions for delegation of representatives on the side of submitters of electoral lists shall be handed by the Republic Electoral Commission to the submitter of the electoral list within 24 hours of the making of the ruling.

The makeup of the Republic Electoral Commission shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

Article 39

The Republic Electoral Commission shall:

- 1) oversee the legality of the elections;

- 2) follow the application of and give explanations in regard to this Law;
- 3) coordinate and oversee the work of electoral commissions in carrying out the elections, and give them instructions regarding the implementation of the election procedures;
- 4) set down unified standards for election materials;
- 5) set down the forms for carrying out election procedures foreseen by this Law and the regulations for implementation of election procedures foreseen by this Law;
- 6) determine which election documents shall be sent to it;
- 7) determine the manner of proclaiming electoral lists;
- 8) set down the manner of handling and keeping election materials;
- 9) publish the total results of the elections;
- 10) submit a report to the National Assembly about the elections carried out;
- 11) carry out other duties foreseen by this Law.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall adopt a rulebook on its work.

Article 40

Conditions for the work of the Republic Electoral Commission shall be ensured by the National Assembly.

Article 41

An electoral commission in its permanent makeup consists of: the president and six other members named by the Republic Electoral Commission, while the expanded makeup includes one representative of every submitter of an electoral list who has put forward candidates for at least three quarters of the total number of representatives to be chosen in the electoral district, and at most two joint representatives of other submitters of electoral lists in that electoral district.

The electoral commission shall have a secretary, appointed by the Republic Electoral Commission, who shall partici-

pate in the work of the electoral commission without the right to participate in decisionmaking.

The president, other members of the electoral commission, the secretary and their deputies, as well as the persons named to the expanded makeup of the electoral commissions must be graduate jurists.

The electoral commission shall, within 48 hours of the proclamation of an electoral list, determine which submitters of electoral lists fulfill the conditions for delegating their representatives to the expanded makeup of the electoral commission.

The ruling on fulfillment or lack of fulfillment of conditions for delegation of representatives on the side of submitters of electoral lists shall be handed by the electoral commission to the submitter of the electoral list within 24 hours of the making of the ruling.

The makeup of the electoral commission shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

Article 42

The electoral commission shall:

- 1) oversee the legality of the elections in the electoral district;
- 2) organize the technical preparations for the elections;
- 3) determine and advertise the polling places;
- 4) form polling boards and appoint the presidents and members of the polling boards;
- 5) determine the number of ballots for each polling place, stamp them, and together with an authorized extract from the electoral roll, hand them over in notarized procedure to the polling boards;
- 6) determine whether electoral lists have been compiled and filed in accordance with this Law;
- 7) make rulings on the proclamation of electoral lists;
- 8) determine the results of voting in each electoral district, as well as the number of votes for each electoral list;

9) determine the number of mandates belonging to each electoral list;

10) submit a report on the outcome of the election to the Republic Electoral Commission;

11) submit data to the authorities responsible for gathering and processing statistical data;

12) perform other duties foreseen by this Law.

3. Polling boards

Article 43

The permanent makeup of a polling board consists of: the president and at least two members, while the expanded makeup includes one representative of each submitter of an electoral list who has put forward candidates for at least three quarters of the total number of representatives to be chosen in the electoral district, and at most two joint representatives of other submitters of electoral lists in that electoral district.

The president and the members of the polling boards shall have deputies.

The polling board shall be named at the latest ten days before the day designated for the holding of the election.

The electoral commission shall, within 48 hours of the moment of making a ruling on the proclamation of the electoral list, make a ruling determining which submitters of electoral lists have fulfilled the conditions for delegating their representatives to the expanded makeup of the polling boards.

The ruling on fulfillment or lack of fulfillment of conditions for delegation of representatives on the side of submitters of electoral lists shall be handed by the electoral commission to the submitter of the electoral list within 24 hours of the making of the ruling.

The submitters of the electoral lists may delegate a joint representative to the polling board.

Article 44

The polling board carries out the election directly at the polling place, ensures the regularity and secrecy of the voting, determines the outcome of the voting at the polling place and carries out other duties foreseen by this Law.

The polling board shall be responsible for maintaining order at the polling place for the duration of the voting.

The polling board shall select a member responsible for voting outside the polling place.

Further rules on the work of the polling boards shall be set down by the Republic Electoral Commission.

4. Representatives of the submitters of electoral lists in the authorities for the carrying out of the elections

Article 45

A submitter of an electoral list, as described in Articles 38, 41 and 43 of this Law, shall determine his representatives in the authorities for the carrying out of the elections, and send notice of this to the authorities who have named the authorities for the carrying out of the elections.

After receiving notification of the persons who are delegated to the expanded makeup, the authorities for the carrying out of the elections in their permanent makeup shall, at the latest 48 hours after the moment of receipt of said notification, make a ruling determining the names of the persons who are occupying their members.

If a submitter of an electoral list does not delegate a representative to the authority for the carrying out of the elections at the latest five days before the day designated for the holding of the elections, said authority shall continue its work and make binding decisions without said representative of the submitter of an electoral list.

VI ELECTORAL LIST

1. Candidacy

Article 46

Candidates can be put forward, under the conditions set down in this Law, by political parties and other political organizations (henceforth: political parties), individually or jointly, as well as by groups of citizens.

Article 47

A person may be a candidate only on one electoral list and only in one electoral district.

An electoral list may contain no more candidates than the number of representatives being elected in that electoral district, and no fewer than two thirds of this number if the submitter of the electoral list is a political party, and no fewer than a half of said number if the submitter of the electoral list is a group of citizens.

Article 48

One person cannot be a candidate both for representative and federal deputy nor a candidate for any other bodies of state when these elections are being held simultaneously.

Article 49

A submitter of an electoral list may withdraw his electoral list at the latest by the day of determination of the general electoral list.

Upon the withdrawal of the list, the functions of the representatives of the submitter of the electoral list in the all authorities for the carrying out of the elections cease, along with the cessation of all rights pertaining him in this regard according to the provisions of this Law.

A candidate may desist from his candidacy up to the day of the making of the ruling on the proclamation of the electoral list.

Withdrawal of submission and desisting from candidacy must be declared in written form.

Article 50

If after the making of the ruling on the proclamation of an electoral list a candidate is by finally binding court decision stripped of his business capacity, loses the prescribed citizenship, desists from candidacy, or if he dies or ceases to be domiciled on the territory of the Republic of Serbia - the submitter of the electoral list loses the right to put forward a new candidate.

The position of the candidate described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be occupied by the candidate who is next in order on the electoral list.

In case of events described in paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral list shall remain valid even if it no longer fulfills the conditions regarding number of candidates as set down in Article 47 of this Law, and the submitters of the list shall retain all their rights foreseen by this Law.

2. Name, confirmation and proclamation of electoral lists

Article 51

The name of the electoral list is determined according to the name of the political party which submits the list, and the name may include the name and surname of the person whom the political party designates as the carrier of the electoral list.

If two or more parties submit a joint electoral list, then the name of the electoral list and the carrier of the list shall be determined consensually.

With the electoral list submitted by a group of citizens, the submitter determines the precise appellation of the list, and this may include the name and surname of the person designated by the group of citizens as carrier of the list.

The person designated as carrier of the electoral list may be a candidate in one electoral district.

The person designated as carrier of the electoral list may be a candidate for office in another organ of the state for which elections are being held at the same time, provided that he is not a candidate for representative, federal deputy, deputy in the assembly of an autonomous province or local representative.

Article 52

An electoral list is confirmed when it is supported by the signatures of at least one thousandth part of the eligible voters domiciled in the electoral district.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall determine the content and shape of the form for the signatures described in paragraph 1 of this Article.

Article 53

A voter may give his signature in support of only one list.

A person may at the same time give his signature for several lists for different assemblies for which elections are being held at the same time.

The gathering of signatures for nominating candidates for electoral lists, as part of the electoral campaign, is initiated by political parties, as well as by citizens, individually or jointly.

Article 54

An electoral list shall be handed over to the electoral commission at the latest 15 days before the day designated as the day of the holding of the election.

The required documentation shall accompany the electoral list, comprising:

- 1) certificate of suffrage for every candidate on the electoral list, stating the candidate's name and surname, date of birth, profession and personal number;
- 2) a written statement by the candidates in which they accept candidacy;
- 3) certificate of residence for the candidates;
- 4) written statement of agreement by the carrier of the list.

Article 55

The electoral commission shall proclaim an electoral list of a political party (party electoral list), of two or more political parties (coalition electoral list), or of a group of citizens (electoral list of a group of citizens) upon receipt of the electoral list and the required accompanying documentation.

The ruling on proclamation of an electoral list as described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be handed to the submitter without delay.

Article 56

If the electoral commission finds that an electoral list has not been submitted on time, it shall make a ruling on its rejection.

If the electoral commission finds that an electoral list contains deficiencies which are an obstacle to the proclamation of the list in accordance with this Law, it will, within 24 hours of the receipt of such a list, take a decision instructing the submitter of the electoral list to remove those deficiencies at the latest within 48 hours of the moment of this decision being handed to him. The decision will also point out which activities the submitter should undertake in order to remove said deficiencies.

If the electoral commission finds that the electoral list contains deficiencies foreseen by this Law, or that the deficiencies of the electoral list have not been removed, it shall, within

the next 48 hours, take a decision refusing the proclamation of the electoral list.

3. General electoral list

Article 57

The general electoral list shall be confirmed by the electoral commission, and it shall contain all the electoral lists, and include the names of all the candidates, and data on their years of birth, professions and places of domicile.

The order of the electoral lists with the names of all the candidates in the general electoral list shall be determined according to the order of their proclamation.

The general electoral list shall be published by the electoral commission at the latest ten days before the day designated as the day of the holding of the elections.

VII INTRODUCING THE SUBMITTERS OF THE ELECTORAL LISTS AND THE CANDIDATES ON THE ELECTORAL LISTS

Article 58

The submitters of the electoral list have the right to inform the citizens of their programs and activities, as well as the nominated candidates, in the mass media, within the same fixed daily slots, or daily columns.

Resources for the presentation of the submitters of electoral lists and of the candidates may not be gathered from foreign persons or legal entities.

Article 59

Radio and television broadcasting organizations whose founder is the Republic of Serbia are bound, from the day of calling for elections, in political-informative programs which can be seen or heard throughout the territory of the Republic, in equal duration and in the same slot, ensure the presentation of the submitters of the electoral lists and of the candidates from the electoral lists, as well as the exposition and explanation of the electoral programs of the submitters of said lists.

Organizations described in paragraph 1 of this Article are not allowed, under any circumstances whatsoever, to enable the presentation of candidates and the exposition and explanation

of programs of submitters of electoral lists in the commercial, entertainment or any other program.

Article 60

Editors and anchormen in political-informative and specialized broadcasts are bound during the election campaign to independently and objectively present all candidates, and the anchormen of broadcasts must have an impartial attitude to all the presented political, social and ethnical-cultural programs of political parties whose candidates are being introduced.

In accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article, and pursuant to Article 5, paragraph 2 of this Law, broadcasts shall be organized which shall ensure the public confrontation of the electoral programs of the submitters of electoral lists and of candidates from these lists.

Article 61

Representatives of radio and television broadcasting organizations whose founder is the Republic of Serbia, representatives of the Government and representatives of the political parties which intend to take part in the elections shall by accord determine the number and duration of the broadcasts for equal presentation.

The accord described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be reached no later than five days after the day of calling for elections, and will be made public without delay.

Article 62

Representatives of radio and television broadcasting organizations and representatives of other mass media whose founder is the city of Belgrade, representatives of the founders and representatives of the political parties which intend to take part in the elections shall by accord determine the number and duration of the broadcasts for equal presentation.

The accord described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be reached no later than five days after the day of calling for elections, and will be made public without delay.

Ensuring equal conditions for the presentation of all submitters of electoral lists and candidates from the electoral lists is also the obligation, in accordance with this Law, of other mass media whose founders are the province, city or municipality.

VIII CARRYING OUT OF THE ELECTIONS

1. Polling places

Article 63

Voting for representatives shall be carried out at the polling places.

A polling place shall be set up for not more than 2,500 citizens.

Further regulations regarding polling places shall be made by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 64

The voter shall vote at the polling place at which he is entered in the extract from the electoral roll.

In exception to paragraph 1 of this Law, a voter may vote by mail outside the polling place at which he is entered in the extract from the electoral roll, under conditions set down by this Law.

The manner of voting outside of the polling place, as well as the number of voters who have exercised their suffrage in this way, shall be entered in the minutes of the polling board.

Further regulations about voting by mail shall be made by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 65

Each voter shall be handed, at the latest five days before the day of holding of elections, notification of the day and time of holding of elections, including the number and address of the polling place at which he is to vote and the number under which he is entered in the extract from the electoral roll.

The notification described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be handed to the voters by the authority responsible for keeping the electoral roll.

Article 66

Every voter must vote personally.

A voter may vote only once in the course of an election.

Voting is secret.

Voting shall be performed on stamped ballots.

At the polling place, and within a circle of 50 meters from the polling place, it is prohibited to display symbols of political parties and other propoganda material.

If the rules from paragraphs 1 through 5 are infringed in the course of voting at a polling place, the polling board shall be dissolved, and voting at this polling place shall be repeated.

Further regulations concerning measures to ensure the secrecy of the vote shall be made by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 67

Polling places in the electoral district shall be opened at 7 a.m. and closed at 8 p.m. During this interval, the polling places must be open without interruption.

Voters who are present at the polling place at the moment of its closing shall be given the opportunity to vote.

Article 68

If there is a disturbance of order at the polling place, the polling board may interrupt voting until order is restored. The reasons for interruption of voting, and its duration, shall be entered in the minutes of the polling board.

If voting is interrupted for more than an hour, it shall be prolonged for the time of duration of the interruption.

Article 69

While the polling place is open and while voting lasts, all the members of the polling board and their deputies must be at the polling place.

Every polling place shall have a separate room in which it is possible to ensure the secrecy of the vote.

Any and all persons who have no rights and duties regarding the carrying out of elections as foreseen by this Law are forbidden to linger or remain at the polling place.

Members of the police force who are on duty may enter the polling place only with the permission of the president of the polling board and only if peace and order at the polling place have been disturbed.

If the rules from paragraphs 1 through 4 of this Article have been infringed, a complaint can be filed with the electoral com-

mission, which shall then decide whether voting at that polling place shall be repeated.

2. Election materials

Article 70

The ballot shall contain:

- 1) the mark of the electoral district;
- 2) the ordinal numbers placed in front of the names of the electoral lists;
- 3) the names of the electoral lists, according to the order determined in the general electoral list, with the names of the first candidates from the lists;
- 4) a remark stating that it is possible to vote for one list only, and that by circling the number in front of its name.

Article 71

Ballots shall be prepared and stamped by the electoral commission.

The electoral commission shall confirm the number of ballots, which must be equal to the number of voters entered in the electoral roll.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall control the preparation and stamping of the ballots and determine the number of reserve ballots.

All ballots shall be printed at one location.

The submitters of the electoral lists may jointly determine up to three persons who shall be present at the printing of the ballots for purposes of control, and who shall control the procedure of delivery of ballots to the authorities responsible for carrying out the elections.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall make further regulations concerning the shape and appearance of the ballots, the manner and control of their printing and delivery and of the handling of the ballots.

Article 72

The electoral commission is bound to prepare the electoral materials for every polling board on time, specially an adequate number of ballots, the electoral lists, the extracts from the elec-

toral roll, the certificates of suffrage, special and official envelopes for voting, as well as the form for the minutes of the polling board.

The handing over of the electoral materials shall be performed no later than 48 hours before the day of holding of elections.

Municipal authorities shall be responsible for the ordering of the polling places, and shall prepare for each polling board the necessary number of ballot boxes with the means for their sealing and writing material.

On the day of the elections, before the beginning of voting, the polling board confirms whether the prepared electoral material for that polling place is complete and correct, whether the polling place has been ordered in a manner enabling the secrecy of the vote, and whether voting may start, and shall enter all this in its minutes.

Article 73

The general electoral list, with the names of the electoral lists and the names of all candidates, must be displayed in a prominent place in the polling place during voting.

The content, form and manner of display of the general electoral list as described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be further regulated by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 74

Representatives of the submitters of electoral lists and candidates for representatives have the right to inspect the electoral materials, and specially the extracts from the electoral rolls, the minutes of the electoral commissions and the ballots. This can be done in the official premises of the electoral commissions, as well as with the authorities keeping the electoral materials.

Inspection of the electoral materials can be carried out within five days of the day of holding of elections.

Article 75

Electoral materials shall be kept for a period of not less than four years.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall regulate the manner of use of the electoral materials.

Article 76

The Republic Electoral Commission shall set out the content and the shape of the form and of the electoral material needed for carrying out the elections within 15 days of its nomination.

3. Voting

Article 77

The polling board shall control the ballot box in the presence of the voter who is the first to come to the polling place. The result of the control is entered into the control sheet, which shall be signed by the members of the polling board and by the voter who was the first to come to the polling place.

The control sheet is placed in the ballot box, and it is then sealed in the presence of the first voter to arrive, and this is entered in the minutes of the polling board.

Upon opening of the ballot box, it shall first be checked whether it contains the control sheet, if the ballot box does not contain a control sheet, the polling board shall be dissolved and a new one named, and voting at that polling place shall be repeated.

The form for the control sheet and the manner of sealing of the ballot box shall be regulated by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 78

The voter first states to the polling board his name and hands over the notification of elections, and proves his identity with his identification card or other document.

A voter may not vote without presenting proof of his identity.

The president or a member of the polling board, after having confirmed the identity of the voter, circles the ordinal number under which the voter has been entered into the extract from the electoral roll, explains the voting procedure, and hands him the ballot.

Article 79

The members of the polling boards may not in any way influence the choice of the voters.

The members of the polling boards are bound to explain the voting procedure repeatedly at a voter's request.

The members of the polling boards are bound to pay special attention that the voter is not disturbed while marking out his ballot, and to ensuring the total secrecy of the vote.

If the rules set down in paragraphs 1 through 3 of this Article are infringed, the electoral commission shall dissolve the polling board, name a new one, and order the repetition of voting at that polling place.

Article 80

A voter may vote for only one of the electoral lists on the ballot.

Voting is performed by circling of the ordinal number in front of the name of the chosen electoral list.

The voter shall fold the ballot himself in such a way that his choice cannot be seen, shall drop it into the appropriate ballot box, and shall then leave the polling place.

Article 81

No alterations to the extracts from the electoral roll may be performed on the day of elections.

If a polling board acts contrarily to paragraph 1 of this Article, it shall be dissolved, and voting at this polling place shall be repeated.

Article 82

A voter who is not able to vote by himself at the polling place (a blind, disabled or illiterate person) has the right to bring with him a person who shall mark the ballot, that is, perform the voting procedure, according to his instructions.

The manner of voting for voters described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be entered in the minutes.

Article 83

A voter who is not able to vote at the polling place (powerless or unable to come) shall inform the polling board whether he wishes to vote. The polling board shall, through its members, enable this person to vote in a manner which shall ensure the directness and secrecy of the vote.

After being informed of the voter's being unable to come to the polling place, the polling board shall, through its members, deliver to the voter, in an official envelope, a stamped ballot, a copy of the general electoral list, a separate envelope for the marked ballot and the certificate of his suffrage.

After the voter described in paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose his ballot in a special envelope, which the members of the polling board shall seal in his presence by applying their stamp on sealing wax. Then he shall place the closed envelope containing the ballot, together with the certificate on his suffrage, in an official envelope, which the members of the electoral board shall seal in front of him.

The members of the polling board shall hand over to the polling board the official envelope, which the polling board shall open, confirm whether it contains the certificate of suffrage, circle the ordinal number under which the voter is entered in the extract from the electoral roll, and then drop the unopened envelope with the ballot into the ballot box.

The manner of voting of the voters described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be entered into the minutes.

Further regulations regarding the manner of voting described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be made by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 84

Voters who are doing their military service or are on military exercises, or voters who are performing duties in units or institutions of the Army of Yugoslavia, shall vote in these units or institutions.

On the basis of data supplied by the authorities keeping electoral rolls on the voters described in paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral commission is bound to make and authorize separate extracts from the electoral roll for these voters, and, together with the necessary number of stamped ballots, general electoral lists and special and official envelopes, to deliver them to the military units and military institutions in which these voters are.

After the voter described in paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose his ballot in a special envelope, which shall be sealed in his presence by applying stamp on sealing wax. Then the closed envelope containing the ballot shall be placed in an official envelope, which the authorities responsible

for carrying out the elections in military units and military institutions shall seal in front of him.

The authorities responsible for carrying out the elections in military units and military institutions shall deliver to the electoral commission the sealed official envelopes.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall determine further regulations about the manner of voting in military units or military institutions.

Article 85

Voters who on the day of holding of elections are working or studying in the country, but not in the place in which they have been entered into the extract from the electoral roll, may vote by mail.

Voters from paragraph 1 of this Article shall apply to the polling board at the polling place where they have been entered in the extract from the electoral roll with the request that that polling board send them notification of voting, a ballot, a general electoral list, a special envelope for the ballot, a certificate of suffrage and an official envelope.

After the voter described in paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope. He shall then place the closed envelope containing the ballot, along with the certificate of his suffrage, in the official envelope, and shall then send it to the polling board described in paragraph 2 of this Article.

Article 86

Voters who at the time of elections are temporarily resident abroad shall vote at the polling place in the area of the last place of domicile on the territory of the Republic of Serbia which they had before leaving to go abroad.

Article 87

Voters who, as members of the crew of river boats of the merchant navy, find themselves outside of territorial waters on the day of voting, voters working in diplomatic or consular offices of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad and members of their families who live abroad, shall vote on the ship or in the diplomatic or consular office.

Conditions for voting for the persons described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be ensured by the ministry responsible for the areas of transport and foreign affairs.

On the basis of data supplied by the authority keeping the electoral roll for the voters described in paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral commission is bound to make and authorize separate extracts from the electoral roll for these voters, and, together with the necessary number of stamped ballots, general electoral lists, required certificates of suffrage and special and official envelopes, to deliver them to the ship, or office.

The authorized person on the ship, or in the office, shall form a polling board for carrying out the elections on the ship or in the office, from within the order of the voters on the ship or in the office.

After the voter described in paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose his ballot in a special envelope. Then the closed envelope containing the ballot together with the certificate of suffrage shall be placed in an official envelope which shall be sealed in front of him.

The authority responsible for carrying out the elections on the ship or in the office shall without delay deliver to the competent electoral commission the sealed official envelopes.

Further regulations concerning the manner of voting of voters described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be made by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 88

Persons under temporary arrest and persons serving a prison sentence shall vote by mail.

On the basis of data supplied by the authority keeping the electoral roll for the voters described in paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral commission shall be bound to make and authorize separate extracts from the electoral roll for these voters, and, together with the necessary number of stamped ballots, general electoral lists, the required certificates of suffrage and special and official envelopes, to deliver them to the institutions where these persons are under temporary arrest or serving a prison sentence.

After the voter described in paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose his ballot in a special envelope. Then he shall place the closed envelope containing the ballot together with the certificate of suffrage in an official envelope which the member of the polling board shall seal in front of him.

Further regulations concerning the manner of voting for persons described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be made by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 89

In cases of voting by mail, only those ballots shall be taken into account which arrive by 8 p.m. on the day of holding of the election.

In exception to paragraph 1 of this Article, if the polling boards are unable, because of great distances at which the voters described in Articles 84, 85, 86 and 87 live, to deliver the electoral materials to them on time, they shall inform the electoral commission about this as soon as possible.

Electoral materials as described in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be delivered by the polling board later, but not later than 8 p.m. of the day following the day of holding the elections.

In cases of voting by mail, the number of voters who voted, and the manner of voting, shall be entered in a separate record, whose form and content is determined by the Republic Electoral Commission.

IX DETERMINING AND PUBLISHING OF THE ELECTION RESULTS

1. Determining of election results

Article 90

After the end of voting, the polling board shall proceed to determine the results of voting at its polling place.

The polling board first determines the number of unused ballots and places them in a special envelope which is then sealed.

Based on the extract from the electoral roll, the polling board determines the total number of voters who have voted.

When the ballot box is opened, and after checking of the control sheet, the valid ballots are separated from those which are null and void.

The polling board establishes the number of null and void ballots, and enters it into the minutes, and then establishes the number of valid ballots and the number of votes for each electoral list, and also enters these in the minutes.

The following shall be considered a null and void ballot: an unmarked ballot, a ballot marked in such a way that it is impossible to determine for which electoral list the ballot has been cast, and a ballot on which more than one list has been circled.

If the name of the first candidate on the electoral list has been circled on the ballot, or the name or part of the name of the electoral list, or if both the ordinal number and the name of the electoral list and of the first candidate have been circled, such a ballot shall be considered valid.

If a ballot has been cast by mail, it shall not be considered valid unless accompanied by a certificate of suffrage.

If it is established that the number of ballots in the ballot box is larger than the number of voters who have voted, the polling board shall be dissolved, a new one named, and voting at that polling place shall be repeated.

Article 91

After the results of voting have been established, the polling board shall enter the following in its minutes: number of ballots received; number of unused ballots; number of null and void ballots; number of valid ballots; number of votes for each electoral list; number of voters according to the extract from the electoral roll; number of voters who have voted according to the roll and number of voters who have voted by mail.

The minutes shall also include the opinions and observations of the members of the polling board, the submitters of the electoral lists and the joint representatives of the submitters of the electoral lists, as well as all other facts relevant to the voting.

The minutes on the work of the polling board shall be signed by all members of the polling board.

Article 92

Upon establishing the results of voting, the polling board shall immediately, and no later than 18 hours after the moment of closing of the polling place, deliver the following to the electoral commission: minutes on its work, together with the extract from the electoral roll; unused, and, separately, used ballots; null and void, and, separately, valid ballots; all other electoral material.

Article 93

The result of the election is established by the electoral commission on the basis of results from all polling places in the electoral district, and a record is made of this.

Upon receipt of electoral materials from the polling places, the electoral commission shall establish: total number of voters entered in the electoral roll; number of voters who voted at the polling places; number of voters who voted by mail; total number of ballots received at the polling places; total number of unused ballots; total number of null and void ballots; total number of valid ballots and total number of votes cast for each electoral list individually, and shall deliver a record of this to the Republic Electoral Commission within 72 hours of the moment of closing of the polling places.

The contents and shape of the form for the minutes of the work of the electoral commissions shall be determined by the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 94

The electoral commission shall determine the total number of votes gathered by each electoral list, and determine the number of mandates belonging to each list.

Each list shall be apportioned a number of mandates proportional to the number of votes it has gathered.

Article 95

Only election lists which have gathered more than 5% of the votes shall take part in the apportioning of the mandates.

Article 96

The electoral commission shall apportion the mandates by applying the system of largest quotient.

The mandates shall be apportioned by dividing the total number of votes received by each separate electoral list in an electoral district by numbers from one through to the number which corresponds to the number of representatives being elected in that district.

The quotients thus arrived at are sorted by size, and the number of largest quotients taken into account which corresponds to the number of representatives being elected in the electoral district. Each electoral list is apportioned a number of

mandates corresponding to the number of largest quotients it has.

If two or more electoral lists get the same quotient on the basis of which a mandate is to be apportioned, and there are no more mandates to be apportioned, the mandate shall be apportioned to that list which has received the overall larger number of votes.

If none of the electoral lists has gathered over 5% of the votes, apportioning shall be performed in the manner described in paragraphs 1 through 3 of this Article.

Article 97

Mandates belonging to a certain electoral list are awarded to candidates from that list, in accordance with the terms of this Law.

When an electoral list has been apportioned more mandates than there are candidates on it, the extra mandates shall be awarded to the list with the next largest quotient.

Article 98

One third of the mandates won shall be awarded to the candidates from the list according to their order on the list, while the remaining mandates shall be awarded to candidates from the list according to the rules of the submitter of the list.

When an electoral list wins an odd or even number of mandates not divisible by three, the submitter of the electoral list shall award to candidates according to their order on the list a number of mandates equal to the total number of mandates won by this list divided by three and increased by one, while the remaining mandates shall be awarded to candidates from the list according to the rules of the submitter of the list.

2. Publishing of the results of the election

Article 99

The Republic Electoral Commission shall publish the data on the total outcome of the elections for representatives, which shall include:

- 1) number of voters entered into the electoral roll;
- 2) number of voters who voted at the polling places;

3) number of voters who voted outside the polling places;

4) total number of voters who voted;

5) number of ballots received;

6) number of unused ballots;

7) number of used ballots;

8) number of null and void ballots;

9) number of valid ballots;

10) number of votes gathered by individual electoral lists;

11) number of mandates won by individual electoral lists.

Article 100

The Republic Electoral Commission shall publish the outcome of the elections within 24 hours of the moment of receipt of the reports of the electoral commissions.

From the end of voting until the publication of the outcome of the elections, the electoral commission shall publish in the mass media temporary data on the results of voting in the electoral districts.

The outcome of the election shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

Article 101

The electoral commission of the electoral district shall issue to the representative a certificate that he has been elected representative in the National Assembly.

X TERMINATION OF MANDATE, REPEATED ELECTIONS AND FILLING OF VACATED PLACES OF REPRESENTATIVES

Article 102

1. Termination of mandate

A representative's mandate shall be terminated before the expiry of the term for which he has been elected in the following cases:

- 1) if he leaves the political party on whose list he was elected representative;
- 2) if he resigns;
- 3) if the National Assembly is dissolved in accordance with the Constitution;
- 4) if he has been convicted, by finally binding court decision, to an unconditional prison sentence of not less than six months;
- 5) if he has been stripped, by finally binding court decision, of his business capacity;
- 6) if he takes over a function or position which are, according to the terms of this Law, incompatible with the function of representative;
- 7) if he loses his citizenship;
- 8) if he is no longer domiciled on the territory of the Republic of Serbia;
- 9) if the representative dies.

The representative's mandate shall be terminated on the day of advent of events described in paragraph 1 of this Article.

The day of termination of the mandate is established by the National Assembly at the first session following the receipt of a report on the reasons for the termination of a representative's mandate.

In the case of the event described in paragraph 1, section 3 of this Article, a representative's mandate shall be terminated on the day of dissolving of the National Assembly, unless the decision on this act states otherwise.

Article 103

Repeated elections shall be conducted if the electoral commission annuls the voting because of irregularities in the carrying out of the voting as foreseen by this Law.

Article 104

If the electoral commission annuls the voting at one polling place only, the voting shall be repeated at this polling place only.

When voting is repeated in cases foreseen by this Law, the electoral commission shall make a ruling about the repeating of voting.

In cases described in Articles 103 and 104 of this Law, the result of the election is determined after the end of the repeated voting.

Article 105

Repeated voting is conducted in the manner and according to the procedure set down in this Law for the carrying out of elections.

Repeated elections are called by the electoral commission.

Repeated elections shall be held not later than 15 days after the day of annulment of voting in an electoral district, or not later than seven days after the day of annulment of voting in a polling place.

Repeated elections shall be held on the electoral list determined for the elections which have been annulled, except in the case of elections having been annulled because of irregularities in the electoral list.

Article 106

If a representative's mandate ceases before the end of the term for which he has been elected on the basis of the cases foreseen by Article 102, paragraph 1 of this Law, with exception of the case foreseen in section 3 of said paragraph, the mandate shall be awarded to a new representative, in the manner set down in this Article.

When a representative's mandate ceases before the end of the term for which he has been elected in the cases described in paragraph 1 of this Article, the mandate shall belong to the political party on whose list the representative whose mandate has ceased was elected, and this mandate shall be awarded to a candidate from the electoral list for whom the party did not win a mandate.

When a representative's mandate ceases before the end of the term for which he has been elected in the cases described in paragraph 1 of this Article, and there are no candidates on the electoral list on which the representative was chosen for whom the submitter did not win a mandate, the mandate shall be awarded to the submitter with the next largest quotient for which he did not win a mandate.

The mandate of the new representative shall run until the expiry of the term of the mandate of the representative whose mandate has ceased.

In cases described in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article, written agreement shall be obtained from the candidate that he accepts the mandate.

XI PROTECION OF SUFFRAGE

Article 107

The authorities charged with carrying out the elections are bound to notify the voters during the election procedure of their electoral rights and the manner of protection of these rights.

Article 108

Every voter, candidate and submitter of electoral lists has the right to file an appeal with the appropriate electoral commission because of infringements of electoral rights during the elections or because of irregularities in the procedures of candidacy or voting.

An appeal described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be filed within 24 hours of the making of the decision or execution of the act which the filer of the appeal deems irregular, or from the moment when the mistake has been made.

Article 109

An appeal against a decision, act or mistake by a polling board shall be lodged with the electoral commission.

An appeal against a decision, act or mistake by an electoral commission shall be lodged with the Republic Electoral Commission.

Article 110

The appropriate electoral commission shall make a ruling within 48 hours of the moment of receipt of the appeal, and shall deliver it to the plaintiff.

If the appropriate electoral commission endorses the appeal, it shall annul the relevant decision or act.

If the appropriate electoral commission does not make a ruling on the appeal within the time period specified by this Law, the appeal shall be considered endorsed.

Article 111

An appeal against a ruling of the appropriate electoral commission rejecting or refusing an appeal may be lodged with the Supreme Court of Serbia.

This appeal shall be lodged through the appropriate electoral commission within 48 hours of receipt of the ruling.

The appropriate electoral commission is bound to deliver the appeal and all required documents to the Supreme Court of Serbia within 24 hours from the moment of receipt of the appeal.

The Supreme Court of Serbia shall rule on the appeal according to the laws regulating procedure in administrative cases.

A ruling on the appeal shall be made at the latest 48 hours after receipt of the appeal and accompanying documentation.

If the Court endorses the appeal, the relevant electoral act, or elections, shall be repeated at the latest within the space of ten days.

XII EXPENSES OF CARRYING OUT OF ELECTIONS

Article 112

Resources for the work of the authorities for carrying out the elections, for electoral materials and for other expenses shall be secured from the budget of the Republic.

A request for the apportionment of resources, together with a specification of total expenses, shall be submitted by the appropriate electoral commission.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall apportion the resources to the electoral commissions, determine the manner of their expenditure and exercise control over the use of these resources.

Money paid as compensation for the work of persons in the authorities for the carrying out of elections shall be free of taxes and contributions.

XIII PUNITIVE PROVISIONS

Article 113

A member of the Republic Electoral Commission, or a member of the electoral commission of the electoral district, or

a member of the polling board, or any other person who, in the course of his duties concerning the election of representatives changes the outcome of voting by adding or taking away ballots, or votes during the counting of ballots, or who publishes results of voting inconsistent with the outcome of the voting carried out, shall be punished with a prison sentence of up to three years.

Article 114

The following crimes shall be punished by prison sentences of up to one year:

- 1) illegally omitting a person from the electoral roll or removing a person from said roll with the intention of preventing him from voting in the election for representatives;
- 2) using force, serious threat, bribe or other manner of compulsion in order to force another person not to vote in the election for representatives, or to vote for a particular electoral list, or not to vote for a particular electoral list.

If the act described in paragraph 1 of this Article is committed by a member of the Republic Electoral Commission or by a member of the electoral commission of an electoral district, a member of a polling board or by another person performing duties in connection with the elections for representatives - he shall be punished with a prison sentence from three months to three years.

Article 115

The following crimes shall be punished by a prison sentence of up to one year or by a fine:

- 1) taking a voter to account after the elections because of voting, or asking a voter to state how he has voted or why he has not voted;
- 2) voting instead of a voter and using his name in the elections for representatives, or voting in the same elections two or more times;
- 3) destroying, damaging, sequestering or hiding during the elections for representatives a marked ballot or any of the electoral documents or any object intended for the elections or for voting.

If the act described in paragraph 1 of this Article is committed by a member of the Republic Electoral Commission or by a member of the electoral commission of an electoral district, a member of a polling board or by another person performing duties in connection with said elections - he shall be punished with a prison sentence from three months to three years.

Article 116

A person who infringes on the secrecy of voting during the elections for representatives shall be punished for this crime by a prison sentence of up to six months or by a fine.

If the act described in paragraph 1 of this Article is committed by a member of the Republic Electoral Commission or by a member of the electoral commission of an electoral district, a member of a polling board or by another person performing duties in connection with the elections for representatives - he shall be punished with a prison sentence of up to three years.

Article 117

An organization which publishes estimates of the outcome of the elections or preliminary results of the outcome contrary to Article 5, paragraph 3 of this Law shall be punished for this violation with a fine from 250,000 to 300,000 dinars.

A fine from 20,000 to 40,000 dinars shall also be levied for the violation described in paragraph 1 of this Article against the responsible person in the organization.

A person who publishes an estimate of the outcome of the elections or preliminary results of the outcome shall be fined for the violation described in paragraph 1 of this Article with a fine of 7,000 to 10,000 dinars.

Article 118

A member of the polling board or of the electoral commission who prevents a representative of a submitter of an electoral list from following the work of the authorities for carrying out the elections (Article 26, paragraph 2 of this Law) shall be fined for this violation from 30,000 to 50,000 dinars.

Article 119

If organizations described in Articles 61 and 62 of this Law do not carry out their obligations set down in this Law, or enable the presentation of candidates contrary to Article 59, paragraph

2 of this Law, they shall be fined for this violation from 300,000 to 500,000 dinars.

The responsible person in the organizations described in Articles 61 and 62 shall also be fined for the violation described in paragraph 1 of this Article from 30,000 to 50,000 dinars.

Article 120

A political party or other political organization or other legal entity which contrary to the terms of this Law displays symbols of a political party, or other political organization, or other propaganda material (Article 66 of this Law), shall be fined for this violation from 200,000 to 350,000 dinars.

The responsible person in the political organization or other legal entity shall also be fined for the violation described in paragraph 1 of this Article from 7,000 to 10,000 dinars.

Article 121

A person who creates a disturbance at the polling place which leads to the interruption of voting (Article 68 of this Law) shall be punished by a fine of 7,000 to 10,000 dinars.

XIV TRANSITIONAL AND FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 122

Persons who have citizenship of the SFRY, are over 18 years of age, have the business capacity and have been domiciled in the Republic of Serbia for at least six months prior to the day of promulgation of this Law, also have the right to elect representatives in the early elections of 1992.

Article 123

In the procedure of carrying out the early elections in 1992, general supervision over the acts of political parties, candidates and the mass media during the electoral activities shall be exercised by the supervisory board.

The supervisory board shall have ten members; half of the members shall be appointed by the National Assembly on recommendation from the Government of the Republic of Serbia, and half on recommendation from the parliamentary clubs in the National Assembly from among outstanding public personalities, on condition that they are not members of bodies of the political parties taking part in the elections.

The president of the supervisory board shall be chosen by the members of the board from among themselves, by secret vote.

Article 124

The supervisory board shall:

- 1) follow preelection activities and point out possible irregularities in the acts of political parties, candidates and other participants in the electoral procedure;
- 2) control the activities of the mass media on carrying out the terms of this Law regarding the ensuring of equal conditions for the presentation of submitters of electoral lists and candidates from the electoral lists;
- 3) suggest measures for respecting the equality of candidates in the presentation of their programs;
- 4) address the public to safeguard the moral integrity of a candidate's character;
- 5) warn of acts of political parties, administrative bodies, candidates and the mass media which hinder the electoral campaign and jeopardize the equal rights of all candidates.

If any participant in the electoral campaign incites by his behavior to violence, or spreads national, religious or racial hatred, or calls for the inequality of the sexes, the supervisory board for the campaign shall, without delay, give the initiative for commencing proceedings in front of the appropriate organ of state.

If the agreement described in Articles 61 and 62 of this Law is not concluded in the time foreseen, the supervisory board shall determine the number and duration of broadcasts for the equal presentation of the submitters of electoral lists.

Article 125

The National Assembly shall appoint the members of the Republic Electoral Commission within three days of the promulgation of this Law.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall adopt the acts foreseen by this Law, and shall name the members of the

electoral commissions of the electoral districts at the latest five days from the day of appointment of its members.

The electoral commissions of the electoral districts formed in accordance with this Law shall determine the polling places at which voting for representatives shall be carried out in the early elections in 1992 so as to enable voters to carry out voting for these representatives and for other deputies, representatives and councilmen for whom elections are being held on the same day, in the same premises, or, failing that, in the nearest premises in which the other elections are being simultaneously conducted.

Article 126

The agency of the Republic responsible for statistics shall publish in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia data on the number of voters in each electoral district within three days of the promulgation of this Law.

Article 127

Electoral rolls which do not contain personal numbers may be used for the early elections of 1992.

Article 128

A sum equal to 1000 average net incomes paid in the economy of the Republic of Serbia in the month preceding the month in which elections have been called and for which official data have been published shall be secured for financing the electoral campaign.

The sum described in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be divided among the submitters of electoral lists in the electoral district in the following manner:

- 1) one third, as advance payment upon registration of electoral lists, going to political parties which nominate at least 75%, and groups of citizens who nominate at least 50% of the total number of representatives being chosen in that electoral district, proportional to the number of candidates nominated;
- 2) the balance of the sum shall go to submitters of lists which have been confirmed; in proportion to the total number of candidates registered.

If an electoral list is rejected or refused, the submitter is bound to return the sum described in paragraph 1 of this Article.

Article 129

Representatives elected in the elections of 1990, who are employed fulltime in the National Assembly, have the rights which the law regulating employment in organs of the state foresees for persons, elected or appointed, whose mandate ceases before the expiry of the term for which they have been elected.

Article 130

On the day that this Law enters into force, the Law on Election of Representatives (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia 1/90 and 12/90) shall cease to apply.

Article 131

This law shall enter into force on the day following its publication in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

~~Law 1992 or 1993~~

LAW ON ELECTORAL DISTRICTS FOR THE ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Article 1

Representatives shall be elected to the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia in the electoral districts set down in this Law.

Article 2

Electoral districts for the election of representatives to the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia are:

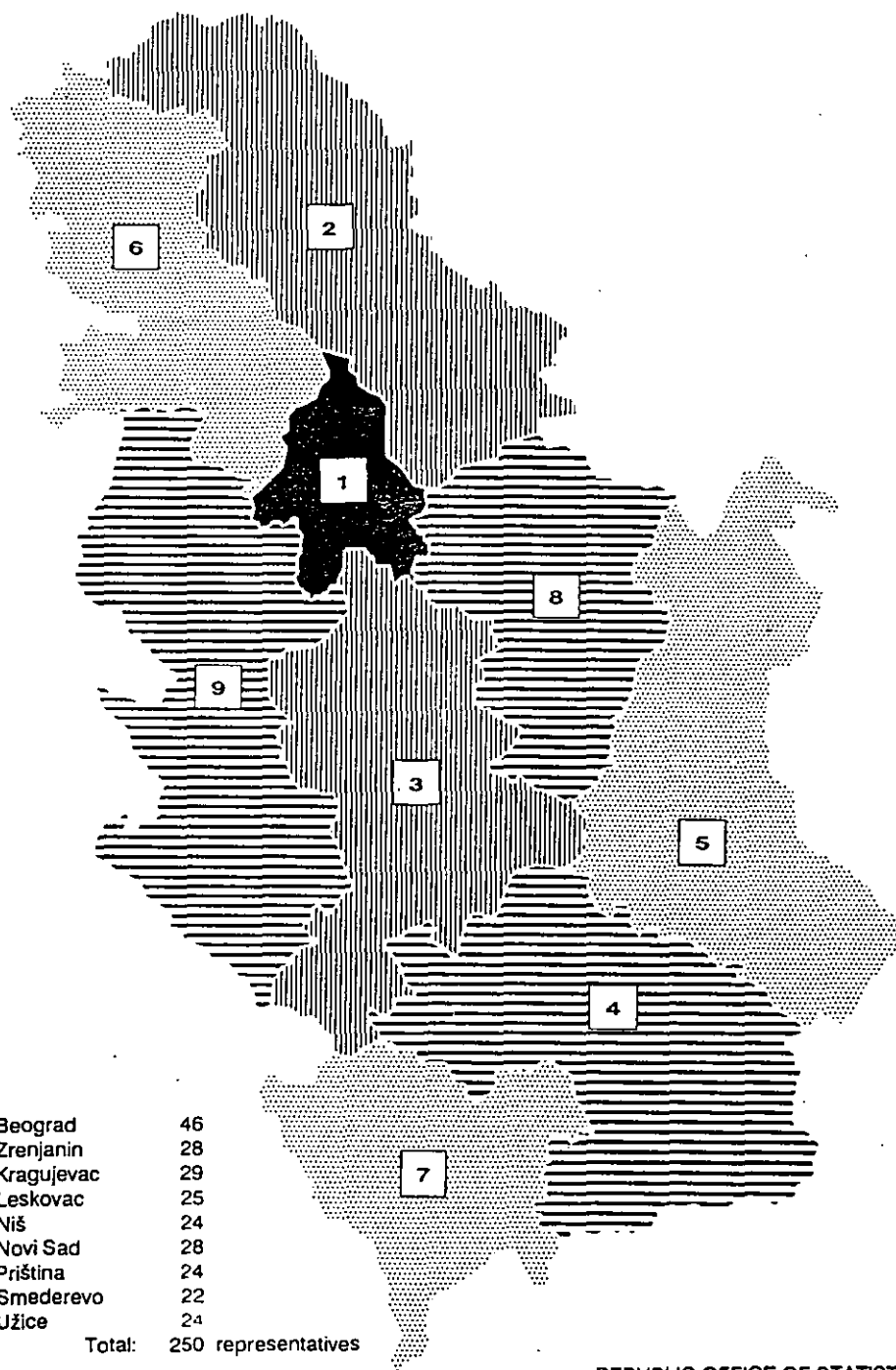
Ord.no.of el. dist.	Name and seat dist.	Territory or area for which is being created rep. dist.	No. of rep.
1	2	3	4
1.	Beograd	Barajevo; Voždovac; Vračar; Grocka; Zvezdara; Zemun; Lazarevac; Mladenovac; Novi Beograd; Obrenovac; Palilula; Rakovica; Savski Venac; Sopot; Stari grad; Čukarica;	46
2.	Zrenjanin	Ada; Alibunar; Bela Crkva; Bečež; Vršac; Žabalj; Žitište; Zrenjanin; Kanjiža; Kikinda; Kovačica; Kovin; Nova Crnja; Novi Bečež; Novi Kneževac; Opovo; Pančevo; Plandište; Senta; Sečanj; Srbobran; Temerin; Titel; Čoka;	24
3.	Kragujevac	Arandjelovac; Aleksandrovac; Batočina; Brus; Vrnjačka Banja; Gornji Milanovac; Knić; Kragujevac; Kraljevo; Kruševac; Lapovo; Lučani; Novi Pazar; Rača; Raška; Rekovac; Topola; Trstenik; Tutin; Čačak;	29

4. Leskovac	Blace; Bojnik; Bosilegrad; Bujanovac; Vladičin Han; Vlasotince; Vitina; Vranje; Vučitrn; Gnjilane; Žitoradja; Zvečan; Zubin Potok; Kosovska Kamenica; Kosovska Mitrovica; Kuršumlja; Lebane; Leposavić; Leskovac; Međvedja; Podujevo; Preševo; Prokuplje; Surdulica; Trgovište; Crna Trava;	25
5. Niš	Aleksinac; Babušnica; Bela Palanka; Boljevac; Bor; Gadžin Han; Dimitrovgrad; Doljevac; Zaječar; Kladovo; Knjaževac; Majdanpek; Merošina; Negotin; Niš; Pirot; Svrlijig; Sokobanja;	24
6. Novi Sad	Apatin; Bač; Bačka Palanka; Bačka Topola; Bački Petrovac; Beočin; Vrbas; Indjija; Irig; Kula; Mali Idoš; Novi Sad; Odžaci; Pećinci; Ruma; Sremska Mitrovica; Sremski Karlovi; Sombor; Stara Pazova; Subotica; Šid;	32
7. Priština	Glogovac; Gora; Dečani; Djakovica; Istok; Kačanik; Klina; Kosovo polje; Lipljan; Novo Brdo; Obilić; Orahovac; Peć; Prizren; Priština; Srbica; Suva Reka; Uroševac; Štimlje; Štrpce;	24
8. Smederevo	Varvarin, Velika Plana; Veliko Gradište; Golubac; Despotovac; Žabari; Žagubica; Kučevo; Malo Crniće; Paraćin; Petrovac; Požarevac; Ražanj; Svetozarevo; Svilajnac; Smederevo; Smederevska Palanka; Čičevac; Čuprija;	22
9. Užice	Arijelje; Bajina Bašta; Bogatić; Vladimirci; Valjevo; Ivanjica; Kosjerić; Koceljewa; Krupanj; Lajkovac; Loznica; Ljig; Ljubovlja; Mali Zvornik; Mionica; Nova Varoš; Osečina; Požega; Priboj; Prijepolje; Sjenica; Ub; Užice; Čajetina; Šabac.	24

Article 3

This Law enters into force on the day following its publication in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
MAP OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, 19. 12.1993.



REPUBLIC OFFICE OF STATISTICS

On the basis of Article 39 of the Law on Electing Representatives (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, no. 79/92) and Article 1 of the Law on Electing the President of the Republic (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, nos. 1/90 and 79/92) the Republic Electoral Commission, at its session of November 7th, 1992, has adopted these

INSTRUCTIONS^{*)} ON CARRYING OUT THE LAW ON ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES AND THE LAW ON ELECTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

I BASIC PROVISIONS

These instructions further define the execution of particular activities from the Law on Electing Representatives and the Law on Electing the President of the Republic, the forms and other material for carrying out electoral activities, the arrangement of polling places and behaviour at polling places, voting procedures for the disabled and for people prevented from coming to their polling places, keeping of statistical data on carrying out the elections, distribution of electoral materials and other matters relating to the elections.

II CONTENTS, FORM, AND MANNER OF CERTIFICATION OF EXTRACTS FROM THE ELECTORAL ROLLS

1. The body authorized for keeping the electoral roll shall make a certified extract from the electoral rolls for each polling place.
2. The extracts from the electoral roll shall contain: ordinal number, surname and name, sex, year of birth, domicile (street and house number, village, hamlet, habitation) and remarks.
3. The extracts from the electoral roll shall be certified so that the last page of each volume of the electoral roll shall contain data on the conclusion of the electoral roll, especially the number of pages of the roll, the number of inscribed voters, the date of

^{*)} Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, nos. 81/92 and 87/93.

its conclusion, as well as the stamp, signature and seal of the authorized body.

4. For pollings taking place simultaneously in the same premises and conducted by one polling board, as many extracts from the electoral roll shall be issued as there are pollings.

5. The extracts from the electoral rolls shall be delivered to the electoral commission within 24 hours of the adopting the decision on concluding the electoral roll.

III ARRANGEMENT OF POLLING PLACES AND BEHAVIOUR AT POLLING PLACES

1. The polling place shall have its name and sign prominently displayed. The coat of arms and flag of the state may be displayed at the polling place, as well as the decisions on determining polling places and naming polling boards, lists of candidates and rules of conduct at the polling place. At the polling place and within a distance of 50 metres of the polling place the symbols of parties and other political organizations or other propaganda material may not be displayed.

2. Polling places shall be determined in such a manner that 2500 voters may vote at each one.

3. Before the opening of the polling place, the polling board shall confirm the validity of the election materials, and, just before the start of polling, insert the control sheet into the ballot box. Authorized representatives of the submitters of candidate proposals have the right to attend the opening of the polling places and the checking of the election materials.

4. Voting for representatives and for the President of the Republic shall be carried out simultaneously and on the same premises, and shall be conducted by one polling board. The identity of the person voting shall be determined by their personal identity cards, or other documents on the basis of which the identity of the person voting may be established.

5. Persons who at that time have no rights and duties at the polling place may not stay at the polling place. At the polling place, the voter is bound to follow the instructions of the polling board and to leave the polling place immediately after voting. Weapons or other dangerous objects which may threaten the security of people and property may not be carried to the polling place, and alcoholic beverages may not be brought to the polling place or partaken of there.

6. The electoral list shall be displayed at the polling place in such a format which shall make possible the easy and legible display of all lists of candidates proclaimed by the electoral commission, with the names of the candidates. The electoral list, in an adequate format, shall also be displayed at the place where voting is carried out.

7. The polling board is bound to secure an adequate place for foreign observers following the elections, so that they may monitor the course of voting and have insight into the work of the polling board.

8. Representatives of the submitters of candidate proposals shall be allowed to follow the course of voting and to the determination of results of voting and to have full insight into the work of the polling board.

Representatives of the submitters of candidate proposals may not hinder the voters or the work of the polling board. They are bound to follow the decisions of the polling board on keeping order and voting at the polling place.

Representatives of the submitters of candidate proposals may submit their objections orally only to the president of the polling board. If the polling board does not endorse their complaint, they may object in writing to the electoral commission of the electoral district. The objections of the representatives of submitters of candidate proposals and the decisions of the polling boards on them shall be entered into the minutes of the polling boards.

IV MANNER OF VOTING OF VOTERS OUTSIDE THE POLLING PLACE

1. A voter who is not able to vote at the polling place (disabled or prevented person) shall notify the polling board of this.

In such a case, the polling board shall deliver to this person, through its representatives, a certified ballot, a joint electoral list, a separate envelope for the marked ballot and the certificate of electoral suffrage, all in an official envelope.

After the voter votes in this manner, he shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope which shall be sealed with seal and sealing wax by members of the polling board in his presence, and then placed, together with the certificate of electoral suffrage, in an official envelope. The members of the polling board shall

then, in the presence of the voter, seal the official envelope in the manner described above.

A member of the polling board shall hand the official envelope to the polling board. The polling board shall open it, and upon finding in it the certificate of electoral suffrage, shall circle the ordinal number under which the voter is entered in the extract from the electoral roll, and then shall drop the unopened envelope with the ballot into the ballot box.

2. Voters who are at this time doing their military service or are on military exercises, or are on duty in units or institutions of the Army of Yugoslavia, shall vote in those units or institutions.

On the basis of data supplied by the body keeping the electoral roll of voters described in Paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral commission is bound to make and certify special extracts from the electoral roll for these voters, and, together with the required number of certified ballots, joint electoral lists, necessary certificates of electoral suffrage and special and official envelopes, to deliver them to the military units and military institutions where these voters are, at the latest 72 hours before the day of holding the elections.

After the voters described in Paragraph 1 of this Article have voted, they shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope, which shall be sealed in his presence with seal on sealing wax. Then the sealed envelope with the ballot together with the certificate of electoral suffrage shall be placed into an official envelope which shall be sealed in the voter's presence by the body responsible for conducting the elections in the military unit or military institution.

The body responsible for conducting the elections in the military unit or military institution shall deliver the sealed official envelopes to the electoral commission. Voters who on the day of holding the elections are on schooling in military schools outside the place in which they have been entered into the electoral roll may vote by letter.

The military schools shall address to the polling board of the polling place at which the inmates of these schools have been entered into the extracts from the electoral roll a request for the polling board to deliver to them a notification of polling, ballot, joint electoral list, special envelope for the ballot, certificate of electoral suffrage and official envelope.

After the voter - inmate of the military school has voted, he shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope. The closed enve-

lope with the ballot and the certificate of electoral suffrage shall be placed in the official envelope, which the military schools shall send by mail to the polling board of the polling place at which these voters have been entered into the extracts from the electoral roll.

3. Voters who on the day of holding the elections are working or attending school in the country, but outside the place in which they have been entered into the extracts from the electoral roll, may vote by letter.

Voters described in Paragraph 1 of this Article shall address to the polling board of the polling place at which they have been entered into the extracts from the electoral roll a request that said polling board should deliver to them notification of voting, ballot, joint electoral list, a special envelope for the ballot, certificate of electoral suffrage and an official envelope.

After the voter described in Paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope. He shall then place the closed envelope with the ballot together with the certificate of electoral suffrage in the official envelope, which he shall send by mail to the polling board described in Paragraph 2 of this Article.

4. Voters who are crew members of seagoing and river merchant ships sailing under the flag of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and are on the day of holding the elections outside the territorial waters of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and voters who are employed in diplomatic or consular offices of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad as well as members of their families who live abroad, shall vote on board the ship or in the diplomatic or consular office.

Conditions for voting for persons described in Paragraph 1 of this Article shall be provided for by the competent federal ministry.

Based on data provided by the body keeping the electoral roll for voters described in Paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral commission is bound to make and certify special extracts from the electoral roll for these voters, and, together with the required number of certified ballots, joint electoral lists, necessary certificates of electoral suffrage and special and official envelopes, deliver them to the ship or office.

For the purpose of conducting polling on board ship or in the diplomatic or consular office, the senior member of the ship

or office shall form a polling board from among the members of the voting body on board ship or in the office.

After the voter described in Paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope. He shall then place the closed envelope with the ballot together with the certificate of electoral suffrage into the official envelope, which shall be sealed in his presence.

The body responsible for conducting voting on board ship or in the diplomatic or consular office shall without delay deliver to the electoral commission the sealed official envelopes.

5. Persons who are in custody or are serving a prison sentence may vote by letter.

Based on the data provided by the body which keeps the electoral roll for voters described in Paragraph 1 of this Article, the electoral commission is bound to make and certify special extracts from the electoral roll for these voters and, together with the required number of certified ballots, joint electoral lists, necessary certificates of electoral suffrage and special and official envelopes, to deliver them to the institution for serving prison sentences in which these voters are.

After the voter described in Paragraph 1 of this Article has voted, he shall enclose the ballot in a special envelope. Then he shall place the closed envelope with the ballot together with the certificate of electoral suffrage in the official envelope, which shall be sealed in his presence by a member of the polling board.

V PUBLICATION OF THE JOINT ELECTORAL LIST

The electoral commission of the electoral district shall publish the joint electoral list in all mass media whose founders are the republic, a province, a city or a municipality.

The joint electoral list shall be published by the electoral commission so that the citizens in the electoral districts should be as well acquainted as possible with all the proclaimed electoral lists and the names of the candidates.

VI MONITORING OF THE ELECTIONS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN STATES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The work of bodies charged with conducting the elections may be attended by authorized representatives of international organizations and foreign states.

1. Interested representatives of foreign states and competent international organizations and nongovernmental institutions who wish to follow the elections in the Republic of Serbia should submit a request to attend the elections to the Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The request should contain: the name of the state, or organization or institution from which the representative is coming, the number of representatives and composition of their delegation, their aim and the duration of their stay.

2. The Republic Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the day after receiving the request for attendance at the elections by foreign observers, shall deliver said request to the Republic Electoral Commission which is responsible for issuing official authorizations to representatives of foreign observers, on the basis of which they may attend the elections.

Persons described in Paragraph 1 of this Article shall be issued by the electoral commission with an identity card containing the name and surname of the person, the name of the country from which he comes, or of the organization or institution he belongs to, which the persons shall be bound to wear in visible manner.

3. The polling board shall ensure conditions for unhindered following of the elections for the representatives of foreign observers.

The representatives of foreign observers are bound to follow the instruction on keeping order at the polling places.

4. The Republic Electoral Commission, on the proposal of bodies charged with conducting the elections, may revoke the authorization and identity card issued to a representative of a foreign observer if he does not comply with the instructions on keeping order at the polling place.

5. The polling board shall note in its minutes the presence of representatives of foreign observers at the polling place.

VII STANDARDS FOR ELECTORAL MATERIALS AND TECHNICAL CONDITIONS FOR CARRYING OUT ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

The standards for electoral materials and technical conditions for carrying out electoral activities are as follows:

a) Premises for voting

The premises for voting must be large enough to ensure the unhindered work of the polling board, the placing of screens or cabins for unhindered marking of ballots and secrecy of voting, place for persons following the voting and place for determining the results of voting.

The premises for voting should, as a rule, be in the seat of the polling place.

b) The ballot box

The ballot box should be of usual dimensions, made from hard material (wood, plastic or other adequate material) and should ensure the safety and secrecy of the ballots.

A copy of the ballot being used shall be placed on the ballot box.

The ballot box shall be sealed with seal on sealing wax in the presence of voters, after the control sheet has been inserted.

c) The ballot

The ballot shall be legibly printed, and shall contain all the data from the confirmed list of candidates and shall be certified with the stamp of the electoral commission of the electoral district.

All ballots must be of the same colour and format. The number of ballots shall be determined by the electoral commission. The reserve number of ballots shall be determined by the Republic Electoral Commission.

In parts of the territory of the Republic of Serbia inhabited by members of national minorities, the forms necessary for exercising electoral suffrage shall be printed in the Serbian language, in Cyrillic script, and, underneath, in the languages of the national minorities which are in official use in the municipality which is part of the electoral district.

The forms shall be filled out in the Serbian language, in Cyrillic, and, besides the Serbian language, they may also be filled out in the languages of the national minorities.

The ballots shall be printed in one centre, under the control of the Republic Electoral Commission.

d) The seal

The seal of the electoral commission, which shall be made according to the Law, shall contain the name of the Republic of Serbia, of the electoral commission and electoral district, and the coat of arms of the Republic of Serbia.

The manufacture of the seals is the responsibility of the Republic Electoral Commission.

The text on the seal shall be written out in the Serbian language, in Cyrillic script.

In parts of the territory of the Republic of Serbia which are inhabited by members of national minorities, the text of the seal shall also be written out in the languages of the national minorities which are in official use in the municipality which is part of the electoral district.

VIII FORMS FOR CARRYING OUT ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

Particular activities in the electoral procedure shall be carried out using forms which make up an integral part of these Instructions.

IX STATISTICAL MONITORING OF THE ELECTIONS

Statistical monitoring of the elections is conducted in order to gather data on the elections for representatives and elections for President of the Republic on prescribed forms which make up an integral part of these Instructions.

Statistical analysis of this data shall be carried out by the Republic Office of Statistics, based on the prescribed forms, delivered by the Republic Electoral Commission.

X TURNING OVER OF DOCUMENTS TO THE REPUBLIC ELECTORAL COMMISSION

The following electoral documents shall be turned over to the Republic Electoral Commission: 1. The decision of the electoral commission of the electoral district on the proclamation of the electoral list, 2. The joint list determined by the electoral commission of the electoral district, 3. The minutes of the work of the electoral commission of the electoral district, within 72 hours of the closing of polling places, 4. The minutes of the result of voting in the municipality for President of the Republic of Serbia.

XI FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE BODIES CHARGED WITH CONDUCTING THE ELECTIONS

1. Funds for conducting the elections for President of the Republic of Serbia and for representatives in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia shall be secured from the budget of the Republic of Serbia.

The Republic Electoral Commission shall distribute said funds to the electoral commissions and shall control their use.

The electoral commissions are bound to prepare an estimate of the expenses for distributing the funds, with specifications, and to deliver it immediately to the Republic Electoral Commission.

The electoral commissions are bound to open giro accounts with the banks which execute the budgets of the municipalities on whose territory the seats of the electoral commission are located, so that allocation and use of funds for conducting the elections may be possible.

2. Funds allocated for conducting the elections may be used for the following purposes: - work of the electoral commissions and polling boards,

- printing of prescribed forms for carrying out activities in the electoral procedure,
- remuneration for the work of persons engaged in the electoral commission for expert tasks and other work in connexion with the carrying out of elections,
- office material,
- statistical monitoring of elections, - transport and postal-telegraph-telephone expenses,
- payments, and
- other needs in connexion with conducting the elections.

3. The persons authorized to dispose of the funds of the electoral commissions are the presidents and secretaries of the electoral commissions and their deputies.

Funds for conducting the elections shall be disposed only on the basis of written orders of the authorized persons and a written permission for disbursement.

4. The calculation and payment of per diems, travel expenses and lost wages in connexion with holding meetings shall be determined according to the decision of the municipal assemblies of the municipality where the seat of the electoral district is.

The remuneration of persons engaged in the electoral commission for carrying out expert tasks and other work shall be determined contractually, or by decision of the president of the electoral commission, on the basis of insight into the extent and quality of the work executed. The calculation of expenses for acquiring office materials and other election materials shall be done according to market prices.

5. Funds expended shall be documented by financial papers.

Funds not expended shall remain in the giro account of the electoral commission and may be used during the electoral mandate only for purposes determined by these Instructions.

6. The electoral commissions are bound to submit a report to the Republic Electoral Commission after the holding of elections, with a survey of funds expended for the conducting of elections, itemized by purpose.

XII KEEPING OF ELECTORAL MATERIALS

Electoral materials shall be kept in the electoral commission of the electoral district, as follows:

- electoral documents - permanently,
- ballots and other materials - four years,
- financial documents - according to regulations governing the keeping of financial documents.

XIII FINAL REMARKS

With the day of entering into force of these Instructions the validity of the Instructions on the Carrying Out of the Law on Electing Representatives and Law on Electing the President of the Republic (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, no. 13/90) shall cease.

These Instructions shall enter into force on the day following their publication in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

RS number 311
In Belgrade, 7 November 1992

Republic Electoral Commission
President
Časlav Ignjatović
(signed)

DATA *)
ON THE NUMBER OF VOTERS IN THE
ELECTORAL DISTRICTS FOR THE
ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SERBIA

Ordinal number of electoral district	Name of electoral district	Number of voters in 1993
1.	Belgrade	1,260,288
2.	Zrenjanin	783,618
3.	Kragujevac	807,262
4.	Leskovac	725,580
5.	Niš	666,623
6.	Novi Sad	785,910
7.	Priština	661,896
8.	Smederevo	608,388
9.	Užice	692,555

Republic Office of Statistics

*) Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, no. 85 (25 October 1993).

**SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON ELECTIONS FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, 1993**

December 19, 1993

Ordinal no. of electoral district	Name and seat of electoral district	Estimated no. of voters	No. of representatives to be elected	No. of communities	No. of towns	Estimated no. of polling places
Republic of Serbia		6,992,120	250	185*	4*	9,957
Total:						
1.	Beograd	1,260,288	46	16		1,031
2.	Zrenjanin	783,618	28	25		969
3.	Kragujevac	807,262	29	19	1	1,421
4.	Leskovac	725,508	25	26		1,509
5.	Niš	666,623	24	17	1	1,196
6.	Novi Sad	785,910	28	19	1	886
7.	Priština	661,896	24	19	1	709
8.	Smederevo	608,388	22	19		886
9.	Užice	692,555	24	25		1,350

* By the law on Modifications and Amendments of the Law on Territorial Organization of the Republic of Serbia and Local Self-government ("Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", no. 79/92) the following were incorporated as towns: KRAGUJEVAC, NIS, NOVI SAD and PRISTINA.

RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE MASS MEDIA IN THE EARLY ELECTIONS

The representatives of the political parties which intend to take part in the elections, of the Government of the Republic of Serbia and of the Radio-Television of Serbia, adopted the following:

RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE MASS MEDIA IN THE EARLY ELECTIONS

Article 1

Pursuant to the right of the political parties which nominate candidates for office and of candidates from electoral tickets put forward by groups of voters to receive equal broadcast time and space in the mass media to inform citizens of their programmes and activities, the present Rules lay down a general code of conduct for the mass media and other participants in the early elections in the Republic of Serbia.

Article 2

In the presentation of submitters putting forward electoral lists and the candidates, and in the promotion by them of their election platforms, the mass media shall be expected to observe the following principles in the publication of press articles and the broadcasting of radio and TV programmes:

a) that the public should be given accurate and complete information in the form of both facts and commentaries relevant to the formation of opinion in the course of the election campaign and at the elections themselves, without giving preference to any particular political party;

b) that political parties and candidates must be guaranteed equal time and space in the mass media within the same time slots or newspaper columns in accordance with the Agreement on the number and duration of broadcasts for the equal presentation of political parties in the elections for the representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia;

- c) that reporting on the elections may not reflect personal or particular interests or the ambitions of individual candidates or parties;
- d) that for the purpose of preventing manipulation of the media or their partisan involvement in campaign activities, the mass media have the duty while reporting on current events to make a clear distinction between the reporting of facts and the promotion of a party or candidate;
- e) that the autonomy, objectivity and professional responsibility of journalists and editors shall be guaranteed;
- f) that political convictions or affiliation with political organizations should not affect the performance of professional journalistic activities;
- g) that journalists and editors who are standing for election or who are members of the executives of political parties may not take part in the direct editing and production of programmes or reporting connected with the election campaign and elections;
- h) that all participants in the presentation of candidates and election platforms should respect constitutional provisions, legal statutes and the ethics of public pronouncements;
- i) that in appearances in radio and TV programmes and in the press there shall be no slander, defamation of character, calumny, abuse of children, etc.;
- j) that information from the private lives of individuals may be made public only subject to their personal consent;
- k) that the promotional campaign appearances of a party or candidate in the mass media may not contain anything that incites racial, religious, national, sexual or other intolerance or hatred or that foments violence or war;
- l) that commentaries in the mass media on political happenings may not be made in a manner which could influence the electoral campaign;
- m) that journalists' and editors' commentaries, interviews and other special reports and broadcasts that could influence the voters' choice shall not be printed or broadcast;
- n) that the mass media are obliged in their programmes to give time and space, on equal terms, to a public confrontation of the election platforms of the parties and other submitters putting forward electoral lists and the candidates on these tickets;
- o) that the mass media shall under no circumstances be permitted to engage in the promotion of candidates or to pro-

mote or comment on party and election platforms in an entertainment or similar programme;

p) that the mass media are obliged, during the preelection silence and on polling day, to refuse to print or broadcast any message which contains campaign publicity in concealed form;

q) that all editorial columns and radio or television broadcasts devoted to the presentation of candidates must be designated as such;

r) that news programmes and film clips should follow customary technical and ethical standards (above all, avoiding propaganda by way of comparisons);

s) that unscheduled changes in the programming of parallel radio and TV channels that might put the candidates in an unequal position are not permitted;

t) that the political designation of articles or programmes in connection with campaign activities must not contain arbitrary attributes given by the newsman or presenter which would in a biased or inaccurate way present the candidate or party (e.g., use of the adjectives "moderate", "extreme", "ultraleftwing", "rightwing", "centre", etc.);

u) that the mass media shall not be allowed to present a candidate by citing statements made by him out of the context in which they were made, or by placing his statements in an inappropriate context, or any other forms of abuse;

v) that the mass media should regulate reporting of public rallies held by political parties in the election campaign by means of specific information plans which are to be adopted in accordance with the plans of election activities of the parties and candidates.

Article 3

The mass media are obliged, in conformity with the law, to make available to all participants in the electoral procedure their constitutional right of rebuttal and correction of the facts at the same time and in the same place in the earliest issue or broadcast.

Article 4

The mass media are obliged to cease election publicity no less than 48 hours prior to election day, up until the polls are closed.

Participants in the electoral procedure during this time period may not make any kind of public statements in any capacity whatsoever.

Article 5

The mass media and participants in election campaign informative programmes are not entitled to give out advance election results or forecasts of election results in the course of presenting political parties or candidates.

Article 6

In commercials, sponsors of candidates may for a fee and under equal conditions advertise candidates and election platforms, provided they do not thereby violate the principle of the equality of political parties and candidates in using the mass media.

Article 7

The mass media whose founders are the federal state Republic, province, city or commune are obliged to adopt bylaws in conformity with the present Rules in order to ensure equal conditions for the presentation of all submitters of electoral lists and the candidates listed on them.

Article 8

The representatives of organizations which publish newspapers or broadcast radio and television programmes and the representatives of the political parties which intend to take part in the elections shall agree on the number and duration of broadcasts and other conditions for the equal presentation of candidates and political parties.

Article 9

The provisions of the present Rules shall be binding on all the mass media.

Article 10

The control over the implementation of the Rules of Conduct and general supervision of the actions of political parties, candidates and media during the election activities, will be carried out by the Supervising Committee encompassing experts and prominent public figures.

The Supervising Committee consists of 10 members nominated by the Government of the Republic of Serbia. Half of the Committee members are to be proposed by consent by political parties.

Article 11

The Supervising Committee

a) monitors the election activities and points out the irregularities it might observe in the actions of political parties, candidates, media and other participants to the election procedure, and especially such behavior of the election campaign participants that:

- express political intolerance
- call for violence
- divulge national, religious or racial hatred, and
- advocate sexual discrimination;

b) proposes adequate measures to ensure the equality of the candidates in presenting the political program, and promotes initiatives intended to correct shortcomings and establish the responsibility for their occurrence;

c) controls the actions of the media in view of the articles of the Law on Electing Representatives concerning the equal presentation conditions for submitters of electoral lists and candidates on electoral lists;

d) addresses the public in order to protect the moral integrity of a candidate in case it might be tarnished;

e) warns against the actions of political parties, administrative bodies, candidates and media which disturb the election campaign and jeopardize the equality of rights of all candidates.

Article 12

The Supervising Committee works publicly and all media are obliged to make public its communiques.

GUIDE THROUGH THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF SERBIA

1. **Socialist Party of Serbia**
(Socijalistička partija Srbije)
Registered July 27, 1990
Address: Lenjinov Bulevar 6, Belgrade
General Secretary: Milomir Minić
Press Office: Tel. (011) 627-084
2. **Serbian Renewal Movement**
(Srpski pokret obnove)
Registered July 30, 1990
Address: Terazije 3/X, Belgrade
Tel: (011) 342-918,
President: Vuk Drašković
3. **Serbian National Renewal**
(Srpska narodna obnova)
Registered July 30, 1990
Address: Lenjinova 15, Nova Pazova
Tel.: (011) 333-661
President: Mirko Jović
General Secretary: Slobodan Kalezić
General Ždanova 24/1
Tel./Fax: (011) 338-627
4. **Serbian St. Sava Party**
(Srpska Svetosavska stranka)
Registered July 27, 1990
Address: Ustanička 208, Belgrade
President: Žarko Gavrilović
Tel.: (011) 488-12-12
5. **National Radical Party**
(Narodna radikalna stranka)
Registered July 27, 1990
Address: Kneza Miloša 58, Belgrade
President: Janko Dučić

- 6. Democratic Party**
(Demokratska stranka)
Registered July 27, 1990
Address: Terazije 3/IV
Tel.: (011) 338-078, 345-184
Fax: (011) 623-686
President: Dr Dragoljub Mićunović
- 7. Democratic Union of Hungarians of Vojvodina**
(Demokratska zajednica vojvodjanskih Madjara)
Registered July 30, 1990
Address: Trg oslobođenja 11, Ada
Tel.: (012) 611-300 and h. 369-255
President: Agošton Andraš
- 8. Businessmen and Private Enterprise Party**
(Stranka privrednika i privatne inicijative)
Registered July 27, 1990
Address: Ilirska 9, Belgrade
President: Nikola Radošević
Tel.: (011) 762-162
- 9. New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia**
(Novi komunistički pokret Jugoslavije)
Registered July 31, 1990
Address: Nemanjina 34, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 642-455/12, 15
President: Branislav Kitanović
Tel.: (011) 467-867
- 10. New Democracy, Movement for Serbia**
(Nova demokratija, Pokret za Srbiju)
Registered August 7, 1990
Address: Ho Ši Minova 27, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 135-804
President: Dušan Mihajlović
- 11. Workers Party of Serbia**
(Radnička partija Srbije)
Registered August 8, 1990
Address: Pop Lukina 17, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 624-794
President: Milosav Jovanović
- 12. Democratic Action Party**
(Stranka demokratske akcije)
Registered August 17, 1990

- Address: Emina Redžepagića 54, Novi Pazar
President: Sulejman Ugļjanin
Tel.: (020) 25-626, 25-667
- 13. Movement for the Protection of Human Rights Party**
(Pokret za zaštitu ljudskih prava - Stranka ljudskih prava)
Registered August 20, 1990
Address: P.O. Box 72, Post Office 38 11060, Belgrade
President: Tomislav Krsmanović
Tel.: (011) 784-718, (9-10 p.m.)
- 14. Alliance of All Serbs In the World**
(Savez svih Srba sveta)
Registered August 3, 1990
Address: Banjičkih žrtava 1A, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 650-615, 682-447
President: Slobodan Mitić
- 15. Democratic Alliance of Croats In Vojvodina**
(Demokratski savez Hrvata u Vojvodini)
Registered August 23, 1990
Address: Trg Lazara Nešića 1/X, 24000 Subotica
Tel./Fax: (024) 51-348
President: Bela Tonković
- 16. Democratic Party of Albanians**
(Demokratska partija Albanaca)
Registered August 23, 1990
Address: Selami Halači b.b., Preševo
President: Ali Ahmeti
- 17. Party for Democratic Action**
(Partija za demokratsko delovanje)
Registered August 24, 1990
Address: 15. novembra 74, Preševo
President: Riza Haljimi
- 18. Republican Party**
(Republikanska stranka)
Registered August 27, 1990
Address: Čede Plečevića 32, Arandjelovac
Tel.: (034) 713-757
President: Dragan Djurović
- 19. Old Radical Party**
(Stara radikalna stranka)
Registered August 29, 1990

Address: Kosovska 8, Belgrade
 President: Milorad Stevanović
 Tel.: (011) 635-885

20. National Party

(Narodna stranka)
 Registered August 2, 1990
 Address: Blagoja Marjanovića 23, Belgrade
 Miše Dimitrijevića 4b/109, Novi Sad
 Tel.: (011) 183-363
 President: Petar Momirović

21. Green Party

(Zelena stranka)
 Registered August 29, 1990
 Address: Mutapova 12, Belgrade
 Tel.: (011) 444-70-30
 President: Dragan Jovanović

22. Liberal Party

(Liberalna stranka)
 Registered August 15, 1990
 Address: P.O. Box. 148, Valjevo
 Tel.: (014) 22-657
 President: Predrag Vuletić

23. Democratic Party - Davidović-Grol

(Demokratska stranka - Davidović-Grol)
 Registered September 5, 1990
 Address: Prizrenska 7, Belgrade
 President: Vladimir Marjanović
 General Secretary: Vladimir Spasojević
 Tel.: (011) 643-420

24. Roms of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Democratic Political Party of the Community of Roms of Yugoslavia

("Roma" Srbije i Jugoslavije, Demokratska politička partija Zajednice Roma Jugoslavije)
 Registered August 13, 1990
 Address: Djure Djakovića 27/60, Kragujevac
 President: Miroslav Jovanović
 Tel.: (034) 60-296

25. National Peasant Party

(Narodna seljačka partija)
 Registered September 4, 1990
 Address: Nušićeva 17, Belgrade

Tel.: (011) 3227-791
 President: Dragan Veselinov

26. Serbian Democratic Party of Serbia

(Srpska demokratska stranka Srbije)
 Registered September 10, 1990
 Address: Pariska 13/III, Belgrade
 Tel.: (011) 3220-659
 Acting President: Radomir Smiljanić

27. Federal Party of Yugoslavs

(Savezna stranka Jugoslavena)
 Registered September 20, 1990
 Address: Jevrejska 16, Belgrade
 Tel.: (011) 626-208
 Fax: (011) 628-357
 General Secretary: Berislav Kosijer

28. Social-Democratic Party of Roms of Serbia

(Socijal-demokratska partija Roma Srbije)
 Registered September 27, 1990
 Address: Gospodara Vučića 49, Belgrade
 Tel.: (019) 43-315, 41-614 (Djura Simić)
 President: Muharem Alijević

29. Party of National Concord

(Stranka narodne sloge)
 Registered October 2, 1990
 Address: Terazije 38, Belgrade
 Tel.: (011) 637-230, 687-703 (Kilibarda)
 President: Dr Blažo Perović

30. Yugoslav Democratic Initiative Association

(Udruženje za jugoslovensku demokratsku inicijativu)
 Registered October 2, 1990
 Address: Aberdareva 1, Belgrade
 Tel.: (011) 332-982 (Primož Bebler)
 President: Nebojša Popov

31. League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina-Yugoslavia

(Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine - Jugoslavije)
 Registered October 5, 1990
 Address: Bele njive 43, Novi Sad
 Tel.: (021) 29-139
 President: Nenad Čanak

- 32. Democratic Reform Party of Muslims**
(Demokratska reformska stranka Muslimana)
Registered October 8, 1990
Address: Koritnik 3, Prizren
President: Azar Zulji
Tel.: (029) 22-322, 31-281 (home)
- 33. Grand Rock'n' Roll Party**
(Velika Rock'n' roll partija)
Registered October 8, 1990
Address: Makedonska 26, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 3227-758
President: Savo Nešković
- 34. Serblan Royallist Bloc**
(Srpski rojalistički blok)
Registered October 12, 1990
Address: Radojke Lakić 11, Belgrade
President: Mihailo Mladenović
Tel.: (011) 412-950
- 35. Yugoslav Democratic Party**
(Jugoslovenska demokratska stranka)
Registered October 17, 1990
Address: Borska 68a, Belgrade
President: ADV Jovan Čepić
- 36. Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina**
(Reformska demokratska stranka Vojvodine)
Registered October 18, 1990
Address: Ilije Ognjanović 7/I, Novi Sad
President: Dr. Dragoslav Petrović
- 37. Citizens' Alliance**
(Građanski savez)
Registered October 29, 1990
Address: Vlajkovićevo 1-3, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 630-409
President: Dr. Vesna Pešić
- 38. Democratic Women's Movement**
(Demokratski pokret žena)
Registered October 19, 1990
Address: Veljka Vlahovića 6, Kragujevac
Tel.: (034) 66-112 (Vera Djurović)
President: Vera Jevtić

- 39. Women's Party**
(Ženska stranka)
Registered October 30, 1990
Address: Svetozara Markovića 4, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 334-706 (Natalija Vušković)
President: not yet elected
- 40. "Za.P.I.S."- Party of Private Entrepreneurs**
(Stranka samostalnih privrednika, "Za.P.I.S.")
Registered October 19, 1990
Address: Lole Ribara 1, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 347-087
President: Miodrag Gojković
- 41. Peasant's Party of Serbia**
(Seljačka stranka Srbije)
Registered October 26, 1990
Address: Maršala Tita 81, Višnjica (Belgrade)
Tel.: (011) 789-235 (Milorad Ćirić)
President: Milomir Babić
- 42. Party of Independent Democrats of Serbia - SSDS**
(Stranka samostalnih demokrata Srbije - SSDS)
Registered October 29, 1990
Address: Voždova 5/III, Niš
Tel.: (018) 54-580
President: Života Avramović
- 43. All-Serblan National Movement - SNP**
(Svesrpski narodni pokret - SNP)
Registered November 2, 1990
Address: Daničićeva 3/I, Novi Sad
President: Dr. Sava Grujić
- 44. Social-Democratic Party of Yugoslavia**
(Socijal-demokratska partija Jugoslavije)
Registered October 8, 1990
Address: Svetozara Markovića 43, Belgrade
President: Velimir Cvetić
- 45. Pančevo League - Moderate Progress Party**
(Liga za Pančevo - Stranka umerenog napretka)
Registered November 2, 1990
Address: JNA 8a, Pančevo
President: Živoslav Miloradović

46. **All-National Democratic Front of Vojvodina - SDFB**
(Svenacionalni demokratski front Vojvodine - SDFB)
Registered November 2, 1990
Address: Bulevar Bratstva-jedinstva 16/IV, Novi Sad
President: Živan Berisavljević
47. **Peasant-Worker Party of Serbia**
(Seljačko-radnička stranka Srbije)
Registered November 6, 1990
Address: Simina 22, Belgrade
President: Todor Todorović
48. **Democratic Alliance of Turks**
(Demokratski savez Turaka)
Registered November 16, 1990
Address: Bore Vukmirovića 12A, Prizren
Tel.: (029) 26-138
President: Sadik Tanyol
49. **Serbian Youth-New Serbia Movement(Pride)**
(Srpska omladina - Pokret nove Srbije (Ponos))
Registered November 16, 1990
Address: Dušana Dugalića 22, Kragujevac
Tel.: (034) 210-564
President: Miroslav Aleksić
50. **Užice Movement**
(Užički pokret)
Registered November 23, 1990
Address: Trg Partizana 12, Titovo Užice
President: Aleksandar Milosavljević
51. **Communist Party of Yugoslavia**
(Komunistička partija Jugoslavije)
Registered November 27, 1990
Address: P.O. Box. 826, Belgrade
General Secretary: Mileta Perović
52. **Belgrade Citizens' Party**
(Beo-Gradjanska stranka)
Registered December 4, 1990
Address: Kosovska 51, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 342-301, ext. 225, 332-681
President: Zoran Vukomanović
53. **Popular Independent Party of Vlachs**
(Narodna samostalna stranka Vlaha)

- Registered December 5, 1990
Address: Maršala Tita 34, Kladovo
Tel.: (019) 88-463
President: Čedomir Pasatović
54. **Democratic Alliance of Bulgars in Yugoslavia**
(Demokratski savez Bugara u Jugoslaviji)
Registered: December 13, 1990
Address: Borisava Nikolića Serjože 20, Niš
Tel.: (018) 563-049
President: Prokopl Popov
55. **Democratic Union of Croats in Kosovo**
(Demokratska zajednica Hrvata na Kosovu)
Registered December 18, 1990
Address: Dubrovačka 40, Janjevo
President: Roko Tomkić
56. **Serbian Radical Party**
(Srpska radikalna stranka)
Registered February 25, 1991
Address: Francuska 31, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 625-231
President: Dr. Vojislav Šešelj
57. **League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia**
(Savez komunista - Pokret za Jugoslaviju)
Registered February 27, 1991
Address: Bulevar Lenjina 6/XVI, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 145-678, 659-526
President: Dr. Dragomir Drašković
58. **Serbian Liberal Party**
(Srpska liberalna stranka)
Registered May 12, 1991
Address: Akademski trg 11, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 634-256
President of the Founding Committee:
Prof. Dr. Nikola Milošević
59. **Movement for the Protection of Citizens' Property Rights**
(Pokret za zaštitu imovinskih prava građana)
Registered May 12, 1991
Address: Beogradska 59/I, Belgrade
President: Milorad Kojadinović

60. **Party of Bunjevci and Šokci**
(Bunjevačka i Šokačka stranka)
Registered May 10, 1991
Address: Cara Jovana Nenada bb/I, Subotica
President: Miroslav Vojnić Hajduk
61. **Nikola Pašić National Radical Party**
(Narodna radikalna stranka Nikole Pašića)
Registered May 27, 1991
Address: Pavla Papa 4, Belgrade
President: Mirosljub Pavlović
62. **Social-Democratic Alliance of Serbia/Yugoslavia**
(Socijaldemokratski savez Srbije/Jugoslavije)
Registered May 30, 1991
Address: Maršala Tita 48, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 3220-068
Interim president: Gordan Jovanović
63. **Socialist National Party of Yugoslavia**
(Socijalistička narodna stranka Jugoslavije)
Registered May 30, 1991
Address: 7. jula 87, Belgrade
President: prof. Dr. Milan Miladinović
64. **Farmers' Party**
(Zemljoradnička stranka)
Registered June 7, 1991
Address: Trg Vojvode Mišića 66, Valjevo
Tel.: (014) 222-4278
President of the Constituent Assembly: Momir Lučić
65. **Christian-Democratic Party**
(Demohrišćanska stranka)
Registered June 20, 1991
Address: Kosovska 49, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 3221-103
President: Nikola Filipović
66. **Social-Democratic Party of Serbia**
(Socijaldemokratska stranka Srbije)
Registered June 26, 1991
Address: Jaše Ignjatovića 14
Tel.: (011) 475-741
President: Dr. Jakov Stojanović

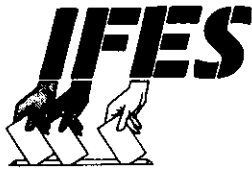
67. **National Unity League**
(Liga za nacionalno jedinstvo)
Registered August 1, 1991
Address: Dositejeva 46, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 186-688
President: Dragoljub Kojčić
68. **Progressive Party**
(Napredna stranka)
Registered November 1, 1991
Address: Jug Bogdanova 16/III
President: Dr. Branislav Pavlović
69. **Serbian National Party - SNS**
(Srpska narodna Stranka - SNS)
Registered November 8, 1991
Address: Naselje Sunčani breg,
Zona Jug, objekat 5, no. 27, Priština
Tel.: (038) 44-178
President: Živko Cuckić
70. **Movement of Vlachs and Romanians of Yugoslavia**
(Pokret Vlaha i Rumuna Jugoslavije)
Registered December 12, 1991
Address: Požarevačka 8, Zaječar
President: Dimitrije Kračunović
71. **Muslim Bosnian Organization**
(Muslimanska Bošnjačka Organizacija)
Registered February 10, 1992
Address: Trg Maršala Tita 2, Novi Pazar
President: Kasim Zoranić
72. **Serbian National Union**
(Srpska nacionalna unija)
Registered March 4, 1992
Address: Ilindenska 8/26, Kragujevac
Tel.: (034) 44-691
President: Momir Jovanović
73. **National Front of Yugoslavia for Serbia**
(Narodni front Jugoslavije za Srbiju)
Registered April 3, 1992
Address: Bulevar Lenjina 6, Belgrade
General Secretary: Zoran Čičak

- 74. Labour Party**
(Partija Rada)
Registered April 8, 1992
Address: Ruzveltova 27, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 152-420
President: Vladimir Dapčević
- 75. Yugoslav Economic Radical Party**
(Jugoslovenska ekonomsko-radikalna stranka)
Registered April 16, 1992
Address: Saveza boraca 62, Beli Potok
President: Miroslav Cvetković
- 76. Republican Club**
(Republikanski klub)
Registered April 20, 1992
Address: Aberdareva 1, Belgrade
President of the Executive Committee: Ratimir Tanić
- 77. Citizens' Movement for Subotica - Doves of Subotica**
(Građanski pokret za Suboticu - golubovi Subotice)
Registered May 14, 1992
Address: Trg Cara Jovana Nenada 15, Subotica
Tel.: (024) 53-424
President: Lazar Brčić-Kostić
- 78. Morava League**
(Moravska liga)
Registered May 15, 1992
Address: M. Gorkog 13, Jagodina
President: Danilo Jovanović
- 79. Natural Law Party**
(Partija prirodnog zakona)
Registered May 13, 1992
Address: Živojina Lukića-Vajara 49, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 176-1882, 698-788, 693-789
Fax: (011) 694-329
President: Branko Čičić
- 80. Economic Movement of Serbia**
(Ekonomski pokret Srbije)
Registered June 18, 1992
Address: Dimitrija Dimitrijevića 64a, Niš
Tel.: (018) 53-841, 326-969, 54-162
Acting President: Dragan Zarić

- 81. Radical Party**
(Radikalna stranka)
Registered July 14, 1992
Address: Jug Bogdanova 8, Belgrade
Tel: (011) 189-172
President: Ilija Gilgorijević
- 82. Democratic National Party**
(Demokratska narodna stranka)
Registered July 17, 1992
Address: Dimitrija Tucovića 100, Pančevo
President: Djordje Zojkić
- 83. All-Serbian Alliance**
(Svesrpski savez)
Registered July 20, 1992
Address: Čingrijiina 32, Belgrade
Chairman of the Steering Committee: Miroslav Kostić
- 84. Zora - Citizens' Association for a Better Grocka**
(Udruženje građana za bolju Grocku "Zora")
Registered July 21, 1992
Address: Bulevar oslobođenja 26d, Grocka
Spokesman: Miroslav Todorović
- 85. Democratic Party of Serbia**
(Demokratska stranka Srbije)
Registered July 24, 1992
Address: Smiljanićeva 33, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 459-179, 459-822, 459-633
Fax: (011) 444-6240
President: Dr. Vojislav Koštunica
Executive Secretary: Dobrica Jovičić
- 86. Social-Democratic Party**
(Socijaldemokratska partija)
Registered August 25, 1992
Address: Risanska 12-a, Belgrade
Chairman of the Steering Committee: Čedomir Mirković
- 87. Democratic Movement of Serbia - DEPOS**
(Demokratski pokret Srbije)
Registered August 31, 1992
Address: Maršala Birjuzova 13, Belgrade,
Tel.: 685-490
Secretary: Milenko Radić
Spokesman: Prof. Vladeta Janković

- 88. Association of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and Other Citizens for a Unified Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia**
(Udruženje Albanaca, Srba, Crnogoraca i ostalih građana za jedinstvenu Republiku Srbiju i Jugoslaviju)
Address: Meto Barjaktari 16, Kosovska Mitrovica
Tel.: (028) 22-702, ext. 71, 22-790
Coordinator: Dr. Basri Plana
- 89. Association of Natives of Serbia**
(Udruženje starosedelaca Srbije)
Registered October 6, 1992
Address: Strugarska 5, Belgrade
Legal Representative: Dragan Jočić
- 90. League of Serbian Families (SPAS)**
(Savez porodica Srbije - SPAS)
Registered October 9, 1992
Address: Filipa Filipovića 40, Mladenovac
Tel.: (011) 8221-891
Interim President: Milenko Pupović
- 91. Democratic Union of Center**
(Demokratska unija centra)
Registered October 20, 1992
Address: Nehruova 116/32, Belgrade
President: Tomislav Zekić
- 92. Belgrade Party (BEST)**
(Beogradska stranka - BEST)
Registered November 9, 1992
Address: P. Srećkovića 3, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 753-152
President: Zoran Živanović
- 93. Serbian Fatherland League**
(Srpski otadžbinski savez)
Registered November 9, 1992
Address: Paunova 77, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 665-187
President: Siniša Aksentijević
- 94. Citizens' Party**
(Građanska stranka)
Registered November 11, 1992
Address: Šajkaška 34, Novi Sad

- Tel.: (021) 339-822
President of the Temp. Board: Ilija Radun
- 95. Citizens' League of Serbia**
(Građanski savez Srbije)
Registered November 12, 1992
Address: 7. jula 46, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 630-409
Authorized Representative: Ratomir Tanić
- 96. Household Party**
(Domaćinska partija)
Registered November 23, 1992
Address: Mutapova 50, Belgrade
President of the Managing Board: Dragan Milanović
- 97. Democratic Party of Roms of Yugoslavia**
(Demokratska stranka Roma Jugoslavije)
Registered November 19, 1992
Address: Dušana Trivunca 47, Aleksinac
Tel.: (018) 874-202
President of the Managing Board: Dragomir Gvozdić
- 98. National Farmers' Democratic Party (NZDS)**
(Narodna zemljoradnička demokratska stranka - NZDS)
Registered December 8, 1992
Address: Lole Ribara 11/2, Mladenovac
Tel.: (011) 8221-590
Acting President: Božidar Djokić
- 99. Citizens' Party of Serbia**
(Građanska stranka Srbije)
Registered December 24, 1992
Address: Cara Lazara bb. lamela C, III sprat, soba 10, Uroševac
Fax/Tel.: (0290) 20-610
- 100. Serbian Royalist Movement**
(Srpski rojalistički pokret)
Registered January 13, 1993
Address: Aleksinačkih rudara 35/3, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 698-934
- 101. Radical Party of Unification**
(Radikalna stranka ujedinjenja)
Registered February 16, 1993



International Foundation for Election Systems

1101 15th STREET, N.W. • THIRD FLOOR • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 828-8507 • FAX (202) 452-0804

June 26, 1997

Dear Colleague:

Please find enclosed the International Foundation for Election System's (IFES) pre-election technical assessment prepared in advance of the 1997 presidential and parliamentary elections in the Republic of Serbia. Information for the report was gathered during a two-week assessment mission in April and subsequent follow-up.

The IFES team was carefully selected to include both regional experience and expertise in elections and political processes. Over 45 meetings were held with representatives of political parties, non-governmental organizations, media organizations, government departments, election commissions, research institutions, and international organizations. In addition to interviews in Belgrade, the IFES team conducted two one-day special assessments in Kosovo and Vojvodina -- sites selected for their unique political complexities.

The enclosed report analyzes the internal strengths and weaknesses of the electoral laws and administration of Serbia, including the appeals process. It examines both where the electoral process is vulnerable to external influences and where it is open to independent monitoring. The report also identifies ways to improve and safeguard the integrity of the electoral process, including methods for independently verifying its integrity.

Finally, IFES wishes to thank the United States Agency for International Development for making this assessment possible and the United States Embassy in Belgrade for its support. IFES was particularly grateful for the opportunity to enter into an open and frank dialogue with a large variety of individuals involved in the election process in Serbia.

Sincerely,

Richard Soudriette
President

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Address: Lole Ribara 11, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 515-183

102. Social-Democratic Movement of Serbia

(Socijaldemokratski pokret Srbije)
Registered May 28, 1993
Address: Oblačića Rada 24/4, Niš
President: Dr. Ljubiša Mitrović

103. Pluralistic Socialism Party

(Stranka višepartijskog socijalizma)
Registered June 7, 1993
Address: S. Sindjelića 23/20, Kruševac

104. Serbian Party of Rights

(Srpska partija prava)
Registered June 9, 1993
Address: Sanje Živanović 24/2/5, Belgrade

105. Serbian Unity Party

(Stranka srpskog jedinstva)
Registered October 26, 1993
Address: Ljutice Bogdana 3, Belgrade
Tel.: (011) 4441-600; 4440-667
President of the Steering Committee: Željko Ražnjatović

106. Vojvodina Party

(Vojvodjanska stranka)
Registered October 5, 1993
Address: Kralja Petra I Karadjordjevića 4/I, Zrenjanin
Tel.: (023) 68-622
Legal Representative: Popov Vasilije

107. Party of Foreign Currency Savers

(Stranka deviznih štediša)
Registered November 2, 1993
Address: Akademski trg 4, Belgrade
Legal Representative: Mihailo Dragić

108 League of Workers of Serbia

(Savez radnika Srbije)
Registered November 8, 1993
Address: Bulevar Lenjina 6/XVI
President: Igor Ristić

109. Yugoslav Workers' Class "Josip Broz Tito"

(Jugoslovenska radnička klasa "Josip Broz Tito")
Registered November 9, 1993

Address: Šabana Koče b.b., Novi Pazar
President of Interim Executive Committee: Sinan Hudović

110. Movement: "Vojvoda Vuk 1903-1993"

(Pokret Vojvoda Vuk)
Registered November 15, 1993
Address: 27 marta 14, Kragujevac
President of Steering Committee: Njegoš Ilić

111. Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Serbia

(Komunistička partija Jugoslavije u Srbiji)
Registered November 11, 1993
Address: Akademski trg 11, Belgrade
President: Boško Jarčević

The following political organizations have been struck from the register:

1. Democratic Party of Freedom

(Demokratska stranka slobode)
Registered August 27, 1991
Address: General Ždanova 16/IV, Belgrade
President: Dušan Bošković
Tel.: (011) 331-518

2. Party of Social Justice

(Stranka socijalne pravde)
Registered March 30, 1992
Address: Solunska 23/34, Belgrade
President: Živan Haravan

3. Democratic Forum

(Demokratski forum)
Registered September 22, 1992
Address: Vojvode Milenka 26, Belgrade
President: Leon Kojen

GUIDE TO THE ELECTIONS

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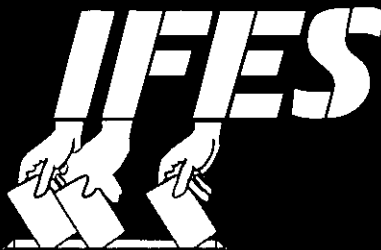
Alice Cople-Tošić,

Srdjan Vujica,

Goran Kričković

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