



**REPORT**

**ON**

**THE ELECTIONS TO**  
**THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**IN**

**THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA**

**29 OCTOBER 1995**

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## 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

These were the third multi-party parliamentary elections held in Croatia and only the second since independence was declared in 1991. This lack of democratic tradition still effected the conduct of the pre-election and campaign periods.

The war in the former Yugoslavia, including Croatia, effected the political environment. There were even reports of ongoing looting, house burning and killing of elderly Serbs in some areas previously held by the Serbs. Recent victories in the Serbian conflict also seemed to effect the manner in which the new electoral law was passed and the subsequent calling of elections to the House of Representatives.

Notwithstanding these conditions, Croatian legislation (election law available in English from the Secretariat along with other legislation) provides sufficient conditions for free and fair elections. However, some aspects of the law and its application did not meet desired standards.

Election day procedures were generally carried out in an orderly manner and in accordance with the law. However, the following is a list of findings that describe aspects of Croatian law and certain electoral practices that do not meet the desired standards.

- Under the new election law, people of Croatian origin living permanently abroad have been given the right to apply for citizenship, vote and be elected to parliament. The vast majority (75%) of these persons are citizens of, and permanently live in, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Furthermore, the law reserves 12 seats in parliament for those living permanently abroad, or almost 10 percent. The Delegation questions the wisdom of not only giving all these persons the right to vote, but the unprecedented guarantee of the right to elect 12 members to the House of Representatives.
- The use of a quota system for minority representation, especially Serbian, without the benefit of an accurate census may result in under-representation and alienation.
- The electoral law allows only two observers to monitor polling places: one observer from the party in Government and one from all parties outside Government.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the system used for selecting opposition party monitors for the district election commissions was flawed, resulting in over-representation of political parties favorable to the ruling party (HDZ).
- Secrecy of voting was not consistently upheld. The majority of polling stations were not equipped with proper booths or other arrangements that would have ensured privacy and secrecy for voting. Voters belonging to the Serbian minority had to ask for a separate ballot in the presence of others, which raised questions about voter anonymity and intimidation.
- State-owned Croatian Radio-Television (HRT) did not fully comply with the election law requiring equal time and equal treatment of political parties--developing rules that allowed for subjective decision-making. In addition,

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<sup>1</sup>However, the law allows for more observers to be present at local elections which, when held concurrently with national elections, use the same polling places. This was the case in Zagreb for the current election cycle.

rulings against HRT by the Election Commission and Constitutional Court were not always enforced.

- Lists of registered voters were inaccurate due in part to dislocations caused by the war and the absence of a recent census.

Although some minor procedural and technical violations were witnessed in some polling stations, the Delegation believes that a variety of choices between candidates and points of view were offered, and that the elections were generally conducted in an orderly and free manner. However, pre-election flaws marred the overall fairness of the elections.

The Delegation's statement was published on 30 October 1995 (see Annex 3).

## 2. DELEGATION

The Delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly monitored the elections in Croatia at the invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia. Upon receipt of the invitation, Frank Swaenen, the President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, at the proposal of national delegations, appointed the following Delegation:

Are NAESS	Norway, Head of Delegation
Gerolf ANNEMANS	Belgium
Patrick HOSTEKINT	Belgium
Josef JEŽEK	Czech Republic
Dalibor MATULKA	Czech Republic
Bjørn ELMQUIST	Denmark
Titt KÄBIN	Estonia
Louis COLOMBANI	France
Jean-Michel FOURGOUS	France
Marcel PORCHER	France
Olaf FELDMANN	Germany
Hans RAIDEL	Germany
Björg Hope GALTUNG	Norway
Ciril PUCKO	Slovenia
Jožef KOPŠE	Slovenia

The Delegation was accompanied by the following members of the International Secretariat of OSCE Parliamentary Assembly:

Pentti VÄÄNÄNEN	Deputy Secretary General
Susanne SCHOEDEL	Assistant
Christopher SHARMAN	Assistant

In addition, the following persons joined the Delegation as advisors and observers:

Robert HAND	Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington
Janice HELWIG	Advisor to the United States Delegation of the OSCE in Vienna
Elyette LEVY-HEISBOURG	France, Advisor to the National Assembly
Cathy SALAY	International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Washington

### 3. PROGRAMME

The programme for the Delegation of OSCE Parliamentarians was prepared in conjunction with the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Croatian Parliament (see Annex 2). It included meetings with representatives of the Croatian Parliament, the Government, Constitutional Court, Central Election Commission, eight political parties or coalitions, national minorities and the media. The Delegation also met with representatives of UNHCR, UNPF, ODIHR and the EU.

### 4. THE NEW ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The new House of Representatives will consist of 127 members. Of this total, 28 were elected through a majoritarian system--with one representative coming from each of the 28 voting districts (single constituency list). An additional 80 members were elected through the proportional d'Hondt system (state list). Also, 12 members were elected from voters abroad using the same system (special list). Seven members of ethnic and national minorities were to be elected--four from special districts through a majoritarian system and three Serbian members from a district composed of the Republic of Croatia.<sup>2</sup> Previously, Serbs had been given 13 seats in the House of Representatives.

A separate ballot was issued for each list. Whereas ballots for the minority list were only available at a few designated polling places, the Serbian ballot was available at all places. Voters were able to vote on a maximum of two ballots, one for the state list (80 seats) and one for either a district list (28 seats, single constituency), a minority list (only at designated polling places) or the Serbian list. Members of the diaspora (voters abroad) could only vote for the diaspora list.

Opposition parties were unsuccessful in their attempts to amend the new law which sets aside 12 seats for Croatians permanently living abroad, or nearly 10% of the House of Representatives.

#### Nomination and Registration of Candidates and Party Lists

##### *Nominations by Individuals*

In order for voters or groups of voters, who were not organized as political parties to nominate and register candidates for the parliament, they had to collect 400 signatures for single-member districts. These candidates could not be members of political parties. To propose a state list, at least 5,000 signatures were necessary for a valid candidacy. County lists and special lists required 500 signatures. Voters could only support one candidate, one state list, special list and county list.

##### *Nominations by Political Parties*

Political parties proposed candidates for representatives and their deputies in the manner envisaged by their statutes or by a special decision passed on the basis of their statutes.

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<sup>2</sup>If the representation of ethnic and national communities or minorities is not achieved, the total number of representatives will be increased by one place in order to achieve representation. The member of the certain community or minority who was a candidate but not elected on the state list which received the most votes shall be considered an elected representative. Article 58a, Croatian Election Law.

### *Deadline for Registration*

The signatures had to be collected within 14 days of the announcement of the elections and candidates must have submitted a verified statement accepting the candidacy.

### *Deadline for Certification*

Authorized district election commissions were required to publish, within 48 hours of the deadline for registering candidates, a list of candidates for their voting unit in all daily newspapers and on Croatian Radio-Television. The Central Election Commission (CEC) was responsible for publishing all other candidate lists within 48 hours (except county lists for the Upper House). Testimony indicated that to a limited extent some lists were not available by the deadline.

### Resolution of Complaints and Disputes

From testimony gathered, the pre-election complaint process ran smoothly and fairly. All parties were able to register their candidates and party lists with little or no problem.

### Defining Constituencies and Voter Registration

The republic was divided into 28 electoral districts, had 6,684 polling places and 3,631,248 million registered voters. For the 460,000 voters abroad, there were a total of 239 polling places in 42 countries (312,000 voters and 96 polling places were in Bosnia-Herzegovina).

All local election commissions were required to publish and communicate to the CEC the voter lists by voting unit not later than five days before the election. This was accomplished in most cases.

### Campaigning

Parties vigorously campaigned through demonstrations and rallies and numerous printed materials. Provisions in the election law guaranteed candidates and parties equal access to and treatment by the state-owned media (Croatian Radio-Television, HRT). However, the Delegation found that HRT did not fully comply with the election law, covering the ruling party much more frequently, and developing rules that allowed for subjective decision-making on moral content, etc. (see Media section 5.2).

The Delegation noted that the ruling party apparently ignored election laws by having military personnel in uniform at party functions and in advertising. No campaigning was legally allowed from midnight the day before the election.

### *Campaign Finance*

Accusations were made that the President of the Republic of Croatia and others of the ruling party used state funds for travel, mailings and other activities that really constituted campaigning for the HDZ in the elections. If true, combined with the apparent ability to ensure maximized broadcast coverage for their campaign, this would be a serious flaw in the election. However, the OSCE Parliamentary delegation was not in a position to confirm these accusations.

It is unfortunate that there is not sufficient transparency in campaign financing and expenditures to clarify the situation.

### Voting Procedures

Voting was conducted at polling places, each of which was given an identification number. Polling stations were open from 7:00 am to 7:00 pm. Five days before the elections, at the latest, the CEC was required to announce which polling places had been

set up for voters abroad with a notation on which voters will vote at a particular place, while the district election commissions were to do this for the territory of the Republic of Croatia. In most cases this was carried out.

#### *Voters with Special Status*

Voters in the armed forces were to vote at polling places determined by the Minister of Administration at the proposal of the Minister of Defense. Sea and river boat crews and members of the merchant marines who were outside the borders of Croatia voted at places determined by the Minister of Maritime Affairs. Prisoners (voters in custody) voted at places determined by the Minister of Justice.

#### *Location Polling Sites*

According to the law, voting places were determined with consideration to the number of voters, to distance, and in such away that the number of voters at a polling place allocated voting without difficulty during the time allocated.

#### *Party Observers*

The new law amends the provisions regarding the participation of domestic non-partisan observers and political party poll watchers. Previously each party could send an observer to the regional and national election commissions and polling places. For the current elections, the party in government (majority party) is allowed one observer and all the opposition parties combined are allowed one observer, both of whom will participate in the work of the election commissions and polling committees.

#### *Ballots*

The law states that the ballot shall be filled out such that the number before the name of the candidate, or the name of the state list, special list or county list, for which the vote is being cast shall be circled. Also, according to the law, ballots in which it was indisputable who the voter selected were to be considered valid. However, some polling stations were declaring any ballot that had anything other than the number before the name circled invalid.

Incomplete and unclear ballots on which it was not possible to tell with certainty which candidate or party list a voter selected, were considered invalid. Ballots with multiple selections were also considered invalid.

#### *Voter Notification*

In both 1990 and 1992, notices were made to voters prior to the elections in Zagreb, notifying them of their presence on voter lists and the site of their polling place. Although not required by law, many voters were expecting this form of notification, however, this process did not take place.

#### Validity of Elections

There is no minimum threshold of voters required in the Croatian election law for an election to be declared legally valid. Candidates for the majoritarian system needed to receive a relative majority.

State lists of political parties or state lists of independents which received less than five percent of the votes at the election did not qualify to take part in the division of representative seats. In addition, state lists of two political parties or two-party coalition lists needed eight percent of the votes or more to qualify. Finally, state lists of three or more political parties or coalition lists of three or more parties needed 11% of the votes or

more to qualify to take part in the division of representative seats.<sup>3</sup> Similar thresholds exist for the diaspora special list and because of this, the ruling party (HDZ) received all 12 seats (see Annex 4).

## 5. ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

A total of 1,433 candidates, including candidates listed on 14 state lists and seven special lists, plus candidates running in the 28 constituencies and five special minority constituencies, stood for election on October 29.

Of the total number of registered voters, 2,500,009 actually voted: a turnout of 68.8%. The number of invalid ballots for state lists was 82,646 (3.3%). Of the diaspora vote (voters abroad), 108,164 voted or 23.5% with 1,577 invalid ballots (1.5%).

Given the tense environment surrounding the ongoing Croat-Serbian conflict, it would have been desirable for the government to enact good faith policies to entice Croatian citizens of Serbian descent who fled the conflict to return to Croatia so that they might have the opportunity to reintegrate themselves if they so chose. Instead, the arbitrary reduction of Serbian representation to three seats without the benefit of a census may have sent a message that Croatians of Serbian descent were not necessarily wanted back.

### Practical and Legal Conditions

#### *Serbian Voters*

The ballot for the Serbian candidates was separate, and Serbian voters had the possibility to choose either the state list and the list for the directly elected district candidates, or the state list and the Serbian list. Voters had to decide this in the presence of others and their decision was registered officially, all of which raised questions about the anonymity of the vote.

#### *Election Commissions*

There were three primary bodies that carried out the elections in Croatia: the Central Election Commission of the Republic of Croatia (CEC), the election commissions of the voting units (district election commissions) and the voting boards in the polling stations.

The CEC appointed members of the other election commissions and made rules for their working, among other things.

The district election commission determined polling places and appointed the voting boards, who had to be present at the polling place the entire time the voting took place. The voting board consisted of a chairperson and two members who each had a deputy.

#### *Selection of Party Observers*

For these elections, two party observers were allowed to monitor polling stations. They could participate in the work of the voting boards, but were not voting members. In the pre-election period, much attention was focused on the way the party observers were selected. According to the law, one observer represents the ruling party (HDZ), and the other observer is determined by a consensus of the opposition parties in the Parliament. However, this choice had to be made by drawing because the Croatian Party of Rights

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<sup>3</sup>Article 24, *Law on Elections of Representatives to the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia*



(HSP) did not accept the proposals of the other parties. Finally, because of the manner in which the drawing was held, the HSP won 15 out of the 28 observers to the district election commissions, which the other parties protested to no avail.<sup>4</sup>

Like on district level, at the *precinct polling stations* one out of the two observers was a member of the HDZ, and the other was selected by consensus of the opposition parties or by lot. Problems with the selection process of these observers was the same as for the district observers.

### The Media

Although private media enterprises exist in Croatia, the state-owned Croatian Radio-Television (HRT) and state-owned press are the dominant news sources. Independent media was often stretched thin trying to cover the vast array of political functions, and for the Delegation it seemed to be difficult to get into touch with them. A meeting with the press, which was organized by government authorities, was attended almost only by people representing state-owned media.

#### *Print Media*

The government has controlling interest in two of four daily newspapers and some weeklies. State-owned media was generally favorable of government policy, and of the ruling party. The Delegation did not hear testimony that independent media outlets were being harassed.

#### *Television and Radio*

National television and radio are state owned and controlled. Television consists of four state channels (including one satellite channel). The authority in charge of the state network, HRT, had decided to allow each party participating in the election one hour of free time.

However, for that one hour of free time, HRT prepared 17 questions to ask of each party by a moderator. The parties could not alter the format and had to respond to those questions without being able to develop their own agenda and methods of presenting their policy preferences. Representatives of different parties complained that the questions pointed to the successes of the ruling party instead of the programmes of each party.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, HRT set up its own rules and reserved for itself the right to reject advertisements for some parties because of minor problems or because of alleged amoral content. The Delegation heard numerous complaints about the delayed broadcasting of opposition TV commercials, and in some instances outright censorship.

In regard to radio, similar situations occurred. Testimony was given that the broadcasting of opposition commercials were delayed, in some instances edited by HRT before being aired. Even after the parties involved appealed to the Constitutional Court and received favorable rulings, HRT failed in some instances to comply.

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<sup>4</sup>Additional complaints were made that more party observers were allowed for local elections, than were allowed for the national election. Election officials did not provide a sufficient answer for the discrepancy.

<sup>5</sup>The Delegation made several requests for copies of these questions and was assured of their delivery, however, at the time of this report, the list of questions had not been received.

**Observations at Polling Stations**

On election day the OSCE Parliamentary Delegation divided into seven groups which visited more than 100 polling stations. These were located in half of the 28 single-member districts (see Annex 1). One group observed the voting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, specifically in the Western Herzegovinian region. Entering Bosnian territory near Livno, the group travelled to Tomislavgrad, Posušje and Mostar, before returning to Croatia near Imotski. Most monitors arrived at the polling stations prior to commencement, and observed the opening procedures. Members of the Delegation were also present at the closing of polling stations, monitoring the closing procedures and the counting of votes.

The Delegation found that the election authorities generally performed their duty in an efficient and orderly manner. In most polling stations the practical arrangements were satisfactory and in accordance with the law: good order was maintained, voting board members were clearly visible and accessible, ballot papers were available and the ballot boxes were properly sealed and guarded. However, in some instances these were sealed without the presence of observers because some polling stations opened before the scheduled time, or because domestic monitors were not aware of their rights to observe this process.

Voters received two ballots in most cases. A white ballot for state party lists and a green ballot for district candidates. Members of the Serbian minority could request a Serbian candidate ballot that was pink, or if they chose not to vote for their minority candidates, but for the single constituency district list instead, they could sign a document stating this and they received a special certificate from the voting board which allowed them to vote for the district list. In special voting stations for ethnic and national minorities, minority voters could also choose between the district list and the minority list by following the same process described above. Voters from abroad were issued one ballot for the 12 representatives of the diaspora.

The Delegation, however, observed some irregularities and breaches of proper procedures.

***Secrecy of the Vote*** -- In the majority of the polling stations the secrecy of the vote was not guaranteed. Partitions were not set up properly or were missing. In some places the voting places were crowded, so that those present found it difficult, if not impossible, to vote anonymously. Some voters, apparently members of the same family, were witnessed marking their ballots together without being coerced by anyone. Especially in Knin and Western Herzegovina, the voting procedure was disorganized.

***Registration Lists*** -- The Delegation found that voting lists were in many cases inaccurate, due in part to dislocations caused by the war and the absence of a recent census. In the formerly occupied areas, voting lists would have several thousand voters who did not live in the precincts and where less than 50 people voted. According to the CEC, this was caused because no names were allowed to be purged from the lists of permanent residents unless the residents themselves changed the status of their residency. Voting lists at other stations were sometimes incomplete. However, government offices were open to allow voters to receive certification to vote on election day.

**Party Observers** -- The majority of the party observers were members of the ruling party HDZ.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, it appeared that more than one observer from the HDZ was present in some polling stations, although the election law did not provide for this.<sup>7</sup> The observers on behalf of the opposition often showed up for a short time and then left, sometimes because they had to cover several voting places.

The irregularities encountered in polling stations in the Republic of Croatia seemed to occur more frequently in Bosnia. No party observers were present at any of the polling stations visited in Bosnia and most had police guards. In addition, a picture of the Croatian President was prominently displayed in all but one observed polling station and his name also appeared on the ballot.

### Counting of Votes

The Delegation observed the closing and vote counting procedures in several polling stations. Except for some instances of ballots being unduly declared invalid, no irregularities in counting were observed. The Delegation did not monitor the tabulation of election results from the polling stations at the CEC. The Delegation was also troubled by the apparent lack of attendance by party observers from both the opposition parties and the ruling party during the counting process. A higher level of transparency could perhaps be achieved (i.e. through a central counting process that would not require the dispatching of observers to all 6,684 polling stations).

## 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The election predominantly met the preconditions for free and fair elections. Citizens had adequate opportunity to participate in the political process. The Delegation hopes that the peace process will help Croatia succeed in further securing and preserving normal conditions for parliamentary democracy. In order to improve the shortcomings of these elections, the following recommendations are suggested by the Delegation:

1) Croatian Voters Abroad -- *The Delegation feels that the liberal citizenship policy, especially in regard to persons living permanently in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the quota of seats reserved for these persons in the House of Representatives, should be re-evaluated by the legislature.*

2) Minority Representation -- *The Government should undertake a census as soon as possible in order to devise a more equitable and less arbitrary policy for the representation of minority citizens, especially Serbian.*

3) Media -- *Concerning the pre-election period, the state-owned Croatian Radio-Television should guard its impartiality in news coverage and provide equal opportunity for all parties to present their programmes.*

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<sup>6</sup>The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly team travelling in Bosnia-Herzegovina discovered no party observers at the polling stations, opposition or majority, although some polling stations said they were contacted by opposition representatives who simply did not show up.

<sup>7</sup>This may be a result of elections to the city council being held concurrently, and in many cases sharing the same polling station.

4) Complaint Process -- The appeals procedure seemed to function in accordance with the law, however, there needs to be an effective way to enforce the rulings of the CEC and the Constitutional Court.

5) Voter Registration -- A mechanism should be implemented to ensure the accuracy of voter registration lists.

6) Voting Boards -- Voting boards should be set up in such a manner that all parties in the Sabor are represented. This change would help to avoid over influence on the voting process by a single party. The Delegation recommends a wider presence of political parties, from the opposition in particular, to reinforce public confidence in the election process. The Delegation would also recommend that all parties take advantage of any opportunity to participate in the monitoring process.

7) Secrecy of the Vote -- The secrecy of the vote should be ensured in the polling stations. This could be done by setting up booths, or at least partitions, in a manner which allows the voters to vote without being observed by others. Voters belonging to the Serbian minority should be able to make their choice between different ballots in private.

8) Campaign Finance -- Clear standards for campaign financing and reporting of expenditures should be adopted.

9) Notification for Voters -- Even though not required by law, it would be desirable for voters to receive notification of when and where elections will take place and the current status of their registration. Although this information was publicized, some citizens were expecting notification by mail.

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Are Naess  
Head of Delegation

## Annex 1

### ELECTION DAY

On Sunday, 29 October the Delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was divided into the following groups, covering different regions of the Republic of Croatia and polling stations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

#### Group 1 . . . Zagreb, Sisak, Petrinje

Patrick HOSTEKINT . . . . . Belgium  
Dalibor MATULKA . . . . . Czech Republic  
Bjørn ELMQUIST . . . . . Denmark  
Are NAESS . . . . . Norway, Head of Delegation  
Pentti VÄÄNÄNEN . . . . . International Secretariat

#### Group 2 . . . Rijeka Area

Tiit KÄBIN . . . . . Estonia  
Jožef KOPŠE . . . . . Slovenia

#### Group 3 . . . Rijeka Area

Marcel PORCHER . . . . . France  
Elyette LEVY-HEISBOURG . . . . France, Advisor to the National Assembly

#### Group 4 . . . Split, Šibenik, Knin Area

Gerolf ANNEMANS . . . . . Belgium  
Josef JEŽEK . . . . . Czech Republic  
Ciril PUCKO . . . . . Slovenia  
Susanne SCHOEDEL . . . . . International Secretariat

#### Group 5 . . . Split Area

Olaf FELDMANN . . . . . Germany

#### Group 6 . . . Osijek Area

Louis COLOMBANI . . . . . France  
Jean-Michel FOURGOUS . . . . France  
Hans RAIDEL . . . . . Germany  
Chris SHARMAN . . . . . International Secretariat

#### Group 7 . . . Bosnia-Herzegovina Area

Bjørge Hope GALTUNG . . . . . Norway  
Robert HAND . . . . . United States (Helsinki Commission)  
Janice HELWIG . . . . . United States (Helsinki Commission)

Annex 2

ELECTION MONITORING PROGRAMME  
DELEGATION OF THE OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY  
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA (OCTOBER 26 - 30, 1995)

Thursday, October 26

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Afternoon | Arrival of the Delegation in Zagreb, Croatia  |
| 18:15     | Meeting with representatives of the AntiWar Campaign of Croatia <sup>8</sup>  |
| 20:00     | Reception hosted by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Nedjeljko Mihanović. Hotel Esplanade. |
| 22:00     | Meeting of the Delegation. Hotel Esplanade.   |

Friday, October 27

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|---------------|---|
| 09:00         | Meeting with representatives of the Electoral Commission of the Republic of Croatia: Mr. Jakob Mletić, Deputy Chairman, Mr. Branko Hrvatin, responsible for international relations.  |
| 10:00         | Meeting with representatives of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia, Mr. Jadranko Crnić, President of the Constitutional Court, Mr. Ilica Malčić and Mr. Mr. Ivan Marijan Severinac, Judges at the Constitutional Court. Information on the Constitution, the electoral law and the authority of the Court. |
| 11:30 - 12:30 | Separate meetings with representatives of the following political parties:<br><br><i>Hrvatski Nezavisni Demokrati (Croatian Independent Democrats):</i><br>Stipe Mesić.<br><i>Akcija Socialdemokrata Hrvatske (Social Democratic Action of Croatia):</i> Dragutin Palašek, Ivan Šiber.                                      |
| 13:30         | Meeting with Mr. Božidar Petrač, Head of the Delegation of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia to the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE.   |
| 15:00         | Briefing on the electoral regulations by Mr. Gerald Mitchell, Coordinator for the ODIHR in Croatia.   |
| 16:00         | Briefing on the Human Rights situation by Mr. Pierre Jambor, Chief of Mission for Croatia for the UNHCR, and Mr. Gonzalo Vargas Llosa, External Relations Officer for the UNHCR.  |

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<sup>8</sup> Attended by Robert Hand and Chris Sharman

- 17:00 Briefing on the military situation in Croatia by representatives of the Analysis and Assessment Unit of the UN Peace Forces Headquarters.
- 18:00 Meeting with representatives of the coalition of the *Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka (Croatian Peasant Party)*, the *Istarski Demokratski Sabor (Istrian Democratic Assembly)*, the *Hrvatska Narodna Stranka (Croatian People's Party)*, the *Hrvatska Kršćanska Demokratska Unija (Croatian Christian Democratic Union)* and the *Slavonsko-Baranjska Hrvatska Stranka (Croatian Party of Slavonia and Baranja)*: Ilija Ruman (HKDU), Krešimir Cerovac (HKDU), Nebojša Koharović (HNS), Ivan Juričić (HNS) and Marin Andrijašević (HNS).
- 19:00 Meeting with representatives of the press.
- 20:00 Meeting with representatives of minority communities: Bosko Petrović, Independent Serbian Party; Radovan Vukelić, Serbian Peoples Party; Vid Bogdan (Roma).

#### Saturday, October 28

- 09:00 - 12:30 Separate meetings with representatives of the following political parties:  
*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union)*: Mario Jelušić, Tomislav Krušić.  
*Hrvatska Stranka Prava (Croatian Party of Rights)*: Boris Kandare.  
*Hrvatska Socijalno-Liberalna Stranka (Croatian Social-Liberal Party)*: Bože Kovačević, Hrvoje Kraljević, Jozo Radoš.  
*Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske (Socialdemocratic Party of Croatia)*: Ratko Maričić, Marin Šarić.
- 13:30 Meeting with the Vice-President of the Government, Minister of Justice, Davorin Mlakar.
- 14:30 Meeting with representatives of the Council of Europe Monitoring Mission in Croatia.
- 19:00 Meeting with representatives of the press.

#### Sunday, October 29

- 07:00 - 19:00 Election Day, monitoring of polling stations throughout the country (see Annex 1).
- 22:00 Meeting of the Delegation, Hotel Esplanade.

#### Monday, October 30

- 08:00 Meeting of the Delegation, Hotel Esplanade.
- 10:00 Press Conference.  
Departure.

## PRESS RELEASE

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN CROATIA

A Delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly monitored Elections in Croatia on 29 October 1995 at the invitation of the Croatian Parliament. The Delegation concludes that Croatian law provides the citizens with sufficient conditions for free and fair elections. Citizens have adequate opportunity to participate in the political process.

However, the Delegation feels that the manner in which the Croatians living abroad participate in the elections and their representation in the new Parliament are both reasons for concern. The Delegation also feels that in the absence of a census adequate representation for national minorities, including the Serbian minority, may not be achieved.

In addition, the Delegation feels that the state owned media did not cover the campaign in an impartial manner. Although the Constitutional Court appeared to rule fairly on complaints in such matters, these rulings were not always enforced, or were delayed.

Election authorities, in particular the officials in the polling stations, appeared to perform their duties in an efficient and orderly manner. The Delegation feels, however, that the secrecy of the vote was not consistently guaranteed. In addition, the fact that the ballot for the Serbian candidates was separate, and voters had to choose in the presence of others, both raise concern about voter anonymity.

It would have been desirable for a larger representation of political parties at all levels of the electoral process, including the composition of voting boards and monitoring activities.

On 27 and 28 October the Delegation met with representatives of the Croatian Parliament, the Government, Constitutional Court, Central Election Commission, eight political parties or coalitions, national minorities and the media. The Delegation also met with representatives of the UNHCR, UNPF, ODIHR and the EU. On 29 October members of the Delegation visited more than 100 polling stations in several parts of Croatia, including Zagreb, Split, Knin, Osijek, Rijeka, Sisak and Petrinje. They also visited seven polling stations in Bosnian cities, including Mostar.

The Delegation, led by Mr. Are Naess, Member of the Norwegian Parliament, included 14 parliamentarians from eight countries: Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Norway and Slovenia.

The Delegation is aware that the war in the former Yugoslavia, including Croatia, affected the political environment of the elections. With this in mind, the Delegation wishes every success to the newly elected Parliament and the Croatian Government in promoting peace in the region in order to create normal conditions for the consolidation of parliamentary democracy.

The Delegation will issue its conclusions and recommendations in a detailed report shortly.

Further information can be obtained from the International Secretariat in Copenhagen by contacting Deputy Secretary General of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Pentti Väänänen, Ms. Susanne Schoedel, or Mr. Chris Sharman.



## Annex 4

Election Results<sup>9</sup>UNOFFICIAL RESULTS FOR THE STATE LISTS (7 November 1995)

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>
Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ)	1,093,399	45.23	42
<b>Coalition:</b>			
Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS), Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS), Croatian People's Party (HNS), Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU) and Croatian Party of Slavonia and Baranja (SBHS)	441,390	18.26	16
Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLs)	279,240	11.55	10
Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)	215,838	8.93	7
Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)	121,095	5.01	4
Social Democratic Union of Croatia (SDU)	78,282	3.24	0
Croatian Independent Democrats (HND)	72,612	3.00	0
Social Democratic Action of Croatia (ASH)	40,348	1.67	0
Croatian Party of Rights 1861 (HSP - 1861)	31,530	1.30	0
Croatian Christian Democratic Party (HKDS)	16,986	0.70	0
Croatian Natural Law Party (HSNZ)	7,835	0.32	0
Croatian Conservative Party (HKS)	6,858	0.28	0
Independent Party of Rights (NSP)	6,607	0.27	0
Domovinska Gradanska Stranka (DGS)	5,345	0.22	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,417,363</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>80</b>

UNOFFICIAL RESULTS FOR THE SPECIAL LISTS (7 November 1995)

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Seats</u>
Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ)	95,919	89.99	12
Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)	3,861	3.62	0
Union of Homeland and Diaspora	3,226	3.03	0
Croatian Party of Rights 1861 (HSP - 1861)	1,554	1.46	0
Social Democratic Action of Croatia (ASH)	1,171	1.10	0
Croatian Christian Democratic Party (HKDS)	640	0.60	0
Domovinska Gradanska Stranka (DGS)	216	0.20	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>106,587</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>12</b>

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<sup>9</sup>These were the latest results available.

UNOFFICIAL RESULTS FOR THE SINGLE-MEMBER DISTRICTS

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Number of seats won by direct candidates</u>
Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ)	21
Coalition Candidates	4
Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS)	1
Croatian Social-Liberal Party (HSLs)	1
Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)	1
Independent Candidates for the non-Serbian minorities	4
Candidates for the Serbian minority	
Serbian People's Party (SNS)	2
Social Democratic Action of Croatia (ASH)	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>35</u>

Annex 5<sup>10</sup>

- THE QUESTIONS PUT ON CROATIAN TELEVISION (CROATIAN RADIO) TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE TICKETS AT THE ELECTION FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARLIAMENT

- THE QUESTIONS PUT TO THE CANDIDATES IN CONSTITUENCIES

I INTRODUCTION AND PRESENTATION OF THE CANDIDATES - 10 minutes

II THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA - 40 minutes

1. How, according to your evaluation, has your party (party coalition, or party that has put forward a joint state ticket with other parties) contributed to the building up and establishing of the Croatian state in the period since the last election held in 1992 till today?
2. In your opinion, which factor predominated in the liberation of the occupied territories by Operations "Flash" and "Storm", the political or the military factor? How do you evaluate the impact of the liberation of the occupied territories by Operations "Flash" and "Storm" on the stabilization of the overall political and economic life of the State?
3. What, in your opinion, should be done to strengthen further the international position of the Republic of Croatia - what are your suggestions?
4. How would you complete the re-integration of the remaining occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia?
5. What measures should be undertaken to bring about the reconstruction of the country and the return of displaced persons to their homes?
6. How would your party, if it were in charge of the government, solve economic issues (ensuring the stability of the kuna etc.) and social issues?
7. What would you do to complete the process of the transformation of ownership and of privatization, and what are your views on denationalization?
8. What measures, in your opinion, can be undertaken to attract foreign capital for the development of the Republic of Croatia?
9. What does your party programme offer for the promotion of science, the arts, education and sport?

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<sup>10</sup> English translation provided by the Committee of Foreign Affairs (House of Representatives).

10. What are your views on Croats residing abroad and their return to Croatia?
11. How can demographic renewal best be implemented?
12. What should be the status of national minorities in the Republic of Croatia?
13. What are your comments on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the status of the Federation and the future confederation between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina?
14. How do you see the future and what are the prospects for the development of the Croatian state?

### III FINAL ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC - 10 minutes

#### P.S. SPECIAL QUESTION FOR CANDIDATES IN THE CONSTITUENCIES

1. What is your party's attitude toward local problems and how do you propose to solve them?

#### P.S. SPECIAL QUESTION FOR CANDIDATES OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE SPECIAL CONSTITUENCIES

1. How satisfied are you with the status of your national minority in the Republic of Croatia, and what are your suggestions and possibilities?