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# PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS KOSOVO 2014

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The Manual provides an overview on the parliamentary elections of 2014 with important information related to the election process, the voting model, monitoring of elections, election authorities, the Kosovo system of parliamentary elections, political parties, a historical part of parliamentary elections in Kosovo, and an analytical part on the mandate of the 2010-2014 legislative period.



## **Manual for the 2014 Parliamentary Elections in the Republic of Kosovo**

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## INTRODUCTION

### Parliamentary election in Kosovo, a brief description of the legislative mandate 2010 – 2014

The fifth parliamentary elections in the post-war Kosovo will be held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2014<sup>1</sup>. These elections will be extraordinary ones as a result of the dissolution of the Kosovo Parliament with 90 votes for, in the May 7<sup>th</sup> session<sup>2</sup>. The request for the dissolving of the Kosovo Assembly was put forward with the signatures of 55 MPs, mainly from the two larger parties in the country (PDK and LDK) as a result of the agreement between the political leaders, following a range of consultations between the political class in the country, the main purpose for which was the preserving the functioning of the country's institutions<sup>3</sup>.

The country was facing consecutive institutional crises in absence of a consolidated parliamentary majority for a long period, but which become more apparent with the conclusion of the local elections at the end of 2013. A significant part of the mandate term of this government was marked by problems with the coalition partners but also with those within the largest party in the government, the PDK.

After an extraordinary election process following the dissolving of the Assembly, the 2010 elections were marked by numerous voting fraud and abuse cases. Even though the suspicions of abuse were proven in many part of Kosovo, the Supreme Court ruled that the election be repeated completely in three municipalities of Kosovo, and partially in another three municipalities<sup>4</sup>. The abuse and theft of votes was amongst the main topics of the almost four year mandate term of this government and parliament, which significantly damaged democracy and lowered the level of parliamentary debate during these years.

The government coalition achieved between the PDK, the New Kosovo Coalition, and most of the minority

parties had in its initial stage 65 MPs in its ranks<sup>5</sup>. In the agreement reached, promises were made that the post of the county's President would go to the leader of the AKR party, Behgjet Pacolli. The President of the country, according to the Constitution of the country represents the unity of the people of the Republic of Kosovo and in the two rounds of voting for his/her election 2/3 of the votes from the MPs of the Kosovo Republic are required<sup>6</sup>. Only in cases when none of the candidates receives 2/3 of the votes, a third round of voting is organised and the candidate who wins the simple majority of votes is elected to the position of President with a 5 year mandate term<sup>7</sup>.

However, the election processes for the President appeared to have been the beginning of a mandate with many problems for the newly created coalition in 2011. The General Secretary of the PDK, Jakup Krasniqi, a strong party figure, had expressed his ambitions previously to be elected to the position of the President, a position he was holding as acting after the resignation of the previous President, Fatmir Sejdiu, who was found by the Constitutional Court to be in breach of the Constitution by deciding to freeze his position as leader of the LDK<sup>8</sup>. The process of negotiation between the coalition partners was difficult and it appeared that the PDK had no other solution for a coalition after the refusal of the LDK and AAK to take part in the government<sup>9</sup>.

The situation was made more difficult due to the fact that after intense pressure following suspicions of his involvement in corruption, the principal deputy leader of the PDK and the second most voted person within its list, Fatmir Limaj, decided to withdraw from his position in the government and remain only as a member of the Kosovo Assembly.

Despite these problems and faced with opposition by some MPs from the PDK for the proposal of Behgjet Pacolli as President, the partners put him forward in the voting and after two failed rounds and intense pressure

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<sup>1</sup> Elections are held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June. The article can be found at: <http://gazetajnk.com/?cid=1,1018,8174> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.telegafi.com/lajme/me-90-vota-per-shperndahet-kuvendi-i-kosoves-2-44465.html> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.gazetatema.net/web/2011/01/07/edhe-mitrovica-ne-rivotim/> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.abcnews.al/lajme/rajoni/7/2791> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>6</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Chapter 5, Status of the President, Election of the President, Article 83-86, page 31-33.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, Article 87, page 33.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.dw.de/presidenti-sejdiu-jep-dor%C3%ABheqjen/a-6049627> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.balkanweb.com/bw\\_lajme2.php?IDKategoria=2686&IDNotizia=50742&res\\_start=40](http://www.balkanweb.com/bw_lajme2.php?IDKategoria=2686&IDNotizia=50742&res_start=40) , last accessed on 29.05.2014

on the MPs to vote, Behgjet Pacolli was elected President of the Republic of Kosovo<sup>10</sup>.

But his holding of that position was challenged very quickly by the opposition parties which accused Pacolli of violating the Constitution on the day of his election since he voted for the government after he was elected as president of the country. After the petition filed by the LDK and AAK requiring comments and evaluation of the procedure related to his election, and the voting he took part in for the government<sup>11</sup>, the Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the opposition and qualified Behgjet Pacolli to be in breach of the Constitution<sup>12</sup>.

After this decision of the Constitutional Court, the country was officially entering an institutional crisis which could have had large consequences for the country. In these circumstances, Hashim Thaci from the PDK, Isa Mustafa from the LDK and Behgjet Pacolli from the AKR, conducted a series of talks with the mediation of the international presence (in particular the American one) in order to overcome the institutional deadlock which was present in the country at the time. By assessing that the ensuing situation was the result of election fraud and the election of the President by the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, the leaders of the country reached a political agreement on the initiation of the constitutional and election reform which would be based on two main elements: the election of the President directly by the people, and the drafting of a new election code which would prevent the stealing of votes and would envisage tougher punishment for the violators<sup>13</sup>. Atifete Jahjaga was proposed as a candidate for President, a senior officer in the hierarchy of the Kosovo Police<sup>14</sup> who was voted by the Kosovo Parliament with a double majority.

Following the initial problems with the coalition and preserving of numbers, this government and parliamentary term is also known for the numerous challenges related to the dialogue with Serbia, a dialogue demanded strongly by the international presence, but

which was seen as necessary also for the normalising of the relations between the two countries.

The dialogue process had occurred in previous phases also, but now was the time for a higher political level dialogue, for which more significant agreements needed to be reached which has a bigger political weight. Taking into consideration the possible political cost and the weight of the decisions that needed to be taken, Prime Minister Thaci sought political consensus in view of this difficult process. As seldom before, most of the political parties (except Self-Determination which in principal is against talks with Serbia without the fulfilment of some basic conditions like the self-determination of the people and an apology from Serbia<sup>15</sup>) were in favour of talks with Serbia, thus not creating any damaging political cost to the Prime Minister of the country. During this period, a series of agreements were reached, but the most important one is considered the one of April 19<sup>th</sup> 2013, where both sides joined on a 15 point settlement aimed at the normalisation of relations between Kosovo and Serbia. Amongst the main points of this agreement are those related to the establishment of the Union/Association of Kosovo Municipalities and that dismantling of parallel security structures and the inclusion of their members in the Kosovo Police structures<sup>16</sup>. Even though with a difficult debate and significantly raised tensions, the Assembly ratified the agreement with 84 votes in favour (with the votes of the majority of parties, and an en-bloc vote against by Self-Determination)<sup>17</sup>.

This legislation faced other important decisions which they had to adopt but they couldn't and which brought the definitive end of the mandate term and the announcement of extraordinary elections. Following the earlier reporting on claims of organ trafficking and the authorising of a more in-depth investigation, the international community presented a firm demand to the leaders of the country to establish a special court which would handle war crimes and which would have headquarters also in another European country (most likely

<sup>10</sup> <http://botasot.info/kosova/105503/behgjet-pacolli-president-i-kosoves/7> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.evropaelire.org/content/article/2324780.html> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>12</sup> <http://lajmetshqip.com/kosove-gjykata-kushtetuese-rrezon-presidentin-pacolli/> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.kosova-sot.info/politike/kosove/atifete-jahjaga-kandidate-per-presidente-te-kosoves> , last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>15</sup> NO NEGOTIATIONS – SELF-DETERMINATION!. Article can be found at: <http://www.vetevendosje.org/jo-negociata-vetevendosje>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>16</sup> *The agreement between Kosovo and Serbia is signed.* Article can be found at: <http://koha.net/arkiva/?page=1,13,143112>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>17</sup> *Despite the tension the Assembly ratified the Kosovo-Serbia agreement.* Article can be found at: <http://www.telegafi.com/lajme/megjithe-tensionimin-kuvendi-ratifikoi-marreveshjen-kosove-serbi-video-2-33514.html> , last accessed on 29.05.2014.

in Holland), the Kosovo Assembly face the biggest challenge of this legislative period. By facing the other option of this court being established by the Security Council of the UNO, and assessing this to be a "painful compromise", the members of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo adopted with 89 votes in favour the establishment of the special court which would investigate war crimes in Kosovo.<sup>18</sup>

By appearing even more fragile as an Assembly after such a difficult decision and considering the absence of a consolidated majority, but also a unified opposition, the political leaders began negotiations on dissolving the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. After the failure to vote on the election reform, although it being a half measure, and the absence of the votes from the minorities on the establishment of the Kosovo Army, who conditioned this with the extension of the reserved seats for them, the Kosovo Assembly was dissolved and opened the path for the extraordinary elections.

## History of parliamentary elections in Kosovo 2001-2010

### - Parliamentary elections in 2001

After a period of almost two year of direct international administration, the country appeared ready to establish its own institutions of self-government which would rise from the votes of the citizens. For the first time in post-war Kosovo, its citizens voted in the parliamentary elections on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 2001<sup>19</sup>, a year after they had voted in the local elections. The number of voters in these elections was 1,249,987, while the turnout in the election was 64%. These elections were carried out with closed lists, where only the political entity was voted for. The political entities determined the candidates in their lists. There was only one electoral zone (Kosovo).

One hundred MPs were elected, while 20 seats were reserved. 1/3 of the MP candidates were determined

according to gender. Voting took place in 1,668 polling stations and there were 498 polling centres<sup>20</sup>.

The general results of the first parliamentary elections in Kosovo were in full favour of the Kosovo Democratic League (LDK) which won 46.2% of the votes and gaining 47 seats in Parliament<sup>21</sup>. The second party was the Democratic Party of Kosovo with 25.5% and 26 seats in the Parliament, followed by the Alliance for Returns, an alliance established by members of the Serb community who won 10.9 per cent and 22 seats (this number includes the reserved seats for the Serb community), the fourth was the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo with 7.8% of votes and 8 seats in parliament, while the remaining seats were distributed among other parties and communities which live in Kosovo<sup>22</sup>.

The first inaugural session of the Assembly was held on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2001. In consideration of the high tensions which existed between the political parties and also in consideration of the importance of stability in the country, with the influence of also the international presence, a decision was made to establish a wide coalition between the three largest Albanian parties in the Assembly and the minorities. This coalition ensured a qualified majority in the Assembly with a total of 83 MPs or 69.2 per cent of the total composition of the Assembly<sup>23</sup>. From this agreement, Ibrahim Rugova from the LDK was elected as the President of Kosovo<sup>24</sup>, while Bajram Rexhepi from the PDK was elected as the first Prime Minister of Kosovo<sup>25</sup> and the government sectors were allocated based on the power of the each political entity.

<sup>20</sup> General Elections: <http://www.kqz-ks.org/sq/zgjedhjet-e-pergjithshme>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>21</sup> Summary of elections, Article can be found at: [http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/sq/infoElections/setimes/resource\\_centre/elections/kosovo\\_assembly\\_2001?country=Kosovo](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/sq/infoElections/setimes/resource_centre/elections/kosovo_assembly_2001?country=Kosovo), last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>23</sup> Forum 2015: More than 10 years of parliamentarism in Kosovo. 2013. Prepared by the Kosovo Democratic Institute. Article can be found at: <http://kfos.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Mbi-10-vjet-Parlamentarizem-ne-Kosove-ALB.pdf>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>24</sup> Presidents of Kosovo, Dr.Ibrahim Rugova, Historic President of Kosovo: <http://www.president-ks.gov.net/?page=1,109>, last accessed on 29.05.2014

<sup>25</sup> Bajram Rexhepi. Prime Minister of Kosovo, Article can be found at: [http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/sq/infoBios/setimes/resource\\_centre/bio-archive/rexhepi\\_bajram](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/sq/infoBios/setimes/resource_centre/bio-archive/rexhepi_bajram), last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>18</sup> Kosovo Assembly adopts the establishment of the Special Court. Article can be found at: <http://www.telegرافي.com/lajme/kuvendi-i-kosoves-miratjet-hemelimin-e-gjykates-speciale-2-43822.html>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>19</sup> General Elections: <http://www.kqz-ks.org/sq/zgjedhjet-e-pergjithshme>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

## - Parliamentary Elections in 2004

Parliamentary elections of October 2004 came at a difficult time, when Kosovo was facing serious accusations in relation to the unrest of March that year. Due to this and other reasons, Serbia categorically opposed the elections and did not agree to cooperate at all in order for the Serbs to exercise their right to be elected.<sup>26</sup>

These elections, like the ones in 2001, were administered by OSCE, in which the lists were closed and there was only one electoral zone. In these elections, LDK came out as the victor with 45.42% of the votes, PDK had 28.85%, AAK 8.39%, ORA 6.2% and other smaller parties and minorities got the remaining seats.

The coalition which was established was historic for the country for a number of reasons. The first was that the LDK as a so-called pacifistic party made a coalition with a party that represented the war front. While the second reason was that the AAK with only 8.39% of the votes took the position of Prime Minister led by Ramush Haradinaj. On the other side the LDK took the position of President led by Ibrahim Rugova, and the position of Chairperson of the Parliament was led by Nexhat Daci.

## - Parliamentary elections of 2007

After a prolonged process of talks with Serbia on the resolution of the final status of Kosovo with the mediation of the international team led by President Ahtisaari, a decision was made to proceed with general elections even though this was not in line with many legal timeframes. The decision for elections was made for two main reasons: the government at the time was fragile and the country's new parliament needed a larger legitimacy in order to undertake the subsequent actions which were related to the declaration of independence, adoption of the Constitution and a number of other laws related to international obligations that Kosovo would undertake from the Ahtisaari Plan for the resolution of the final status of Kosovo.

After the death of Ibrahim Rugova, LDK entered a difficult process of internal elections which did not pass without consequences for the party, which was the leading one in the two previous legislatures in post-war Kosovo. A process with high tensions and with many

mutual accusations between the two candidates for the leader of the party, Fatmir Sejdiu and Nexhat Daci was finalised with painful and irreversible separation. Nexhat Daci, together with a considerable number of party members, unsatisfied with their inclusion in the general council of the party after the defeat of the latter in the race for leader, decided to establish a new party and to separate from the parent party.

This circumstance favoured Hashim Thaci and the PDK, who used well the situation.

With a well organised campaign, and facing a heavily damaged LDK from the separation and emerging from a term with many problems in the government, PDK came out for the first time in post-war Kosovo as the leading party in the elections.

In consideration of the need for a sustainable government which would easily take on challenges awaiting the country on the verge of the declaration of independence and the initial management of post-independence, the leaders of PDK and LDK decided to establish a coalition between them and the minorities<sup>27</sup>. From this coalition, the Prime Minister of the country became Hashim Thaci of the PDK, the President of the country was Fatmir Sejdiu from the LDK, and the Chairperson of the Parliament was Jakup Krasniqi from the PDK. The allocation of the ministries was done based on the parliamentary strength of the parties in the coalition.

## - Parliamentary elections of 2010

The unnatural coalition PDK-LDK did not have the foreseen lifespan and was interrupted prematurely. In September of 2010, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Kosovo ruled that the President of Kosovo, Fatmir Sejdiu, had violated the Constitution of Kosovo by holding at the same time the post of President of the country and that of the Kosovo Democratic League leader<sup>28</sup>. Finding himself in this situation, Fatmir Sejdiu resigned from the position of President, initiating thus an institu-

<sup>26</sup> ICG, Kosovo: Toward Final Status, 24.01. 2005, gjendet ne <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/161-kosovo-toward-final-status.aspx>

<sup>27</sup> Forum 2015: More than 10 years of parliamentarism in Kosovo. 2013. Prepared by the Kosovo Democratic Institute. Article can be found at: <http://kfos.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Mbi-10-vjet-Parlamentarizem-ne-Kosove-ALB.pdf>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>28</sup> Sejdiu has seriously violated the Constitution. Article can be found at: <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/sejdiu-e-ka-shkelur-seriozisht-kushtetuten-2-10483.html>, last accessed on 29.05.2014.

tional crisis. A few days later, after another objection between LDK and PDK for the following elections, the ministers of LDK withdrew from the positions they were exercising by resigning and officially placing the country in an institutional crisis which Hashim Thaci wasn't interested to manage alone<sup>29</sup>.

In such a situation, with a request initiated by the AKR of Behgjet Pacolli and with the voting of the PDK, the government fell, opening the path for extraordinary elections. Planned to be held in a cold season and without proper organisation in an extraordinary timeframe for their implementation, the first elections in the independent Kosovo organised 100% by the local authorities were far from the internationally required standards, and also far from the standards of the previous elections. The election process was repeated fully in three municipalities of the country and partially in another three municipalities. The suspicions of abuse between the parties and also within the lists of the parties were severe, making this the main topic reported by different international media also<sup>30</sup>.

The extraordinary elections for the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo of December 12<sup>th</sup> 2010, were held in 745 Poling Centres and a total of 2280 Polling stations, while the number of registered voters was 1,630,636. In the extraordinary election for the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo 29 Political Entities took part in the race<sup>31</sup>.

After the conclusion of the re-voting process in the disputed municipalities and stations, PDK was the leading party with 32.11%, LDK the second with 24.69%, Self-Determination the third with 12.69%, AAK with 11.04%, and the Coalition AKR-PD-PSD-PPI-PPK-PNDSH-PGJK me 7.29 %<sup>32</sup>.

The one mandated with forming the government, Hashim Thaqi, achieved a coalition with the Coalition AKR-PD-PSD-PPI-PPK-PNDSH-PGJK and a part of the minority communities by securing a majority of 65 MPs.

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## - The election system of the Republic of Kosovo

Despite the agreement of April 2011 between the three leaders, Hashim Thaci, Isa Mustafa and Behgjet Pacolli, to reform the election system, this was not achieved and the elections of the 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2014 will be held according to the old law. The election process will be prepared and managed by the Central Elections Commission (CEC) in most parts of the Republic of Kosovo, excluding the north of Kosovo where the responsibility for organising the elections is with the OSCE.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo foresees clearly the voting rights of every individual. Every person that has attained the age of 18 has the right to vote and to enter the election race. This right is denied only if that person has been prevented from doing so through a court ruling.<sup>33</sup>

The Republic of Kosovo is a parliamentary republic with a system of proportional representation with the formula of Sainte-Lague<sup>34</sup> and only a single election zone. The regular elections for the Assembly are foreseen to be held every four (4) years, except when premature elections are called or a state of emergency is declared<sup>35</sup>. In both occasions, the President of the Repub-

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<sup>29</sup> Kosovo in crisis as LDK leaves the government. Article can be found at: <http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/sq/features/setimes/features/2010/10/18/feature-01> , last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>30</sup> Kosovo's election. Calm now, a storm to come?. Article can be found at: [http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/12/kosovos\\_election](http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/12/kosovos_election) , last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>31</sup> General elections. <http://www.kqz-ks.org/sq/zgjedhjet-e-perqjithshme> last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>32</sup> ELECTIONS FOR THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO 2010, General results, Statistics can be found at <http://www.kqz->

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[ks.org/Uploads/Documents/rezultatet\\_e\\_perqjithshme\\_eyeodb\\_pohj.pdf](http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/rezultatet_e_perqjithshme_eyeodb_pohj.pdf) , last accessed on 29.05.2014.

<sup>33</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 45, Paragraph 1, page 14

<sup>34</sup> The overall number of valid votes won by each political entity in the elections for the Assembly divided by 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, and so on until the number of divisor used is equal to the full number of seats. Found at [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/liqjet/2008\\_03-L073\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/liqjet/2008_03-L073_al.pdf)

<sup>35</sup> The mandate of the Kosovo Assembly can be extended only in cases of a State of Emergency for the purpose of emergency protection measures, or in cases of risks against the constitutional order or the public security of the Republic of Kosovo, and only for the duration of the State of Emergency, Found at: *Ibid*

lic announces the date of elections, and which by law should be a Sunday.<sup>36</sup>

The Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo has a total of 120 seats, of which 20 are guaranteed for the minority communities and 30% of the seats should be held by women. In fact, the only difference in these elections is related to the reserved seats of the minority communities, which based on the Ahtisaari pack after two mandates turn into guaranteed seats. Therefore, the Serb community has ten (10) guaranteed seats, and if the votes won result into less than 10 seats, they would still get 10 members in the Assembly. The same distribution is applicable for the other communities.<sup>37</sup>

The total allocation is as follows, Serbs have ten (10) guaranteed seats, followed by the Bosnians with three (3), Turks with two (2), Gorani one (1), Roma one (1), Ashkali one (1), Egyptian one (1), and one (1) seat will go to one of the RAE communities group subject to which one wins more votes.<sup>38</sup>

Practically there are 100 seats in the race, where other entities of the Albanians aim to win the majority of seats in order to carry forward the establishment of the government. However, the political entities, excluding those of the communities, are conditioned to pass the election threshold of 5%.

The citizens of the Republic of Kosovo through open lists will have the right to elect a political entity and five (5) candidates from the election list.

### - Election authorities

The authority which prepares and manages the election process is the Central Elections Commission, an independent authority. However, if we look at the history of elections in the Republic of Kosovo from 2000 to 2007, this process was led by the OSCE. The latter will have the main role in the management and proper running of elections in the north of the country.

The CEC is an independent institution which is composed on 11 members, the Chairperson which should be appointed from the ranks of the Supreme Court and who is appointed by the President of Kosovo. While six (6) other members are nominated by the largest parliamentary groups and four (4) are representatives of communities.<sup>39</sup>

The CEC amongst other is obliged to undertake a voter awareness raising campaign related to their rights and sanctions which they may face in the event of violating the law. The CEC also certifies the political parties and the candidates for MPs, announces the results, certifies the monitors and supervises the spending of political entities. The CEC is spread out in all of the municipalities of Kosovo through the MECs. This authority administers the elections in that territory of the municipality in accordance with the legislation in force and the rules of the CEC.<sup>40</sup> The Secretariat is also part of the CEC which deals mostly with technical issues.

Another independent body and also very important is the Election Complaints and Appeals Panel (ECAP). This authority receives complaints on issues which can be in conflict with the law, and its final decisions are mandatory for all the parties. The ECAP has the right to punish political parties, to prevent a political party or an individual from taking part in the election process, and many other forms of sanctions foreseen by law. Otherwise, the ECAP has five (5) members who are appointed by the Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court.<sup>41</sup>

### - Election Campaign

Based on the election law in the Republic of Kosovo, all political parties have the right to conduct a campaign and to present their propaganda in the media. However, this does not mean that the political parties and candidates do not have legal limitations on spending during the campaign. Based on the experience of previous elections, the concealing of spending during the

<sup>36</sup> Law Nr. 03/L-073, On the general election in the Republic of Kosovo, Article 4, Paragraph 4.2, found at: *Ibid*

<sup>37</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 46, paragraph 1, found at: <http://www.mkrs-ks.org/repository/docs/Kushtetuta.e.Republikes.se.Kosoves.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 46, paragraph 2, found at <http://www.mkrs-ks.org/repository/docs/Kushtetuta.e.Republikes.se.Kosoves.pdf>

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.kqz-ks.org/sq/rreth-kqz>

<sup>40</sup> Law No. 03/L-073, On the general election in the Republic of Kosovo, Article 68, found at [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/liqjet/2008\\_03-L073\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/liqjet/2008_03-L073_al.pdf)

<sup>41</sup> Law No. 03/L-073 On the general election in the Republic of Kosovo, Article 115, found at [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/liqjet/2008\\_03-L073\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/liqjet/2008_03-L073_al.pdf)

campaign remains a key problem which has been recorded by civil society also. According to analysts, political parties have the support of powerful donors who after the elections benefit from the tendering procedures, specifically the budget of the Republic of Kosovo.<sup>42</sup> Political parties have the right to spend 50 cents per each voter and each expense that is above 100 Euro needs to be presented with invoices.<sup>43</sup>

In fact we can say that the campaign of the political parties has begun a lot earlier. The leaders of political parties and the candidates have begun their communication through the social media, which is a new model in comparison to the previous elections. During the campaign an important role is undoubtedly played by the media, which based on the pre-campaign of the political parties has begun to broadcast debates with parties and political analysts.

Different from the previous election where the election campaign was foreseen by law also to last for 30 days, this time the CEC has decided for the campaign to last only ten (10) days, as they are premature elections.

## **- Main political parties in Kosovo during the current parliamentary mandate**

### **- PDK**

The demilitarising of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), immediately after the war, did not damage their structure but only positioned them in other organisations. Hence some of them joined the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC), some the Kosovo Police Service (KPS), some the Kosovo Information Service (KIS), and the remaining part on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1999 established the Kosovo Democratic Progress Party (PPDK) headed by Hashim Thaci.<sup>44</sup>

Hashim Thaci is known as one of the KLA political leaders<sup>45</sup>. However, even though all the members of the

KLA enjoyed the support of the population, their party did not achieve to persuade the electorate and hence remaining as the second party in the country for a long time. After a short period of time, the PPDK changed its name to the Kosovo Democratic Party (PDK), and by not representing a specific ideology but rather calling on the war contribution that they did even though it was more close with central left parties in that period.

In 2000 the PDK lost most of the municipalities which it was administering immediately after the war. A year later the disappointment was extended as the total of votes was 25.7%, even though they were part of the government and had gained the position of the Prime Minister, which was decided to be held by Bajram Rexhepi after many dilemmas.<sup>46</sup>

The PDK continued the period of slow rise in the following years and won 28.85% in the 2004 elections. The momentum of the PDK came after the death of the leader Ibrahim Rugova, where the LDK became split into two parties<sup>47</sup>. Here, the PDK gained a large offensive and engaged new figures in the party and established a shadow government.<sup>48</sup> And in the elections of 2007 the PDK at last achieved to become the leading party in the country by winning 34.3%. The PDK continues to be in government today as in the elections of 2010 it achieved to win 32.11% of the votes.

-In the local elections of 2013, the PDK lost many important municipalities like Gjilan, Mitrovica and Ferizaj, which was a significant blow for the main bases of this party's voters. The loss of the PDK in these municipalities and the close proximity with the main rival LDK party is a consequence of two founders leaving this party, who are also amongst the most voted persons, Fatmir Limaj and Jakup Krasniqi. They have founded

<sup>42</sup> Millions of Euro for the campaign, Article can be found at <http://www.zeri.info/artikulli/31353/miliona-euro-per-fushate>, last accessed on 27.05. 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Law No. 03/L-073, On the general election in the Republic of Kosovo, Article 40

<sup>44</sup> International Crisis Group, "What Happened to the KLA", 3.03.2000, found at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/088-what-happened-to-the-kla.aspx>

<sup>45</sup> International Crisis Group, Kosovo: Landmark Elections, 21.11.2001 found at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/120-kosovo-landmark-election.aspx>

<sup>46</sup> International Crisis Group, Kosovo RoadMap(II): Internal Benchmarks, 01.03.2002, found at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/op-eds/125-a-kosovo-roadmap-II-internal-benchmarks.aspx>

<sup>47</sup> Hofmeiser, Wilhelm and Grabow, Karsten, Political parties, Function and organization in Democratic Societies. Chapter 8, Political Parties in Kosovo, Xhemaj, Bashmir, Page 105, Prishtinë, April 2013. Editor and publisher: Konrad Adenauer Foundation. This book can be found at: [http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_34067-1522-2-30.pdf?130417185744](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_34067-1522-2-30.pdf?130417185744) ..

<sup>48</sup> International Crisis Group, Kosovo After Haradinaj, 26.05.2005, found at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/163-kosovo-after-haradinaj.aspx>



the initiative NISMA that is seen as a political party that aims to hurt PDK. Both Mr. Limaj and Mr. Krasniqi were founding members of PDK and were the second and third most voted people in PDK, so their departure from PDK has put it in a difficult situation.

NISMA officials have been critical of the dialogue with Serbia but have not officially rejected it. NISMA has no clear ideological orientation, but presumably is more left-wing. NISMA has not ruled out any coalition partners. They will struggle to pass the 5% threshold.

Prime Minister Thaci has begun the campaign very early by increasing salaries<sup>49</sup>, conducting many visits to companies, schools, kindergartens, and by making promises of employment for 200 thousand people in the next mandate, even though according to the most political analysts most of his promises that they gave in the previous campaigns (fight against corruption, visa liberalisation, economic growth) weren't accomplished.

As for the parliamentary elections of 2014, the PDK and Prime Minister Thaci will be remembered for the manner in which they campaigned and established a coalition with a party that proclaims national unification, specifically the Unification Movement (LB), and two other parties with religious principles, the Justice Party (PD) and the Albanian Demo-Christian Party (PSHDK). A feature of these elections is that for the first time in parliamentary elections the PDK has declared to be right-wing party, while in the past it was considered as a party with social-democratic values related to parties of the same profile in Europe<sup>50</sup>.

## - LDK

The Kosovo Democratic League (LDK) is the first Albanian party and as such begun the cycle of political pluralism, at which time other parties were established. The LDK was established on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1989 from a large and diverse group of intellectuals. The first leader of this party was Ibrahim Rugova, at the same time the spiritual leader and identity of this party even

today. President Rugova and the LDK enjoyed undisputed support from the Albanian population, and due to his he was elected President of the Republic of Kosovo in 1992 and 1998.<sup>51</sup> The LDK is a party that has taken part in all of the difficult processes which have followed Kosovo. LDK under the leadership of President Rugova was promoted as a centre-right party with objectives of Euro-Atlantic integrations. After the conclusion of the war in 1999, in the first local elections of 2000, the LDK won 58% of the votes at the country level.<sup>52</sup> A year later the LDK was confirmed as the leading party in the parliamentary elections in which it won 47 out of the 120 seats in parliament. Even though the LDK has a consolidated majority, with the intervention of the international community an inclusive government was established together with the LDK, PDK and AAK and Ibrahim Rugova as the President of the country.<sup>53</sup>

In the elections of 2004 the LDK won again 45.4% of votes, and decided to establish a coalition with the AAK, a party which was led by the former war commander Mr. Ramush Haradinaj who was chosen as Prime Minister. On the other side the LDK took the post of President to which Ibrahim Rugova was confirmed, and Nexhat Daci as the Chairperson of the Parliament.

The negative momentum of the LDK came after the death of its leader Rugova in 2006 and in the session of its assembly for the election of the new structures. After an internal campaign with high tensions and an election assembly associated with problems and conflicts, the party split into two parts and Nexhat Daci with a group of disgruntled members established a new party, the Democratic League of Dardania (LDD).

Following the internal party problems, and after the loss of the charismatic and undisputed leader, Ibrahim Rugova, and after the conclusion of the second mandate in government, the LDK in the elections of 2007 won half of the previous votes, a total of 22.60%, and

<sup>49</sup> Official: The Government increased salaries by 25 per cent, Article can be found at:

<http://botasot.info/kosova/280328/zyrtare-qeveria-rrite-pagat-per-25-per-qind/>, last accessed on 26.05. 2014

<sup>50</sup> International Crisis Group, *The Challenge of Transition*, 17.02.2006, found at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/170-kosovo-the-challenge-of-transition.aspx> last accessed on 26.05.2014.

<sup>51</sup> Hofmeiser, Wilhelm and Grabow, Karsten, *Political parties, Function and organization in Democratic Societies. Chapter 8, Political Parties in Kosovo*, Xhemaj, Bashmir, Page 106, Prishtinë, April 2013. Editor and publisher: Konrad Adenauer Foundation. This book can be found at: [http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_34067-1522-2-30.pdf?130417185744](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_34067-1522-2-30.pdf?130417185744) .

<sup>52</sup> International Crisis Group, *Kosovo: Landmark Elections*, 21.11.2001 found at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/120-kosovo-landmark-election.aspx>

<sup>53</sup> Kosovo Profile, Article can be found at:

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18331273> last accessed on 26.05.2014

became the second party in the country. The LDK made an agreement with the main rival, the PDK, and received the post of President which was exercised by Fatmir Sejdiu.

During this time the dissatisfactions related to the coalition with the PDK were significant and another LDK figure was rising to the scene, a more charismatic figure and one that openly opposed the government of the LDK with the PDK, the Mayor of Prishtina Municipality and well know professor, Isa Mustafa. In 2010 after the processing of the case by the Constitutional Court on the issue of whether Fatmir Sejdiu was in violation of the Constitution of Kosovo by holding two positions, that of President of the Republic and the Leader of LDK, the court ruled that this is in breach of the Constitution of Kosovo. In this case President Sejdiu resigned from the position<sup>54</sup>. And in 2010 in the following congress of the LDK, the one who most strongly opposed the PDK, Isa Mustafa, got elected as the head of the party.<sup>55</sup>

In the municipal elections of 2013 the party won most of the larger municipalities in Kosovo, but lost the biggest municipality in the country, Prishtina<sup>56</sup>. During the Isa Mustafa's mandate as president of LDK, he has made a structural and political platform reforms and LDK became an observer member of the European people's Party (EPP), the largest political group of centre-right parties in Europe.

## - AAK

The Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK), is a union of a number of political organisations and individuals with possibly opposing ideologies. In its establishment in 2001, the AAK was joined by the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo (LKCK), UNIKOMB, Kosovo Parliamentary Party (PPK) and the Kosovo Peoples Movement (LPK).<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Sejdiu resigns*, Article can be found at: <http://www.evropaelire.org/content/article/2169631.html>, last accessed on 27.05.2014

<sup>55</sup> *Isa Mustafa is elected Leader of LDK*, Article can be found at: <http://botasot.info/speciale/86719/qYzLnhl/>, last accessed on 27.05.2014

<sup>56</sup> *LDK loses Prishtina – wins Kosovo*, Article can be found at: <http://www.zeri.info/artikulli/21955/ldk-humb-prishtinen-fiton-kosoven>, last accessed on 27.05.2014

<sup>57</sup> *International Crisis Group, Kosovo: Landmark Elections*, found at 21.11.2001 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/120-kosovo-landmark-election.aspx> last accessed on 26.05.2014

Despite the political diversity and ideologies of individuals, the AAK has entered the ranks of centre-right party. Its leader is Ramush Haradinaj, an outstanding general in the war of the KLA. Despite this, the party so far has not been able to rival the two larger parties of LDK and PDK. Specifically, in the parliamentary elections of 2001 the AAK won only 7.83% of the votes, while in the local elections of 2002 it achieved to win only the Municipality of Decan, from where Ramush Haradinaj originates. However, the AAK joined the wide coalition along with other parties and took a number of ministries under its leadership.

The governing experience of the AAK is continued further after establishing the coalition with the LDK in 2004. In these elections the AAK won 9.60% of the votes, but which were enough to take to post of Prime Minister. However, this governing mandate term was marked with many events which caused it to be the government that was led by three different Prime Ministers during the one single term. Initially in 2005, Prime Minister Haradinaj surrendered to the Hague Tribunal, where an indictment was filed for war crimes during the war in Kosovo.<sup>58</sup> In March of 2005 he was replaced by Bajram Kosumi, who after only one year resigned. Kosumi was replaced by former KLA general and Lieutenant of the KPC, Agim Ceku who remained in power until the elections of 2007.<sup>59</sup>

The lack of presence from the leader Haradinaj, in the parliamentary-local elections in 2007, the local elections in 2009 and the parliamentary elections of 2010, seriously damaged the party and this certainly had an effect on the results. However, the AAK achieved to confirm itself in the Dukagjini region as the leading party, by winning Gjakova, Peja and beyond this region, also Suhareka.

The local elections of 2013 were negative for the AAK as from the six municipalities it had, it achieved to win only three Decan, Junik and Obiliq. Significant damages are considered to be the loss of municipalities in Dukagjin region, namely Gjakova and Peja, as this region was known as the bastion of the AAK. However, in these elections the AAK has achieved to increase the

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<sup>58</sup> *International Crisis Group, Kosovo: No Good Alternatives to the Ahtisaari Plan*, 14.052007, found at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/182-kosovo-no-good-alternatives-to-the-ahtisaari-plan.aspx>

<sup>59</sup> *Kosovo Profile*, Article can be found at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18331273>, last accessed on 26.05.2014

votes at national level, which is an important element for this entity in order to join the race in the June 2014 elections. Another important element is the participation of the charismatic leader Haradinaj after a ten year period in the parliamentary election campaign.

### - VETËVENDOSJE (SELF-DETERMINATION)

The Self-Determination Movement was established on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 2005, by a group of young in age intellectuals, but with baggage from the past. Led by Albin Kurti, who is known for organising the protests of 1997, a member of the political office of the KLA and prisoner during the war, initially profiled the Self-Determination Movement as a movement which fought for the cause of national unification. Self-Determination developed its activities through political actions, protests and riots. The riots and protests organised by Self-Determination, often got out of control, and the most tragic were those of February 10<sup>th</sup> 2007, when two protestors were killed by the UNMIK Police.<sup>60</sup>

The Self-Determination Movement was objecting both the international community and Albanian political parties which in their opinion were selling-out the country and were creating a new and artificial identity. Self-Determination presented the immediate need to join with Albania, which would be the best way to distance the country from Serbia, and to preserve the territorial integrity. Self-Determination did not take part in the elections until 2010. Contrary to it, during this period they opposed the elections, the Kosovo institutions, the Ahtisaari Package, decentralisation, privatisation, and demanded the departure of UNMIK.<sup>61</sup>

Anyhow, the turning point of Self-Determination was the participation in the parliamentary elections of 2010 in which it received 12.69% of the votes. It needs to be mentioned that in these elections Self-Determination entered into a pre-election coalition with the Unification Movement (LB), a party close in ideology, but with which it separated immediately after the elections as they had difficulties in the sharing of revenues from the

Kosovo budget for political parties.<sup>62</sup> However, the parliamentary group was active during the whole time and in all cases remained consistent with its actions, by not standing against their principles and programme, which from the ideology perspective supported strongly leftist policies.

However, the discourse of the Self-Determination Movement changed with the joining of some individuals who were more concentrated on achieving tangible results. In the local elections of 2013, when there was thinking that the Self-Determination Movement was failing by not achieving to win any municipality, Shpend Ahmeti won the majority of votes and was announced Mayor.<sup>63</sup>

Undoubtedly, this victory in the capital city was the salvation of the Self-Determination Movement, who noticed that the opening of the movement would bring a refreshing spirit, and decided to bring additional newcomers in order to be as competitive as possible in the parliamentary elections of 2014.

### - AKR

The New Kosovo Alliance (AKR), was established on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 2006 by Behgjet Pacolli, a very successful international businessman.<sup>64</sup>

Knowing the biography of Mr. Pacolli, the citizens of the country gave him a positive consideration, so much so that in the elections of 2007 it became the third ranking party with 12.3% of the votes. Despite this, the AKR remained in opposition. After the blooming period for the party, the first cracks began to appear with the leaving of MPs from its ranks, some of whom remained independent and others jointed other parties.

The next blow came in the local elections, where even after the coalition with LDD, it did not achieve to win any municipality. By noticing the downward trend, the AKR in the parliamentary elections of 2010 entered into a coalition with a number of small parties and achieved to win only 7.29% of the votes. Despite the internal

<sup>60</sup> International Crisis Group, *Kosovo: No Good Alternatives to the Ahtisaari Plan*, 14.05.2007, found at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/182-kosovo-no-good-alternatives-to-the-ahtisaari-plan.aspx> accessed on 26.05.2014

<sup>61</sup> International Crisis Group Europe Report *Kosovo: The Challenge of Transition* 17.02.2006, found at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/170-kosovo-the-challenge-of-transition.aspx> accessed on 26.05.2014

<sup>62</sup> Percahen Aleatet, Article can be found at: <http://www.kosova-sot.info/politike/kosove/percahen-aleatet/>, last accessed on 26.05.2014

<sup>63</sup> Awaiting changes and fulfilment of commitments, Article can be found at: <http://www.evropaelire.org/content/article/25187209.html>, accessed on 27.05.2014

<sup>64</sup> <http://akr-ks.com/akr/historiku/>

problems as a coalition, the AKR together with the other small parties achieved to make a coalition with the PDK, and the leader of the AKR, Behgjet Pacolli, became the President of Kosovo following many objections and re-voting sessions.

The calm for the AKR and in particular for Mr. Pacolli did not last, as only 35 days after the Constitutional Court deemed that the manner in which he was elected was anti-constitutional, hence Pacolli resigned. However, the AKR remained until the end in the coalition, and led a number of ministries.

A turning point for the AKR can be considered the victory in Gjakova and Mitrovica in the local elections of 2013. This seems to have relaxed Mr. Pacolli who in the list of candidates for the parliamentary elections has included some young persons and experienced politicians like Bajram Kosumi and Naim Maloku.

#### **- SERBIAN LIST – “GRADANSKA INICIJATIVA SRPSKA (G.I.SRPSKA)”**

The establishment of the Serbian List comes as a consequence of the political dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia which produced the agreement of April 2013. In fact the participation of the Serbian List in the elections represents the willingness for the first time of the whole Serbian community to participate in the process.

Despite what has been achieved, an important step in the integration of Serbs from the north with participation in elections, the latter find it difficult to recognise the authority of Prishtina. In fact, the Serbs from the north are disappointed with Belgrade also, as their interests have not been taken into consideration at all. Furthermore, the Serbs from the north are dismayed by the information that the Serbian List and SLS with join together, for whom they claim to be Thaci's people.<sup>65</sup> However, the Serbian List achieved success in the municipal elections as it won nine municipalities.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> From the debated organised by the Center for Social Engagement with the support of the KAS Foundation which was aimed at increasing the Serb community participation in elections. Mitrovica, 15.05.2014

<sup>66</sup> Kosovo Elections Commission, Elections for the Municipal Assembly 2013, <http://www.kqz-ks.org/sq/zqjedhjet-komunale-2013>

## **SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MAIN POLITICAL LEADERS**

### **- Hashim Thaci**

He was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1968 in Buroj of Skenderaj. In 1993 he finished his studies in the History department of the University of Prishtina. From 1996 to 1998 he attended studies in the History and Political Sciences Department in the University of Zurich in Switzerland. Thaci was political leader of KLA. Since that time and up to the present, Thaci was part of the political processes which are related to Kosovo. Initially he was the Head of the Albanian delegation in Rambouillet, then a participant in the Vienna talks, and now in the talks with Belgrade. In 1999 Hashim Thaci established the PDK and since then has been the undisputed leader of that party<sup>67</sup>. Since 2007, Hashim Thaci is the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, as his party came out victorious from the parliamentary elections of 2007 and 2010. Hashim Thaci is heading the PDK list and is nominated for Prime Minister by this party.

### **- Isa Mustafa**

He was born on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1951 in Prapashtica of Prishtina municipality. Professor Mustafa has a PhD in Economy, and is a lecturer since 1974. Professor Mustafa, as a lecturer spent most of his time in the University of Prishtina but also in some other private universities. His connection to Prishtina Municipality began in 1984 when he exercised the duties of the President of the Municipal Government until 1988. Mustafa was part of many banking and university institution boards. His political carrier continued as the Minister of Economy, in the Government of Bujar Bukoshi from 1991-1999<sup>68</sup>. His active comeback in politics begins in 2007 when he ran and won the elections for the Mayor of Prishtina. Isa Mustafa in 2010 in the VII Election Mustafa is heading the LDK list and is a candidate for Prime Minister from the LDK ranks.

### **- Ramush Haradinaj**

He was born on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 1968 in Glllogjan of Decan. He lived for a part of his life abroad in Switzerland.

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<sup>67</sup> Hashim Thaci's biography: <http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/hashim-thaci-prime-minister-biography>

<sup>68</sup> Isa Mustafa-President: <http://ldk-ks.eu/Al/organizimi/kryetari/>

During the war he was involved as a military general for the Dukagjini region. Haradinaj during the war lost two brothers as martyrs, Shkelzen and Luan. After the war, he continued his military involvement as a general in the KPC, until 2001 when he established the AAK, hence entering politics. In 2004, Haradinaj as the leader of the AAK achieved a coalition with President Rugova, and with this gained the position of Prime Minister. After only 100 days as Prime Minister, the tribunal confirmed the indictment for war crimes during the war in Kosovo. Hence, Haradinaj resigned from the post of Prime Minister and surrendered to the tribunal until 2008 when he was declared innocent. However, the Hague tribunal in 2010 reopened his case, and Haradinaj was again faced with the tribunal until 2012 when he was declared innocent<sup>69</sup>. Haradinaj in the elections of 2014 heads the list of candidates of the AAK and is nominated for Prime Minister by this entity.

#### **- Albin Kurti**

He was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1975 in Prishtina. He finished his studies in the Electro-technical Faculty in 1993. His larger involvement began during the riots of 1997, where together with the Students Union of UP he announced a message on the harsh situation in Kosovo. During the war he was part of the political office of the KLA together with Adem Demaci. In 1999 Albin was arrested and remained in Serbian prisons until 2001. His involvement after the war begins with the Kosovo Action Network (KAN), to continue in 2005 with the establishment of Self-Determination.<sup>70</sup> Albin Kurti in 2010 was elected as a Member of Parliament of Kosovo and the Chairperson of the Commission for Foreign Policy. Kurti continues to be the undisputed leader of the Self-Determination Movement and an informal candidate for Prime Minister of this party.

#### **- Behgjet Pacolli**

He was born on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 1951 in Marec of Prishtina municipality. He finished his lower education in Kosovo, whilst his studies in Trade and Marketing he finished abroad in Germany and Switzerland. Pacolli is a successful businessman and owner of many compa-

nies. Pacolli is also known as a humanist who through foundations has helped in reconstruction, education and other spheres of life. Pacolli in 2005 became part of the Kosovo politics, by establishing the AKR.<sup>71</sup> In 2010 he was elected as the President of the Republic of Kosovo, a position held only for 35 days, as the Constitutional Court deemed that the procedure of his election was in breach of the constitution. Pacolli during the 2010-2014 government was a Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo, focusing on the foreign policy processes and lobbying for recognition of Kosovo.

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<sup>69</sup> Profile: Ramush Haradinaj:

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14542505>

<sup>70</sup> Albin Kurti: <http://www.melevizjen.com/kandidatet/1-albin-kurti/>

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