

**Preliminary Second Report on the results of Long-Term Observation
Over the Elections of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic on October 30, 2011**



The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society

The period of observation—from the 21st of September through the 3rd of October, 2011

The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society is an independent, apolitical, and neutral association operating in the area of developing democracy and civil society in Kyrgyzstan.

I. SUMMARY

The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society (the “Coalition”) conducts long-term observation of the socio-political situation in the country and carries out activities on the preparation and conduction of the Elections of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic set for October 30, 2011. The leaders of the Coalition, 9 lawyers, 4 analysts, as well as 70 independent long-term observers (LTOs) and staff members from the Coalition’s head office and regional offices, who are involved in the observation, who conduct observation of all 57 territorial and election commissions of the country (45 at the level of districts and cities of national significance and 12 at the level of towns of district and regional significance) starting from September 15th, and of the Central Election Commission (CEC) of the Kyrgyz Republic starting from the day of setting the date of the Elections.

This is the second of the four planned reports on the results of the long-term observation. This preliminary report consists of four sections: political situation and security in the Kyrgyz Republic; the activities of election commissions and the process of compilation of the Voters’ List; the activities of the candidates; the activities of local authorities and non-government organizations on informing the voters. Additional information may appear in subsequent reports, detailing specific events conducted within the certain period covered. One of the main issues to be considered in the subsequent reports will be election campaigns and informational activities of the candidates for the President of KR.

Presented below are the Coalition’s preliminary conclusions based on the results of the long-term observations during the period from the 21st of September through the 3rd of October, 2011.

- The socio-political situation in the country remains calm, but certain hints during the speeches of official authorities regarding internal and external threats during the election period support the tension and fears among the population.**
- Religious leaders of the country fear provocative rhetoric and that certain entities may use the name of Islam in order to destabilize the situation in the country during the election period, wherein the country’s Muslim population will suffer.**

- Judicial reform and the process of selecting judges will influence the results of the election of the President, and elections may be disrupted or appealed against by any of the candidates, according to the "Adilet" Legal Clinic.
- There is a high turnover of cadres within the Precinct elections commissions' compositions, especially among PEC members who are representatives of political parties. They do not attend PEC meetings and do not come to duty service. In the latter case, all of the workload is directed to the teachers, who are traditionally represented in all the PECs.
- PEC members in the regions are concerned by the passiveness of voters in checking their inclusion on the voter list. At the same time, in the city of Bishkek and Chuy oblast, there are cases of noticeably high numbers of applications for change of the electoral addresses.
- The CEC, in cooperation with NGOs, had commenced the operation of mobile groups on verification of the voter lists since October 6th. However, due to the unsolved funding and organizational issues, there is a problem with the formation of mobile groups.
- The Constitutional rights of over 650 citizens of KR, who reside outside of the country, are being violated. There are only 3 electoral precincts open in the Russian Federation, whose passing capacity does not coincide to the number of citizens registered with the Consulate of KR.
- The highest number of membership in PECs from political parties is held by the parties supporting A.Atambaev—over 3,600 persons; the second highest is Madumarov—over 860 persons; the third highest, Abdyldaev—around 650; and the fourth, Tashiev—over 620 persons.
- As of October 7th, 2011, the total number of registered candidates for the office of the President of KR is **23 persons**, out of which 13 are self-nominated and 10 are political party nominees. On October 6th, the CEC registered 4 candidates, following judicial proceedings and repeat verification of the signature lists.
- The number of electoral representative offices of candidate Atambaev is over 80 offices (including SDPK—49, Respublika—22, Ak-Shumkar—6, Zamandash—6); Madumarov—46 offices; Tashiev—42 offices; Suvanaliev—31 offices.
- The Coalition's observers have registered cases of violation during conduction of campaigns by Some presidential candidates, such as distribution of free food items to elderly people and organization of charitable lunches, using administrative resources.
- Damaging and destroying of candidates' campaign materials by unknown persons have been registered.

The observation is conducted with the financial support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), British Ministry for International Development, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Office of Transition Initiatives, and the International Resource Group.

II. INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

In 2011, Kyrgyzstan is celebrating 20 years of independence. During the past 7 years, the people have twice overthrown authoritarian regimes, resisting lawlessness and corruption. 2010 has become a time of serious ordeals for Kyrgyzstan. The April events and the inter-ethnic conflicts in the South in June have taken the lives of over 500 citizens. Following the April events, the Interim Government, headed by Roza Otunbayeva, was formed, which developed and took a referendum to establish a new version of the Constitution. Despite some serious disagreements within society and between political parties, the new Constitution was adopted. The last election of the Jogorku Kenesh became one of the most notable events within the community, as Kyrgyzstan has become the first country in Central Asia to adopt the parliamentary form of state government.

Honest, free, and transparent elections are an important practice for building a democratic state. The disagreement with the results of the elections of the JK of KR in 2005 led to numerous protests and many more have taken place in subsequent years as well. Political upheavals have caused lowering of the socio-economic living standards. Open and fair elections are a guarantee of the preservation of the stability of the state and implementation of reforms.

Kyrgyzstan is approaching a new stage of development—Presidential elections, where for the first time in the history of independent countries, the presidential authority will be transferred through peaceful means. These elections are a final stage of the transitional period in the country.

The Elections of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic were set by the Decree of Jogorku Kenesh adopted on July 30, 2011, in compliance with Section 2, Part 1, Article 74 of the Constitution of KR. These Presidential Elections are taking place following the adoption of the new Constitution of KR in 2010 and the reformed elections legislation.

The Presidential Elections are regulated by the Constitutional Law “On the Elections of the President and Jogorku Kenesh of KR” adopted on July 2, 2011, and the Law “On the Election Commissions for the conduction of elections and referenda of KR” adopted on July 30, 2011.

The composition of the CEC, 57 territorial election commissions, 2,289 precinct election commissions, and 29 electoral precincts outside of Kyrgyzstan have been formed.

Methodology of observation of the elections

The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society is a politically neutral non-government organization founded for the purposes of carrying out civic education on raising the legal culture of the electorate and organizing independent monitoring of all stages of the electoral process, activities on conduction of the elections, including monitoring of the observance of the election legislation by all the participants of the electoral process and analysis of the current situation both in specific oblasts and the country as a whole.

The support for the provision of a transparent election system through civil education and independent observation, facilitation of raising the level of people’s trust to the election system—is one of the main missions of the “Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society” Public Association.

The Coalition is an organization founded by citizens of Kyrgyzstan and working for the interests of the citizens of Kyrgyzstan by means of involving citizens in the democratic processes.

The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society implements long-term observation of the socio-political situation in the country and the activities on the preparation and conduction of the Elections of the President of KR on October 30, 2011, with the goal of providing an objective assessment of the preparation and conduction of the Presidential elections as to whether they comply with the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic, as well as the international norms and obligations undertaken by Kyrgyzstan. The Coalition’s campaign on the independent observation over the Presidential elections is being carried out under the slogan: **“Vote in the Elections—Form your own Government—Build your future!”**

The leaders of the Coalition, 9 lawyers, 4 analysts, as well as 70 independent long-term observers (LTOs) and staff members of the Coalition’s head office and regional offices, who are involved in the observation at all of the 57 territorial and election commissions of the country (45 at the level of districts and cities of national significance and 12 at the level of towns of district and regional significance) starting from the 15th of September, and at the Central Election Commission (CEC) of the Kyrgyz Republic starting from the day the date of the elections was set.

The Coalition’s long-term observers were selected on a competitive basis, went through a special training on observation and the new constitutional law on the elections of the President of KR, and passed through the special examination testing their knowledge of the electoral process. There is a telephone hotline available in order to provide technical support for the operation of the Coalition’s long-term observers.

Long-term observers watch over the preparation for the elections, the activities of the election commissions at all levels and the Government on the provision of free, just, and equal expression of the will of the voters during the Elections of the President of KR. They also assess the level of interest in the elections shown by the participants and the sufficiency of their knowledge on the upcoming elections. The observers also thoroughly watch over the campaigning period and the speeches given by the candidates in mass media. Moreover, they have been monitoring the activities of the Central Election Commission starting from the day of the announcement of the Elections of the President of KR.

Map of distribution of the Coalition’s long-term observers by region:



While carrying out their mission, long-term observers strictly adhere to the principle of impartiality and neutrality. Long-term observers only report what they have seen personally and can verify, i.e. facts that have actually taken place. Every LTO has been issued a digital camera in order to register possible violations of the electoral legislation. Moreover, observers may report the information received from other persons and sources.

III. PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE OBSERVATION DURING THE PERIOD FROM SEPTEMBER 21ST THROUGH OCTOBER 3RD, 2011

1. SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION AND SECURITY IN KYRGYZSTAN

Information on the political situation is based on the reports of the Coalition's long-term observers (LTOs) in the regions from September 21st through October 3rd, and on the monitoring of the political situation in the capital city until October 8th, during the period of information processing and compilation of the Coalition's second report on long-term observation of the Election of the President of KR.

The socio-political situation in the country is not unequivocal. As a whole, the observers note a stable situation throughout the country, but the seemingly calm atmosphere conceals a tension within the population. This tension is further exacerbated by speeches given by authorities and actions of candidate supporters. Examples are provided further in the text. The population has a very cautious attitude towards the elections and their results, fearing the rise of various conflicts. Cases of damaging and destroying candidates' campaign materials also creates certain pressure, when the supporters of candidates from either northern or southern regions are blamed.

The Actions by the Authorities

On September 27th, 2011, a meeting of the Defense Council took place, which was presided over by the President of KR, R.I.Otunbayeva, and devoted to the issue of the measures for securing state and

public safety during the period of preparation and conduction of the elections of the President of KR. In light of the decision to postpone the issue of forming the Defense Council's Secretariat for the post-elections period, the responsibilities of the Secretary of the Defense Council was laid on the Head of the Defense and Security Department of the Apparatus of the President of KR, Busurmankul Tabaldiev. Besides the leadership of the State and representatives of power ministries and agencies, the composition of the Defense Council also included heads of parliamentary factions of political parties represented in the Parliament of the Republic, and the Chairman of the Profile Committee of the JK of KR.

In general, the Defense Council characterized the socio-political situation in the country as relatively stable. At the same time, it was noted that confrontation and complication of the situation as a result of politically incorrect battles between the candidates is a possibility, as well as influence of internal and external threats on the conduction of the elections and recognition of their results¹.

In addition, on October 3rd, a Government meeting was held under the chairmanship of O.Babanov, where the Head of SCNS noted that the upcoming elections are expected to be complicated², and the electoral process, according to MoI information, is characterized by instability due to the use of unlawful tools by certain candidates and political forces during the conduction of election campaigns³. However, the MoI did not voice any specific facts on violation of legislation on the part of the candidates at the Defense Council meeting with the Heads of SCNS.

In this light, the Coalition has made an official request in the name of the Acting Prime-Minister for provision of the names of the candidates using unlawful tools in conducting their election campaigns, and which unlawful tools precisely they are using. Moreover, the Coalition has requested information on the measures taken by the law-enforcement agencies for the prevention of possible conflicts and violations of the legislation.

According to the Coalition's observers, the above-mentioned statements by the heads of state on the influence of external threats and the possibilities of disruption of the elections through inter-regional and inter-ethnic confrontation, have facilitated the dissemination of unverified information on the alleged infiltration of a group of militants into the country, who may organize a terrorist act during the elections, on the possible provocations, which would serve as a source of a conflict in the country. Such statements infuse fear, concern, and growth of tension among the voters. Such actions and statements of state officials were observed prior to the elections of the Parliament and the Referendum of 2010. In this connection, the Coalition has grounds to assume that pressure is being exerted on the voters in order to ensure attendance on the Election Day.

Besides, the Coalition's observers note the low quality of work of the law-enforcement agencies with regards to the protesters, in particular in the capital city. The role and position of the state bodies, which exhibit no reaction whatsoever to the protests that go beyond the limits of the legislation and Sometimes gain un-peaceful nature, is unclear.

One such example is a protest in Bishkek that took place on October 6th, when entrances into Parliament were blocked and deputies were unable to enter the building. Another example is the of intrusion of unknown entities into the meeting hall of the Council for Judge Selection for the purpose of forcing them to write voluntary applications for resigning from the Council. The Coalition has

¹ <http://www.president.kg/ru/posts/4e843903f4d5527d11000003>

² <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/law-and-order/full/19469>

³ <http://for.kg/ru/news/165104/>

sent a letter to the leadership of the MoI demanding suppression of any un-peaceful actions on the part of protest participants.

The Actions by the Candidates and their Supporters

The voters' discontent is on the rise over the fact that candidates' supporters blame each other for the damaging and destroying of campaign materials. In the North of the country, campaign materials are being destroyed by the supporters of the southern candidates, and vice versa. Nearly all the candidates' representative offices have made statements as to such facts. For instances, the Coalition's observers note damaging and destroying of campaign materials of candidates Madumarov and Tashiev in the Issyk-Kul and Chuy oblasts, while noting the damaging and destroying of campaign materials of candidates Atambaev and Suvanaliev in Osh and Jalal-Abad oblasts. According to Article 56 of the Administrative Code of KR, this is punishable by law. In this regard, the Coalition would like to give a reminder that the responsibility of state bodies is to ensure the security of the electoral process for all the participants and citizens, without exception.

On October 4th, the Head of the Central Office of the candidate for the President of the Kyrgyz Republic A.Madumarov, E.Shermetov, approached the CEC of KR, the Prosecutor General's office and the Ministry of Interior of KR with a statement asserting that in Sokuluk, unknown assailants have burnt the representative office of the candidate of the "Butun Kyrgyzstan" party⁴, and that in other regions of the country, there are occurrences of damaging posters and campaign materials of this candidate. This information was confirmed to a Coalition's lawyer by one of the staff members of the candidate's Sokuluk representative office (we do not reveal his name, at his request). At the same time it is worth noting that the Coalition's observers have not confirmed the fact of arson of the representative office in Sokuluk. Later on, the Coalition's observers reported that pressure was exerted on the head of the representative office to renounce his earlier statement.

On October 6th, information was posted on the "Vesti.kg" website regarding the fact that someone had allegedly set fire to the house of the Head of the territorial election representative office of Kamchybek Tashiev in the village of Sosnovka, and that unknown persons threatened him saying that the authorities will not let the representatives of the south come to leadership. They also warned him that following the arson of his house, the Head of the territorial election representative office itself would be burned. This information was being verified by the Coalition's observers in various sources. The Fire Department has reported that no cases of fire were registered in the village of Sosnovka. Ayil Okmotu (Village Council) representatives and the village inhabitants have stated that the fire was routine—the shed of the neighboring house caught on fire, which then engulfed the shed of the house of the Head of Tashiev's representative office. There were no applications to the law-enforcement bodies regarding the fact of this alleged fire either.

At the end of September, an unknown assailant took down and burned a banner of Baibolov's representative office in the Pervomaiskiy district, which is located on the Molodaya Gvardiya Street in Bishkek. The representative office had reported this incident to the Department of the Interior of Leninskiy district of the city of Bishkek, which is not conducting an investigation. This fact was confirmed during the visit of the Coalition's observers to the representative office.

⁴ <http://kginfo.org/main/547-neizvestnye-podozhgli-shtab-amadumarova-i-isportili-bannery-foto.html>

The Judicial Reform

The formation of the judicial system has commenced from a conflict situation from the very beginning, when the civil society made a statement regarding the "secrecy" and standoffishness of the process of the formation of the composition of the Council on judge selection.⁵ Following that, a headquarters of Civil Control was created, which began monitoring the selection of candidates for the position of a judge of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Chamber of the SC of KR.

Furthermore, many public movements and organizations came out to protest actions against the process of judge selection, which led to actions for the dismissal and re-approval of the composition of the Council on Judge Selection and for the dismissal of the Chairman of the Committee on Judicial-Legal Affairs of the JK of KR, S.Japarov. The Chairman of the Council, Sh.Maichiev, made a statement that the work of the Council is hindered by many contradictions in the legislation, which causes misunderstanding and discontent of the civil society.

On September 14th, the President recalled the candidacies for the judicial positions of the Supreme Court, regarding the imperfection of the legislation with regards to the judicial system. This decision of the President was supported by the Parliament. On the same day, by the Decree of the President of KR, a working commission was formed, including representatives of the President and leading factions of the Parliament and the public, which implemented amendments into the judicial legislation. However, the representatives of the Civil Council for Control over the judicial system, who were also part of the Commission, stated that the recommendations and proposals made by the civil society for the elimination of the existing problems in the judge selection process, as well as the proposals for improvement of the selection procedures, were not taken into account.

On October 6th, protesters (representatives of the "Meken Sheyitteri" and "Aikol Ala-Too" movements⁶) intruded the meeting hall of the Judge Selection Council with demands that the Judge Selection Council resign, which caused the Council to suspend its work. On October 7th, the amendments to the laws developed by the Working Group under the President of KR, were reviewed and adopted at a Jogorku Kenesh session, with the exception of some of the norms regarding conduction of a drawing among the candidates for the position of judges, etc.

On September 30th, the "Adilet" Legal Clinic made a statement addressing the President, House Speaker, and the Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic on the possibility of disruption of the elections due to the problems and conflicts around the judicial system. The statement also addressed the absence of a formed composition of judges of the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court in violation of the Law on this judicial body. The restriction of citizens' constitutional right to apply to this judicial organ and the full-scale disregard of the principles of the "Rule of Law" and the non-observance of the high-value guidelines on the part of the state bodies was also mentioned, as were the results of the application of law of low-quality legislative acts by the judges, and the confidence of the latter to remain within the judicial corps in the future.⁷

Religious Organizations

⁵ Statement by the "Precedent" Public Association

⁶ <http://www.24.kg/community/110878-v-kyrgyzstane-na-zasedanii-soveta-po-otboru-sudej.html>

⁷ www.adilet.kg

The Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Kyrgyzstan (SAMK) has spread information regarding the expected provocations among Muslims before the presidential elections. According to mufti Chubak aji Jalilov, political games in the pre-election period may impact the Muslim public. Some entities may use the name of Allah in order to destabilize the society, which will result in blaming the “terrorists”, Muslims, and “extremists”. According to imams, on September 30th, during the Friday namaz, an attempt was made to provoke the Muslims. This happened simultaneously in several mosques of the city, at the same time, and following the same script. A young woman dressed in black hijab, accompanied by a young man of an athletic build, entered the mosque during the Friday namaz. There, they grab the microphone from Imam’s hands, who was trying to preach. They addressed the people gathered about the need to protect the rights of Muslim women, primarily advocating wearing head scarves at schools⁸.

Law-enforcement Bodies

According to the reports of the Coalition’s observers, special trainings and preparation have been held for the representatives of law-enforcement bodies for the purposes of provision of law and order and security during the pre-election and election period. In accordance with the decision of the Defense Council, law-enforcement and border agencies of the country have switched to an extraordinary mode of service. Every TEC and PEC has district militiamen attached to it, who are to provide for the safety of the work of election commissions. They will also be engaged in the work of mobile groups for verification of voter lists.

The Minister of the Interior, Z.Rysaliev, has signed the Order (#886 issued on September 8, 2011) on the exclusion of participation of employees of the bodies of the Interior in the election campaigns of any candidate. During the meetings with the Coalition’s observers, the heads of district Departments of the Interior have noted that they are in fully prepared to prevent any type of conflict and to provide for the safety of citizens during the election period.

The Coalition would like to draw attention to the fact that, despite such statements made by the MoI leadership, rumors are circulating in the society about arson and the damaging of campaign materials of candidates and about un-peaceful protests given full inaction by the law-enforcement bodies and bodies of the Prosecutor General’s office, which are obliged to ensure the observance of the law.

Voluntary People’s Militia Units

In order to provide security during the election campaigns and on voting day and under the initiative of law-enforcement bodies and state administrations, voluntary people’s militia units (VPMU) are being formed throughout the Republic. According to the reports by Coalition’s observers, a VPMU of over 100 people was formed in At-Bashy district, 150 persons in Toguz-Torooskiy district, 385 persons in Alamedin district, 200 persons in Talas district, etc. such people’s militia units were formed throughout the country during the April and June events of 2010 at the initiative of local inhabitants, and on June 12th of the same year a Decree of the Interim Government “On Formation of voluntary people’s militia” was signed⁹.

Overall in the country, over 12 thousand people’s militia volunteers are being recruited for the pre-election period in agreement with the Ministry of the Interior, which include veterans of law-

⁸http://muftiyat.kg/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=634%3A2011-10-08-16-54-57&catid=1%3Acatjaniliktar&Itemid=43&lang=ru

⁹ <http://www.president.kg/ru/posts/4d6cf54e7d5d2e720d000165>

enforcement bodies and power structures, and employees of private security agencies. According to the Decree of the Government as of October 7th on the measures for the realization of the Decision of the Defense Council of KR for the provision of security during the election period, the district state administrations and city administrations are to organize a duty watch by the members of the voluntary people's militia units at each election precinct in the numbers of 10-15 persons for the purposes of conducting joint activities with the law-enforcement bodies in order ensure law and order and not to allow destabilization of the situation¹⁰. The Coalition welcomes this initiative, but at the same time, would like to express its fear that the VPMU members may engage in election campaigning on the territory of PEC on the Election Day.

The leader of the "Patriot" VPMU, formed during the April events of 2010, is now a deputy of JK from the SEPIK faction, Dania Terbishaliev, has initiated and prepared a draft law at the end of September which gives permission to arm the people's militias with firearms. According to him, it is necessary to provide the militia members with weapons and other special means at certain instances, which would enhance the cooperation between law-enforcement bodies and the civil society. At the same time, some mass media outlets, in particular, the "Fabula" newspaper, have emphasized the danger of arming the people's militia members, which caused an active discussion of this issue in internet forums. As the Coalition's observers note, Some citizens talk about the need to strengthen the potential of law-enforcement agencies at the localities. The Coalition believes that arming peaceful civilians is dangerous and calls on D.Terbishaliev to recall his dangerous draft law.

The Activeness of the Population

The activeness of the population in participation in the elections is increasing as the candidates' election campaigns are unfolding. The population is complaining about the lack of information about all candidates, and is also confused about receiving contradicting information about the registration and registration denials of the candidates. Only 5 or 6 candidates are carrying out more active election campaigns for the period reported.

As the observers note, representatives of ethnic minorities in the northern regions express a lower interest in the elections, while the participation of the representatives of Uzbek ethnicity in the southern regions of the country is much higher. Unfortunately, no informational materials in Uzbek language are being distributed among the voters of Uzbek ethnicity¹¹, which could complicate their access to the information regarding the electoral processes and the candidates.

The Coalition emphasizes that it participates, jointly with the Alliance of civic organizations in the process of informing the voters on inclusion on the voter list. For this purpose, a brochure was developed in Russian, Kyrgyz and Uzbek languages. However, the CEC prohibited the printing of informational materials in the Uzbek language without any ground, which could impact the level of awareness and participation of citizens.

The Coalition's observers note, candidate Suvanaliev has distributed his campaign materials in Uzbek language in the Aravan district, which raised awareness and discussion of his candidacy within the Uzbek makhallas. The representatives of the Uzbek ethnicity comprise more than 13

¹⁰ <http://www.gov.kg/?p=3779>

¹¹ Provision of information on the Elections for the representatives of ethnic minorities in their languages is one fo the significant obligations of OSCE for the cpnduction of democratic elections in the member-states of hte OSCE.

percent of the country's citizens and there are reasons to assume that they will be giving preference to the candidates whose rhetoric will not be of nationalistic nature.

Protests and Actions:

During the reported period, several protests were held in the city and regions, which were not directly related to the elections. However, the protests and actions that take place during the electoral processes still influence the voters' moods, as well as the actions and decisions of the government.

From September 20th through the 24th, elections of heads of Ayil Okmotus were held in 160 Ayil precincts of Kyrgyzstan. In 142 of them, elections were officially recognized as having taken place and heads of LSG bodies were elected. However, the local population in some of the Ayil precincts who were discontent with the results of the elections and the decisions of local deputies, held protest actions. On September 23rd, around 100 local persons gathered in the Poltavskiy ayil okmotu of Jayilskiy district, and demanded that the incumbent head in office be kept. In Temirovskiy Ayil Okmotu of the Issyk-Kul district, elections did not officially occur due to the fact that supporters of the current Acting Head, E.Mambetova, who has a secondary education, and was appointed after the April of 2010, have exerted pressure and threatened the deputies of the local Kenesh. The deputies of Temirskiy Ayil Okmotu expressed distrust in all of the candidates and applied to the district's Akim with the request to fire the current head.

On September 25th, in the city of Isfana of the Batken oblast, over 500 persons came out to a piquet demanding to be provided with fuel in the pre-border districts of the region. The piquet was held as a result of the fact that during September 24-25th gas stations were closed down in the district and gasoline price had significantly gone up. As already widely known, the lack of fuel in the Batken oblast is a result of the illegal re-sale of fuel to Tajikistan.

On September 29th, in the city of Bishkek, a protest of the employees of casinos and gambling places was held. Protesters demanded that Jogorku Kenesh does not allow the closing of gambling places in the Republic, where over 15 thousand persons are employed. Nevertheless, the Jogorku Kenesh adopted a bill, which states that starting from January 1st, 2012, all gambling places are to be liquidated. This initiative on closing of casinos and gambling places was raised by the "Sezim" Crisis Center and other NGOs, which welcomed the Jogorku Kenesh' decision concerning the prohibition of the activity of gambling places in Kyrgyzstan.

On October 3rd, in front of the JK building, approximately 30 military pensioners held a protest demanding an increase in living standards and the return of individual benefits and 50%-discount benefits on the payment for utilities.

The Coalition's First Report on election observation talked about a case, where a native of Bazarkorgonskiy district, an ethnic Uzbek who is a citizen of Russia, died after being detained and beaten by the local militia. In this case, the Head of the Bazar-Kurganskiy District Department of the Interior and 2 of its employees have been detailed, and were then transported to the Chuy District Department of the Interior for investigation and judicial proceedings. The local population, of Kyrgyz descent, has expressed discontent that the suspects were transported to a different district for the proceedings. 100 people organized a piquet on October 1st, and on October 3rd, the number of those who were discontent increased to 3,000 persons, who blocked the Osh-Bishkek road. The protesters are demanding that the authorities return the 3 militiamen to Bazarkurganskiy district for

the purposes of conducting the investigation and trial there. This case demonstrates the existence of covert inter-ethnic hostility.

The Involvement of criminal elements in the electoral processes

Currently, the mass media is actively discussing the release of the criminal authority, Maksat Abakirov, nicknamed “Vodolaz”. Opinions are being circulated that this is connected to the upcoming elections and that he was released so that he could give his support to one of the candidates during the elections. The Ata-Meken party leader, Omurbek Tekebaev, criticized the national mass media for interviewing leaders of organized criminal groups (OCGs). The Parliamentarian stated that if the journalists do not cease such types of publication at their own initiative, the interviews with criminal authorities will be officially banned. O.Tekebaev referred to a recent interview with an OCG leader, Maksat Abakirov, in which the latter shared his viewpoints regarding the upcoming elections and indicated his support of the candidate Almaz Atambaev at the upcoming presidential elections. According to our observers’ reports, M.Abakirov held a “tuloo” in Balykchy on September 28th, in which almost all the deputies of the Balykchy City Kenesh participated, including Barktabasov and Urmanaev.

2. THE ACTIVITY OF THE ELECTION COMMISSIONS

Central Election Commission (CEC)

During the reported period, the CEC has conducted 10 open sessions, where issues of candidate registration, authorized entity and candidate representative registration, control and repeat verification of candidate signature lists, verification of voter lists, and approval of election ballots were discussed and decided.

At the same time, the CEC held closed sessions—working meetings and meetings of working groups (a total of 8 working groups). These closed sessions took place without the participation of observers or mass media as they were politely asked to leave the meeting room. The CEC justifies the conduction of closed sessions by the fact that they inform the observers of the results and decisions made by them behind closed doors. Such closed sessions are held every day, according to the observers. This contradicts Item 1 of Article 16 of the Law on the Election Commissions, which provides for the transparency and openness of CEC discussions and decisions.

It also should be noted that the observers in the CEC do not have the opportunity to monitor the work and sessions of the CEC in a more complete and effective way. They are unable to get acquainted with the documents discussed during the sessions as the CEC do not distribute printout materials. During the last elections, all the discussed documents were shown on a big screen and the observers could see the contents of the documents discussed. When requested to provide the documents discussed, the CEC members responded that these documents will be available on the CEC website, but they usually do not get posted.

Candidate registration

From the beginning of the campaign season to September 25th, 2011, the CEC registered 20 candidates for President of KR, who satisfied all of the conditions of the election legislation. At that time, 8 other candidates were in disagreement with the CEC decisions on signature lists and 1

candidate, because of lack of knowledge of the state language. They filed lawsuits to the district courts and the Supreme Court. Pervomaiskiy district court satisfied the lawsuits of all the candidates who disagreed with the CEC decision on the invalidity and insufficiency of the signatures in support of these candidates. The Supreme Court rejected the CEC's supervisory complaint and left the decision of the Pervomaiskiy district court in force. On September 30th, the JK Committee for Constitutional legislation, legality and local self-government made a decision regarding the CEC, whereby the Jogorku Kenesh, having exceeded its powers, obliged the CEC to carry out the decisions of the Pervomaiskiy district court and the Supreme Court and to register the candidates based on the expiration of the timeframe for checking the signature lists. Following the JK decision, the CEC ceased the process of checking the signature lists, but commenced a new process of candidate registration, thereby complying with the requirements of the election legislation.

From October 4th through the 6th, the CEC conducted the second verification of the signature lists of the candidates Tyuleev, Umetalieva, Soodonbekov, Tursunbai Bakir Uulu, Dyikanov, Kolubaev, Aitikeev. According to the results of the CEC session on October 6th, the following 4 candidates were additionally registered:

1. Akbaraly Aitikeev, self-nominated;
2. Toorbai Kolubaev, self-nominated;
3. Tursunbai Bakir Uulu, Erkin Kyrgyzstan (ErK);
4. Nariman Tyuleev, Youth Movement of April 7th.

The other three candidates, Umetalieva, Dyikanov, and Soodonbekov, were denied registration as their signature lists did not pass the additional verification. Umetalieva and Dyikanov filed repeat lawsuits to the Pervomaiskiy district court claiming that the CEC had no right to conduct the second drawing and verification of signature lists. Candidate K.Arabaev did not pass the language examination and therefore was not permitted to participate in the drawing.

On October 7th, the CEC satisfied the application of Marat Sultanov, submitted October 3rd, on the cancellation of his registration as a candidate. Thus, the total number of registered candidates for the office of the President of KR as of October 7th is 23 candidates, out of which 13 are self-nominated and 10 are political party nominees.

On October 6th, 2011, a drawing was held in the CEC for the distribution of free broadcast time in state mass media for the conduction of election campaigns of the candidates for the office of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic. According to the Law on Elections, the candidates are provided free broadcast time on the channels of the State TV Radio Company and in print media. The free broadcast time will be provided on the state TV channels OTRK and EITR, and Birinchi Radio. Moreover, the candidates will be provided free newspaper space on the pages of the newspapers "Kyrgyz Tuusy" and "Slovo Kyrgyzstana". TV debates between the candidates will take place on the OTRK channel from October 17-27, which will be organized with the support of the Internews Network representation office in KR.

The State Commission for the provision of assistance in the conduction of elections has been established by the Apparatus of the Prime-Minister in order to solve organizational and material-technical issues concerning the preparation and conduction of the elections of the President of KR. The chairman of the State Commission is First Prime-Minister Babanov.

The activity of the CEC on informing the citizens

The CEC announced the commencement of the work of the CEC Public reception office back in July. Its objectives include ensuring of citizens' electoral rights, organization of effective and quick work with citizens' applications and complaints, and provision of consultative-methodical assistance on the elections legislation to voters, candidates, authorized persons and observers, representatives of political parties, members of precinct elections commissions and participants in the electoral process. Unfortunately, to date, the work of the CEC Public reception office has yet to commence as the CEC Hotline is not operating yet.

The CEC Public reception office and the CEC Hotline are not operating due to repairs in the CEC building. The repairs being undertaken during the elections of the President are also restricting access of other observers and mass media into the CEC building. From October 1st, the CEC building has been guarded by SCNS employees, who are not bearing any identifying signs. **The Deputy Chairman of the CEC has made a statement that on the Election days, the CEC will hire a private security agency. The observers noted that the CEC guards have made access to the building for visitors more difficult, and there have been instances when the journalists of the accredited mass media outlet "Zpress" could not gain access at all. A journalist submitted a statement in the name of the CEC Chairman complaining about the guard's actions.**

Logistical provision of the Election Commissions

On September 27th, the UNDP provided the CEC with computer equipment for the amount of 195,405 USD, purchased with funds from the Government of Japan and the European Union, to be used at the upcoming Presidential elections. 100 computers, 85 printers, and 2,400 cartridges for multi-functional fax machines will be used by the CEC and TECs, as well as PECs for the purpose of a higher quality composition of voter lists and provision of transparency in the electoral process. The new equipment will allow TECs to update their records on the voter lists throughout its territory, and to send them to the central base in Bishkek, as well as print out the final voter lists and distribute them to the precincts. The new cartridges for multi-functional fax and Xerox machines, which were purchased last year for the precinct election commissions, will allow them to photocopy documents for the updating of voter lists on the local level and allow them to fax the latest final protocol directly to the CEC of KR. They will also provide the observers with protocol copies.¹²

On September 17th, the CEC issued a warning to the Presidential candidate Omurbek Suvanaliev regarding the non of violation of the rules of conducting election campaigns (the candidate installed a banner reading "the Headquarters of General Suvanaliev" near his headquarters before the official commencement of the election campaign). On september 22nd, the Pervomaiskiy District Court found the warning to be invalid and obliged the CEC to give an official refutal on its website. On September 25th, the CEC submitted a supervisorz complaint to the Supreme Courtö the Supreme Court reviewed the CEC's supervisor's complaint on september 30th, 2011, and left the decision of the Pervomaiskiy District Court of the city of Bishkek concerning the invalidity of the warning given to the candidate for the President of kyrgyzstan, Omurbek Suvanaliev, in force. Thus, according to the judicial decision, it was recognized that the Presidential candidate Omurbek Suvanaliev had not violated the legislation.

Territorial and Precinct election commissions

TEC activities

¹² www.undp.kg

During the second reporting period, the Coalition observers also note that the TEC activities are still characterized by high cadre turnover. The last changes were undertaken by the CEC on October 7th in the compositions of the Toguz-Touzskiy, Bakai-Atinskiy, Isyk-Atinskiy and Arabvanskiy TEC, which demonstrates a stable tendency of departure of TEC members in the localities. Many of the TECs are also complaining about the lack of equipment necessary to conduct work, and that they are forced to apply to district administrations for help, which complicates their work. Furthermore, TECs are complaining about the lack of funds for office supplies, transportation expenses and mobile phone communications. These TECs include, according to the Coalition's observers, Tosnkiy, Karakol, Bakayatinskiy, Karabuurinskiy, Narynskiy, Suzakskiy and Leileiskiy TECs.

PEC activities

2,289 precinct election commissions have been formed in Kyrgyzstan, which engage over 23,000 members. Observance of the gender balance and presence of representatives of ethnic minorities is found in the composition of PECs. The CEC, in cooperation with the IFES, USAID, and OSCE, has conducted training for the members of PECs and their reserve lists from September 22nd through October 6th. However, the high cadre turnover remains to be the biggest problem in the PECs throughout the Republic. This problem of PEC cadre turnover was also mentioned in the Coalition's first report. As the observers report, the PEC compositions often experience changes because they were formed hastily and without proper agreement with the people. Most of the applications come from PEC members sent by the political parties, who complain that they were included into PEC composition or the reserve list without their prior knowledge of consent. The people are not motivated to work within PECs as the workload is quite high and there is not payment for work. Many people also justify their resignation from the PEC composition saying that there is a lack of free time in light of the seasonal-irrigation works. Many of them leave in order to work as campaigners in candidates' representative offices, where they can receive pay for their labor.

The vacancies due to resigning PEC members are filled from the reserve lists. However, as the observers note, many of the PECs have very few people left on their reserve lists, while some have exhausted their reserve lists altogether. For instance, such a situation is found in the PECs of Naryn, Leilek and Kyzyl-Kiya districts. The majority of the newly invited members from the reserve list did not go through the training, and were not aware of the specifics of the electoral process of 2011. The high turnover of cadres within the PEC composition evidences shortcomings in the work of both TECs, as well as the political parties that formed their PEC composition lists in a hurry and with poor quality. For example, Some political parties had promised to pay for the work of their PEC members, but that did not happen. According to the TECs, they have no funds to conduct additional trainings for the newly-arriving PEC members. Furthermore, many party representatives are leaving PEC compositions, whose party candidates are no longer on the list of candidates. In particular, such a situation is widely evident with the Ata-Meken party.

Reports of most observers show that Some of the PEC members are not participating in the sessions and not working according to the duty schedule. Such facts have been noted by the observers in the Leilek, Ton, Kyzyl-Kiya districts and in the PECs of the city of Osh. The majority of these non-working PEC members were sent by political parties. Political parties and candidate representative offices ought to work with their members in order to strengthen their sense of responsibility.

Representation of political parties within PECS

A preliminary analysis of the qualitative composition of over 90% of PECs throughout the republic, according to the PEC composition lists received from the Coalition's observers, shows the respective

level of activeness of political parties in the process of forming TECs. The following list shows the parties that have the greatest number of representatives within their PEC compositions:

- SEPIK - in 1089 PECs
- Butun Kyrgyzstan - в 822 PECs
- El Uchun - in 649 PECs
- Uulu Birimdigi - in 636 PECs
- Ata Meken - in 630 PECs
- Ata Jurt - in 624 PECs
- Respublika - in 569 PECs
- Turan - in 556 PECs
- Kaganat - in 482 PECs
- Meken Yntymagy - in 394 PECs
- Zamandash - in 304 PECs
- Ar-Namys - in 296 PECs

This list shows that the majority of PEC members are representatives of the SEPIK party of the candidate Atambaev, as well as parties, who officially or unofficially support Atambaev— Republika, Ak-Shumkar, Zamandash, Turan, Uluu Birimdika and Kaganat. Thus, one could draw the conclusion that the number of PEC members throughout the country who support candidate Atambaev, is over 3,600 persons. PEC members, who support candidate Madumarov with his party Butun Kyrgyzstan and his supporting party “Butkul Jashna” is over 860 persons. The third place, in terms of number of representativeness within PECs, is occupied by Abdyldaev who was nominated by the El-Uchun party with 649 persons. Further down on the list are candidates Tashiev from the Ata-Jurt party—624 persons, and Asanbekov from Meken Yntymagy party—394 persons.

Over 630 persons are represent the Ata-Meken party within PECs, but due to the party leader Tekebaev’s withdrawal candidacy, many of his party members are now leaving the PEC compositions. The observers note that part of the Ata-Meken party representatives are supporting candidate Baibolov as a member of this party, and some of the members from the southern regions have decided to support candidate Tashiev.

In conclusion, there is an acute problem of resignation of many PEC representatives from political parties, whose places are being filled by school teachers.

PEC Logistics

All PECS are been provided with facilities and technical equipment. However, the semi-functional state of the technical equipment, the lack of funding and communications, unsolved issues with transportation, fuel, and the lack of office supplies are creating huge difficulties for normal work. There is a lack of stationary and mobile ballot boxes, voting booths and safes at the election precincts. The lack of printers and photocopying machines forces them to go to administration and other offices and buildings in order to print out or copy documents. Such a problem is observed at most of the PECs throughout the Republic, in particular in Kyzyl-Kiya, Leilek, Karakol, Naryn, and many other districts. In order to include voters on voter lists in case of change of electoral address, a passport copy is necessary, but not all the citizens bring a passport copy with them and the absence of copying machines at the precincts creates complications for the PEC members and the voters.

Besides that, certain PECs have a problem with timely and full funding of their operations on the part of the higher-ranking ECs. That, too, has an impact on the effectiveness of the PECs’ work in the localities and on the turnover of PEC members.

At present, the PEC members are busy with writing notifications for voters, and delivering them to the addressees. However, the biggest problem for the PECs located in big regional centers and cities is internal migration. People are arriving from different precincts in order to earn an income, are residing in rented apartments. A lot of them are without documentation and have not decided where they will be on the voting day. It is unclear whether or not they are to be registered at these precincts as they can leave at any moment.

The openness of PEC activities

Virtually everywhere the observers have noted openness and transparency of the work of PECs. Meetings are being held regularly. Protocols are being adhered to and decisions are being carried out, registered, and information about them is being provided to all interested persons without hurdles. The activity of PECs is transparent and is accessible for the public, the observers and the mass media. The decisions are made through a method of general voting.

Precincts abroad

According to the MFA data, over 700 thousand Kyrgyz citizens are located outside of Kyrgyzstan. A total of 29 precincts have been formed abroad, which are located in the buildings of embassies and consulates of KR abroad. The first report specified that the CEC had not satisfied the request of abroad embassies and public associations regarding the opening of additional precincts within the communities of Kyrgyz citizens in Russia and in other countries.

There are certain disagreements between the CEC and TECS under the MFA, which have blamed the CEC for making decisions on forming and operating the foreign precincts without the participation of and agreement with the MFA, as it is provided for in the Election Law. There are many pending questions to be decided in terms of the operation of PECS which are located outside of Kyrgyzstan—shortage of foreign precincts, the process of transfer and receipt of election ballots, amongst others. According to the Chairman of TEC under the MFA of KR, over 6 thousand voters are registered in Moscow, who have applied for consular records, but the passing capacity of the PEC in the KR Embassy building in Moscow, is only 3 thousand people. This means that the remaining 3 thousand voters will not be able to vote, which denies them a right provided for them in the constitution. It is to be noted that, according to MFA data, over 300 000 thousand Kyrgyz citizens are living in Moscow who are not registered with consular records and are therefore automatically excluded from the voter list according to Election Law.

The new constitutional law on Elections (Section 6, Article 16) gives the right to vote to only those Kyrgyz citizens living abroad, who have registered with the consular records. In order to be registered with the consular records, the citizens must pay a consular fee (in Russia, it is about 90 rubles), and fill out a standard application form. As it turns out, the voters living abroad can only vote if they hold the all-republican passport of a Kyrgyz citizen, according to Article 15, Section 4 of the Election Law. As the observers note, currently, work is undertaken in the CEC and MFA in order to resolve this issue, especially in Russia and Kazakhstan, so that all those who hold only an ID card and do not possess the all-republican Kyrgyz passport can vote.

3. VOTER LISTS

On October 5th, a campaign for verification of voter lists commenced. The preliminary list has been formed, which includes 2.08 million voters. The voter lists have been compiled by the TECs, with

the assistance of LSG bodies, state administrations, GRC, and other organs. On September 20th, the CEC and TECs transmitted one official copy of the voter lists to each PEC, which are to conduct the process of voter list verification within 30 days, until October 20th, in accordance with 3 types of applications from the voters which include inclusion in the list at the place of residence, change of electoral address, and changes in the voter's data. The lists are saved in computer databases and updated in case of changes or additions.

The lists are posted in all the PECs in accessible places in order for citizens to view them. With effort from the LSG bodies, neighborhood committees, and building supervisors, the PECs are implementing work on informing the population regarding the need to check that their data is included on the voter lists. In Some districts, where large gatherings of people are commonplace, announcements are posted calling on people to show civil action and inviting them to come to PECs in order to clarify the data, however, there has not been much activity observed so far. Furthermore, many people are asking the question of what to do if one only holds a foreign passport while the notification is calling for an all-republican passport. The problem with identification documents is especially acute in the Osh oblast. During last year's June events in the Osh oblast, there were occasions of citizens losing property and documents along because of houses being catching fire. **According to the data of the Osh Regional Administration, 3,180 citizens, who do not possess passports and whose documents have been submitted for receipt of ID cards, are residing in Osh oblast.** There is no verifiable data as to whether the problem of universal provision of passports to citizens of the established form, has been resolved. Therefore, in this case it would be more reasonable to allow another official document, which could identify a person and replace a passport, to be used.

The voter list is posted on the CEC website so that one can check to see if they are on the list. According to the Election Law, a unified computer program has been created, which allows the identification of voters and tracks their movement between the precincts, which will help to avoid the "carousel voting" at these presidential elections, wherein one and the same person could register at several voting precincts and vote multiple times. As the Coalition's observers and other citizens note, the voter can check his identity on the CEC website only if he knows the number or the location of his PEC. Otherwise it is quite difficult to find oneself on the list. As experts point out, the site has no system of search by last name, which creates certain inconveniences.

Mobile Groups

On September 23, the CEC decreed conduction of a door-to-door canvassing in order to verify the voter lists from October 1st through the 20th. According to the CEC, 2,040 mobile groups will be formed, which will include staff of precinct elections commissions, non-government organizations, law-enforcement bodies and bodies of local self-government. There are plans to recruit over 6 thousand people for the mobile groups. The mobile group lists were supposed to be approved by September 30th, and by October 5th, they were supposed to go through training. The responsibility for the implementation of the Decree was assigned to the special representatives and chairpersons of election commissions. The mobile groups will be financed by the precinct election commissions themselves. Letters were sent to governors and local administrations on behalf of the CEC with the request to provide assistance in the work of the mobile groups during the door-to-door canvassing. As of today, the internal migration is so vast, that 30-40% of the voters are outside of their area of

official registration. According to new norms, each electoral precinct will receive exactly as many forms as there are registered voters. Hence the need to verify the voter lists¹³.

The Union of Civil Society Organizations, of which Coalition is also a member, the “Jarandyk Demilge” Network, and “Tazaa Shailoo” Association, in cooperation with the Central Election Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic starting on October 6, 2011, are commencing a campaign on “Verification of voter lists through door-to-door canvassing”. This campaign is implemented in accordance with the Provision of the CEC of KR providing for the formation and training of mobile groups, whose composition includes PEC members, representatives of bodies of local self-government and NGO representatives. Mobile groups will carry out the verification of voters; handing out applications for citizens’ inclusion into the voter lists, providing electoral addresses, and making changes in the personal data. They will also hand over notifications about the citizens’ inclusion in the voter lists; and inform voters on the “electoral addresses”. The assistance in implementation of this campaign on verification of voter lists is provided by the UNDP Project for Support of Elections in KR (funded by the European Union and British Government in Germany), and the International Fund for Election Systems (funded by USAID).

According to the data gathered by the Coalition’s observers, formation of mobile groups for the door-to-door canvassing is taking place in the localities. According to the CEC decision, the door-to-door canvassing is to commence on October 5th, however, to date no funds have been allocated for transportation or for the expenses of the mobile groups’ members. It has been proposed that PEC members are to seek out funds to cover transportation expenses on their own and the CEC will compensate them at a later date. There is no certain information as to when exactly the compensation will take place. In some districts, for instance in Suzakskiy, difficulties arise around the fact that there are no NGOs whose members could be included in the mobile group compositions.

Changes of the Electoral Addresses

In Chuy oblast and the in city of Bishkek, due to a large number of migrants, the PECs have been receiving large amounts of applications on form 2—change of electoral address. For example, the PEC of Sokulukskiy district has received over 1,000 applications from citizens regarding change of electoral address. A similar situation is found in Some PECs of the city of Bishkek, in particular, in the PEC located in the building of school #9. People have been coming there in packs of 10-15, all carrying passport copies with them, and after being included in the lists, they demand that notifications be handed out to them. The majority of these people are natives of the southern regions. Such grouped visits raise suspicions that they are being directed intentionally to specific precincts.

Still unresolved are the issues concerning the voters residing outside of the country, who have no consular records or all-republican passports of KR, which restricts their right to participate in the Elections. The Coalition will monitor how the CEC and MFA are solving these problems.

The Coalition, as well as other NGOs involved in election observation, have been receiving signals that in capital and regional Higher Educational Institutions the rectors force their students and professors to register their residence at one electoral precinct using the norm of the election legislation (electoral address). The Coalition fears that this norm and the opportunity for the citizens to register on any of the nearby electoral precinct, is already being used by state or other

¹³ www.shailoo.gov.kg

organizations in an attempt to implement control over the expression of the will of their subordinates. The Coalition is calling upon all citizens, in particular students, to report cases of pressure on the part of the heads of the CEC, as well as to the specially opened hotlines of the Taza-Shailoo Association at 471627, 473074, 90-68-37, and the Liberal Club of Youth - 0555 51 11 33.

Informing the Voters

The CEC has started conducting an information campaign amongst the population concerning the checking and inclusion of oneself into the voter list. For this purpose, video-clips were produced, which are broadcast on national television. According to the CEC decision, short SMS messages are being sent to all subscribers of mobile networks of Kyrgyzstan in Russian and Kyrgyz languages. According to the observers, it has been planned that the mobile group members, during their door-to-door canvassing, will also inform the population regarding the changes and newly-introduced mechanisms in the electoral process in 2011. As the voter list verification is completed, according to the observers, the CEC is planning to distribute notifications to voters about Election Day and is also planning to specify the number of the voters' electoral precincts.

Some LSG bodies are providing assistance in the work of PECs and in raising the motivation of the PEC members and chairpersons of neighborhood and apartment building committees in informing the population. Funds have been allocated from the reserve fund. For example, the City Administration of the city of Kyzyl-Kiya allocated funding based on 90 tyiyn per voter. Local regional mass media have also been assisting in informing the voters. Such newspapers as "Za ugol" in the city of Kyzyl-Kiya, "Narodnaya tribuna" in Sokuluk district, have been regularly devoting their articles to information on the elections. On the streets, buildings and on educational institutions, banners and posters are hanging to remind citizens of the day of the elections. Many voters are gathering information on the elections from TV and from the clips produced by the CEC. The observers note that the population also receives information from the speeches by the CEC members on National TV, during which they tell in detail about the changes and new mechanisms in the electoral process.

At the same time, the CEC members note that the informational materials incoming from the CEC are mostly in the Russian and rarely in Kyrgyz. In the regions where the majority of the population is made up of ethnic minorities, there are no incoming informational materials in the languages of these minorities, which impacts the much lower interest and participation in the elections.

Mobile groups for the verification of voter lists will also be distributing informational materials in the Russian and Kyrgyz languages, while the initiative of issuing flyers in the Uzbek language was not supported by the CEC. Therefore, the UNDP project decided not to print the materials in the Uzbek language. As noted above, some of the candidates, in particular Suvanaliev, has distributed campaign materials in the Uzbek language, which was received positively by the voters of Uzbek ethnicity and has increased the discussion of his candidacy and his popularity within Uzbek makhallas.

4. THE CANDIDATES

As of September 25th, 2011, the CEC had registered 20 candidates for the presidency of KR, who have satisfied all the requirements of the election legislation. Later, on October 6th, following court trials and repeat counting of the candidates' signature lists, 4 more candidates were registered by the

CEC—Torobai Kolubaev, Tursunbai Bakir Uulu, Nariman Tyuleev and Akbaraly Aitikeev, who passed the examination for the knowledge of the state language. On October 6th, the CEC cancelled the registration of the candidate Marat Sultanov on the basis of his own application as of October 3rd.

Thus, on October 7th, 2011, 23 registered presidential candidates remained. Below is the list of candidates in the order of their registration with the CEC:

1. Kamchybek Tashiev (Ata-Jurt)
2. Adakhan Madumarov (Butun Kyrgyzstan)
3. Kubatbek Baibolov, self-nominated
4. Temirbek Asanbekov (Meken Yntymagy)
5. Roman Omorov, self-nominated
6. Omurbek Suvanaliev, self-nominated
7. Anarbek Kalmatov (Ar-Namys)
8. Shamshibek Medetbekov (El Biyligi)
9. Iskhak Masaliev (the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan)
10. Kurmanbek Osmonov, self-nominated
11. Almambet Matubraimov, self-nominated
12. Marat Imankulov, self-nominated
13. Kubanychbek Isabekov, self-nominated
14. Arstanbek Abdyldaev (El Uchun)
15. Almazbek Atambaev (SEPIK)
16. Akylbek Japarov, self-nominated
17. Sooronbai Dyikanov, self-nominated
18. Jumabek Toktogaziev, self-nominated
19. Almazbek Karimov, self-nominated
20. Toorbai Kolubaev, self-nominated
21. Tursunbai Bakir Uulu, Erkin Kyrgyzstan
22. Nariman Tyuleev, Youth Movement of April 7th
23. Akbaraly Aitikeev, self-nominated

On September 26th, the Code of Conduct of the Candidates for the President of KR was signed in Bishkek. This signing was organized with the assistance of the OSCE Center, NDI, and MRI. However, the gathered candidates have differed in their opinions. Several of the candidates did not like the text of the document and they stated that the Code needs to be reworked, to which the Code developers replied that the candidates present at the current ceremony of signing took part in the development of this document and had the opportunity to review it. As a result, 8 of the present 10 candidates signed the document—T. Asanbekov, M. Sultanov, R. Omorov, A. Japarov, S. Dyikanov, K. Isabekov, A. Matubraimov, M. Imankulov. Those who refused to sign it were: K. Osmonov and Sh. Medetbekov.

Unfortunately, after the organization of the Ceremony of signing of the Code of Honor, no information regarding the future fate of the Code was covered in mass media, nor in any other information channels. Thus, the lack of information on this document decreases its importance among the candidates and voters.

Earlier in August and in his speech at the Defense Council at the end of September, the CEC Chairman requested that the President of KR, R. Otunbaeva, initiate a conduction of a Forum of candidates for the President of KR in order to conclude a Memorandum on Ethnic Harmony. It was proposed all the registered candidates are invited, with a call to conclude a with Memorandum on Ethnic Harmony, which would be in force until the official announcement of the election results. It is worth nothing that such a Forum has yet to be held.

Three political parties, Respublika, Ak-Shumkar, and Zamandash, have officially announced their support of candidate A. Atambaev for the office of the President of KR. Other parties, who are unofficially supporting of A. Atambaev, are Kaganat, Uluu Birimdik, Turan and KDPK.

Candidates' Election Headquarters

The Coalition's observers note that starting September 25th, the candidates' election offices have commenced their work universally and in an organized manner. Key persons have been identified, voter lists are being compiled, influential persons are carrying out work on campaigning among the population, banners have been posted and newsletters and flyers have been distributed. The candidates have conducted special training and in some locations, approached local NGOs with requests to provide training for their representatives in the election commissions, entrusted persons, and authorized representatives

Representative offices of candidates A. Atambaev, A. Madumarov, K. Tashiev, O. Suvanaliev and K. Baibolov, have started more active operations, and their activities are seemingly more organized. They have in their teams people who are experienced in electoral processes. The Coalition's observers note that in some districts, the work of the representative offices and election campaigns of the candidates are more passive. Such districts include—Chatkalskiy, Aksuyskiy and Jeti-Oguzskiy. The location of the candidates' offices is usually locked, and some of the candidates have no offices in the regions whatsoever.

According to preliminary calculations of the Coalition's observers for the reporting period, over 350 representative offices of candidates at the district and city levels have been opened and are functioning. The following list shows the number of representative offices of candidates as of the beginning of October, who are represented most widely throughout the country:

1. Representative offices of A.Atambaev (SEPIK) – over 80 (incl. 49 offices of SDPK, 22 offices of Respublika, 6 offices of Ak-Shumkar and ___ offices of Zamandash)
2. Representative offices of A.Madumarov (Butun Kyrgyzstan) – over 46
3. Representative offices of K.Tashiev (Ata-Jurt) – over 42
4. Representative offices of O.Suvanaliev – over 31
5. Representative offices of T.Asanbekov (Meken Yntymagy) – over 22
6. Representative offices of A.Kalimatov (Ar-Namys) - over 19
7. Representative offices of A.Abdyldaev (El Uchun) – over 15
8. Representative offices of K.Baibolov– over 12

Some candidates' representative offices note difficulties in the recruitment of a sufficient number of campaign officers, lack of experienced cadres to work in the offices and a shortage of resources to ensure efficient work of the representative offices. Other factors that have a negative impact are the following examples. In the Jeti-Oguz district, the deputy head of the representative office of the candidate Tashiev, Kuvatbekov, informed the observers that they were unable to receive the list of

PEC members from the Jetti-Oguz TEC, which is motivated by the fact that the list is not provided free of charge. In the Keminskiy district, the candidate Madumarov's office receives calls from unknown numbers, who are threatening to burn down the candidate's representative office building. It needs to be noted that earlier, Madumarov's representative office had made a statement regarding the damaging of some of their banners in the city of Tokmok.

According to the Coalition's observers, the candidates' district election offices, noted above as the most active ones, are planning to send their representatives to every PEC. They also plan to send observers on election day. Representatives of the candidates' offices believe that the presence of independent observers and international observers is essential in every precinct, as they trust them more.

Candidates' Electoral Funds

On October 3rd, the CEC published a report on the circulation of monetary funds from the electoral funds of the candidates. This report on the circulation of monetary funds shows the amount of the candidates' electoral fund and the amount of the candidates' expenses by October 1st, spent during 6 days of election campaigns, including expenses for the period prior to the beginning of campaigning. Eight candidates have electoral funds in amounts of over 2 million Som. Election campaigns of these candidates are much more noticeable throughout the country. These 8 includes:

- 1.A.Atambaev—24,400,000 Som, out of them spent—16,265,554 Som
- 2.A.Madumarov - 19 083 579 Som, out of them spent—16 715 902 Som
- 3.K.Baibolov - 9 255 000 Som, out of them spent—8 048313 Som
- 4.K.Tashiev - 5 617 290 Som, out of them spent—5 612 426 Som
- 5.A.Kalimatov - 4 395 000 Som, out of them spent—4 153 492 Som
- 6.A.Abdyldaev - 2 948 000 Som, out of them spent—2 778 443 Som
- 7.K.Isabekov - 2 680 820 Som, out of them spent—2 096 820 Som
- 8.O.Suvaliev - 2 300 000 Som, out of them spent—2 221 930 Som

5. THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Many of the registered candidates commenced their election campaigns on the official day of the campaign commencement and are now gaining intensity. The main methods used by the candidates' election campaigns are:

- placement of billboards with photos of the candidates;
- distribution of flyers and newsletters;
- holding meetings between the candidates and the population;
- holding concerts with invitation of popular singers;
- posting posters and other campaign materials;
- door-to-door canvassing by the campaign officers;
- opening of internet websites for the candidates and opening candidates' profiles in social networks;
- information through loudspeakers installed on automobiles, etc.

As the observers note, the most active and noticeable campaigns in the country are done by—Atambaev, Tashiev, Suvaliev, Abdyl daev, and Baibolov.

Billboards are becoming a more salient means of campaigning. According to the Coalition's observers, one of the first to appear throughout the country were of Atambaev, followed by those of Madumarov, and then other candidates on a smaller scale. A large number of billboards evidence the fact that a significant part of the candidate's electoral funds is spent on this form of campaigning. There were some instances of damaging of the billboards by unknown assailants and the candidates' offices blamed one another for that. For instance, Madumarov's billboards were covered in paints and partially burnt in the Eastern zone of the Chuy oblast. Instances of billboard-damaging were also registered with Atambaev's billboards in the Jalal-Abad oblast. Some mass media outlets have called these cases "the war of billboards." Candidates' offices applied to the law-enforcement agencies, but so far no suspects have been identified in these cases of vandalism.

Provided below are samples of the main slogans placed on the candidates' billboards throughout the country:

- Tashiev—"Order and stability are the basis of development", "We will establish people's power"
- Madumarov—"We will ensure the rule of law", "Believe! There will be changes!"
- Baibolov—"Together we will win"
- Abdyl daev—"People's power—to the people, people's riches—to the people"
- Atambaev—"Together we are Kyrgyzstan", "Kyrgyzstan is in the unity"
- Suvanaliev—"Who will beat corruption? Suvanaliev!", "Clean citizen—fair government"

Information sheets, newsletters and posters are all traditional methods used in election campaigns. The presidential candidates in these elections have also been actively using printed materials, which are distributed during door-to-door canvassing and personal meetings. The candidates' informational sheets are mostly issued in the Russian and Kyrgyz languages, and to a much lesser extent, in the languages of ethnic minorities. Some of the candidates, in particular Suvanaliev, have distributed campaign materials in the Uzbek language, which was received positively by voters of Uzbek ethnicity and has increased the discussion of his candidacy and his popularity within Uzbek makhallas, according to the Coalition's observers.

The situation is rather more complex with placing of posters in the streets of Bishkek. To the observers' great surprise, in the beginning of the campaign, a very small number of posters were visible in the streets of the country's populated points. In the city of Bishkek it is accounted to the fact that the City Administration, referring to the Decision of City Kenesh as of 2009, prohibits the candidates to place campaign materials on the streets and in city public transportation. These facts were discussed in detail in the Coalition's first report. A request was also directed to the Bishkek City Administration with a demand to abolish this decision, which contradicts the Election Law and restricts campaigning activities of the candidates. There are many instances of election campaign posters placed in the streets and in cities and villages which were partially or completely destroyed by unknown entities.

Candidates are conducting meetings with voters in localities. Tashiev and Madumarov have commented about the conduction of electorate meetings in the Northern oblasts. According to the observers of the Coalition, they visited Naryn and Talas oblasts during the very first campaign week. The Coalition's observers note that during these meetings, as a rule, Madumarov was accompanied by 50 to 100 people, as his election office did not spread information on the candidate's upcoming visits and meetings with the voters, however, during Madumarov's meetings in the southern regions, over 5,000 persons were noticed.

Tashiev's meetings with voters in the northern oblasts were announced beforehand and the number of participants is reported to be around 500-700.

Moreover, Atambaev is holding meetings with the voters throughout the country.

All of the candidates' meetings with the voters are usually accompanied by concerts by famous pop singers in Kyrgyzstan, which increases the number of meetings with the candidates.

Presented below are basic theses of the speeches of Some of the candidates, which are sounded during their meetings with the voters and published in campaign materials:

- A.Atambaev prioritizes the national interests of Kyrgyzstan; According to him, Kyrgyzstan ought to become the country of honest, educated people and he asserts that this is the opening of the roadway for the new generation and new forces.
- A.Madumarov talks about striving to win the trust of every Kyrgyzstani by ensuring the observance of his/her every right and freedom. He will initiate the return to the true people's version of the Constitution adopted in 1993. He believes that the most acceptable system of government for the country is a strong President and strong Parliament.
- K.Baibolov asserts that he will create 300,000 jobs in Kyrgyzstan during the coming 2 years. He wants to modernize the state, reduce the number of free-riders, cut the number of ministers and deputies and ensure rights for the representatives of all ethnicities and peoples in Kyrgyzstan.
- K.Tashiev claims that an effective system of social protection of the population will be built in Kyrgyzstan within 1 year. He intends to significantly eliminate corruption in state structures and to open leeway to the real fighting of crime.

The activeness and intensity of candidates' election campaigns depend on the amount of their electoral fund. The voters are not aware of most other registered candidates in light of their weak or absent election campaign materials. Even the PEC members do not possess such information, as the CEC has yet to distribute informational materials to the PECs with data on the registered candidates for the President of KR. It needs to be noted that in the beginning of their election campaigns, the candidates used their printed informational materials in small quantities. In this regard, the Coalition assumes that the printed informational materials will be used closer to the completion of the election campaigns.

Violations during election campaigns

The Coalition's observers have registered instance campaign methods being used, which contradict the election legislation. For instance, under the pretence of congratulating people on Day of Elderly People, food items were distributed to elderly people on behalf of the candidate A.Atambaev, particularly to houses 144, 146, 148 and 150 on Suyunbaeva Street in Bishkek.

According to the observers' data, on October 3rd, 2011, the candidate A.Kalimatov of the Ar-Namys party, organized a charitable lunch for the inhabitants of the Talas oblast. The lunch was organized at the Manas-Ordo national complex: 1 horse was slaughtered and 3 kazans of meat and 2 kazans of plov were cooked. 200-250 people attended, and a special bus was rented for transportation. At the

end of the lunch, aksakals gave the candidate Kalmatov their blessing and promised to support his candidacy at the upcoming elections.

Such charitable activity of candidates during the election campaign period contradicts Article 28, Section 4 of the Election Law which states that candidates, their close relatives, spouse, representatives and representatives of political parties may not engage in charitable activities from the moment of the appointment of the elections until the publication of the election results.

The observers' reports state that during the meetings of district administrations, people are openly calling to vote for Atambaev and to conduct the elections in his favor, and this pressure is becoming stronger with every day. It was noted in the Moskovskiy districts of Chuy oblast. Moreover, the campaign officer of A. Atambaev, while verifying voter lists of those without Bishkek registration, said that his party will include voters in their lists only on the condition that they vote for Atambaev.

Representative offices of candidate Suvanaliev posted their banners and campaign materials on trees, which is prohibited by the Election Law.

From September 26th to the 27th, all campaign materials of the candidate Kamchibek Tashiev were removed and destroyed from city buses. Earlier, Tashiev's representative office made a contract with the insider advertising agency, which possesses an exclusive right to the placement of election materials on the outside bodies of the city buses, which are property of the Bishkek Auto-transportation Enterprise. Tashiev's representative office received a written response from the CEC stating that it is prohibited to place campaign materials on the bodies of city buses. According to the Coalition's observers, the **electoral headquarters of Tashiev took over a week to identify the plaintiff and only on October 7th** filed a lawsuit in the Oktyabrskiy district court against the Bishkek Auto-transportation Enterprise, which is a structural subdivision of the Bishkek City Administration, destroyed the candidates' campaign materials, causing a total of 1 million soms worth of damage.

The observers also provided photographs showing torn-up campaign materials of Atambaev, Baibolov, and Suvanaliev on the poles, fences and walls of buildings, both in the South and the North of the country.

4. MASS MEDIA

It became known on September 26, that the First Channel, fulfilling the requirements of the Law, is temporarily suspending re-broadcasting in live mode in the Kyrgyz Republic. However, the viewers can watch programs and films of the First Channel in record mode. According to the First Russian channel, all necessary equipment allowing the recording of the broadcasts, reviewing of the programs, and their viewing with a corrected time of broadcast, has been brought to Bishkek and installed in urgent manner.

At its session on October 7th, on the basis of an application received by the CEC of KR (#22 as of September 30, 2011) from I.Y.Joldubaeva, the authorized representative of A. Atambaev, requested that measures be taken to penalize the unlawful campaign activities of the "Sayasat press" newspaper. The CEC issued an official warning to the print mass media for numerous violations of the rules of campaigning. It needs to be noted that the Working Group for the Control over the

observance of the rules of leading election campaigning of the CEC of KR made a written warning to the “Sayasat press” newspaper on September 15th, 2011.¹⁴

CONCLUSIONS

- The socio-political situation in the country remains calm but during the speeches of official authorities regarding internal and external threats during the election period tension and fears among the population were hinted at.
- Religious leaders of the country fear provocations and that certain entities may use the name of Islam in order to destabilize the situation in the country in the election period, wherein the country’s Muslim population will suffer.
- The judicial reform and the process of the selection of judges will influence the results of the election of the President. The elections may be disrupted or appealed against by any of the candidates, according to the “Adilet” Legal Clinic.
- There is a high turnover of cadres within the Precinct elections commissions’ compositions, especially amongst PEC members who are representatives of political parties. They do not attend PEC meetings and do not come to duty service. In the latter case, all of the workload is put on the teachers, who are traditionally represented in all of the PECs.
- PEC members in the regions are concerned with the passiveness of voters in checking their inclusion on the voter list. At the same time, in the city of Bishkek and in the Chuy oblast, there are noticeably high numbers of applications for the changing of the electoral addresses.
- The CEC, in cooperation with NGOs, commenced the operation of mobile groups on verification of the voter lists since October 6th. However, due to the unsolved funding and organizational issues, there is a problem with forming the mobile groups.
- The Constitutional rights of over 650 citizens of KR, who reside outside of the country, are being violated. There are only 3 electoral precincts open in the Russian Federation. Their passing capacity does not conform to the number of citizens registered with the Consulate of KR.
- The highest number of membership in PECs from political parties is held by the parties supporting A.Atambaev—over 3,600 persons, followed by Madumarov—over 860 persons, Abdyldaev—around 650, and Tashiev—over 620 persons.
- As of October 7th, 2011, the total number of registered candidates for the office of the President of KR is **23 persons**, out of which 13 are self-nominated and 10 are political party nominees. On October 6th, the CEC registered 4 candidates, following judicial proceedings and repeat verification of the signature lists.

¹⁴ www.shailoo.gov.kg

- The number of electoral representative offices of Atambaev is over 80 offices (including SDPK—49, Respublika—22, Ak-Shumkar—6, Zamandash—6). Madumarov has 46 offices, Tashiev has 42 offices and Suvanaliev has 31 offices.
- The Coalition’s observers have registered cases of violation during the conduction of campaigns by some presidential candidates, such as the distribution of free food items to elderly people and the organization of charitable lunches using administrative resources.
- There have been registered instances of the damaging and destroying of candidates’ campaign materials by unknown persons.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

For the Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic:

1. Not to exceed its powers and not to exert pressure on the activity of the CEC
2. To start implementing parliamentary control over power structures

For Prosecutor General’s Office:

1. To check up on the signals received from the candidates’ offices regarding arson and damaging of campaign materials, and to take measures for prosecuting the ones at fault

For the election commissions:

1. It is necessary to conduct informational and explanatory work amongst voters regarding inclusion on the voter lists
2. It is necessary to resolve the organizational and technical issues of the PECs in order to ensure effective implementation of their functions and timely provision of funding.

For the Candidates and Political Parties:

1. To refrain from conducting campaign activities in the form of charitable lunches, handing out humanitarian food items, and other activities contradicting the election legislation of KR
2. To call on all their members to conduct responsible work in the PECs

For the Voters of KR:

1. To show civil activity and responsibility—to check for themselves in the voter lists
2. To report, in a timely fashion, instances of being pressured to vote for a certain candidate to the law-enforcement agencies and elections commissions
3. To thoroughly study the candidates’ campaign platforms and to make a conscious choice without selling their votes or submitting to various forms of pressure

For Non-Governmental organizations:

1. To carry out informational campaigns amongst voters regarding the upcoming elections and the citizens’ electoral rights
2. To take actions to publicize the use of administrative resources, pressure, and bribery of voters on the part of the candidates and/or their representatives

For the Mass Media:

1. To conduct work on informing the voters about inclusion in the voter list and to inform them of the candidates' programs

For the Bishkek City Kenesh:

1. To invalidate Decree #77 of June 30, 2009, prohibiting placement of candidates' campaign materials on the city streets and public transportation, which contradicts the election legislation and restricts candidates' rights for campaigning
2. To prohibit the city utilities services to damage and destroy the candidates' campaign materials