

**Third Preliminary Report on the Results of Long-Term Observation
of the Election of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic
on October 30, 2011**



The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society

Third Period of Observation: October 12 – 22, 2011

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

I. SUMMARY

The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society (the Coalition) is conducting a long-term observation of the socio-political situation in Kyrgyzstan on the preparation and conduct of the presidential election, scheduled for October 30, 2011. The leaders of the Coalition, nine lawyers, four analysts, as well as 70 independent long-term observers (LTOs) are involved in the observation. The LTOs have observed all 57 territorial election commissions (TECs) 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 15, and the Central Election Commission (CEC) of the Kyrgyz Republic starting from when the election date was set.

This is the **third** of the four planned reports on the results of the Coalition's long-term observation. The current report consists of several sections: the political situation and security in the Kyrgyz Republic; the activities of election commissions and the process of preparation of the voter list; the activities of the candidates; and the activities of local authorities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on informing the voters. The subsequent reports may contain additional information considering specific activities undertaken during the given reporting period. One of the main issues considered in the subsequent reports will be the election campaigns and informational activities of the candidates for the President of KR.

Only one week is remaining until Election Day. In general, the election process is relatively open, transparent, and democratic except for isolated incidents and negative tendencies which, in the opinion of the Coalition, cannot significantly affect the free choice of voters. The Coalition is expressing hope that all the participants of the election process will strictly follow the framework of the law during the last week of election campaigning.

In general, the CEC's work can be evaluated positively. The CEC is striving to observe all of the norms and timelines established by law. In addition, the Coalition would like to note that in light of the fact the Election is being conducted in accordance with the new legislation, which provides for new rules and procedures and which contains certain gaps, the CEC's work was also characterized by some rough edges. The most negative evaluation could be given to the insufficient openness and transparency of the CEC during certain moments of its operation. The Coalition also believes that the quality of the voter list and the level of awareness of the voters on the new provisions of the election legislation and the voting procedures could influence the voting turnout and election results. As far as the TECs are concerned, their work, in general, could be evaluated as positive, however, the Coalition believes that the communication between the CEC and the TECs has not been

sufficient and, thereby impacted the work of the TECs. The resignation of TEC and PEC members, which has occurred during the entire election period, is causing concern and could put the preparedness of the election commissions to administer Election Day in doubt.

Below are the preliminary conclusions of the Coalition based on the results of the long-term observation for the period of October 12-22, 2011.

- The social-political situation in the country remains calm, however the population is retaining certain tensions and fears connected to possible emergence of conflicts following the Election; special concern is expressed by the inhabitants of Uzbek makhallas in Osh oblast.
- The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) has stated its plans to send its representatives to Kyrgyzstan in order to provide assistance to the law-enforcement agencies of the Republic in conducting the Election. However, the official authorities of Kyrgyzstan have not commented on this information for the public in any way.
- The law-enforcement agencies are working in a reinforced mode. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), public order and security in all the election commissions during the Election will be provided by the efforts of over 6,500 employees of the Militia and the Military; moreover, employees of power structures and fiscal bodies will be recruited, and over 12,000 volunteers from the people's militia groups will be engaged. At the same time, the level of public trust towards the law-enforcement agencies remains low.
- Mobile groups of the CEC for voter list verification have finalized their work on October 20, however, during their work they encountered various difficulties: despite the CEC instruction, militiamen and local self-government (LSGs) representatives were not actively involved in the work of the mobile groups; the voters, due to lack of proper information, did not understand the activities of the Militia Groups and thereby hindered the verification process. There are complaints that the process of compilation and verification of voter lists should have been started 2-3 months prior to the elections. The limited time and the PEC workload also hampered a full-scale process of voter list verification. Due to low level of awareness among the population, the mobile group members faced such problems as aggressive attitude of the population toward them, and reluctance of the citizens to provide their own and their family's passport data.
- The issue of transparency and openness of the activities of the CEC remains urgent. The CEC continues to conduct closed sessions of working groups, and does not permit candidates' representatives and observers to observe the process of culling out the ballots by the printing house. Open informing of the existing problems and difficulties in the activities of the CEC on the part of its leadership could be met with understanding and would increase the trust towards this body.
- The public reception room and the telephone hotline of the CEC are not functioning properly. In this situation, it is not clear where citizens should apply for information and submit complaints, should they arise. Related to this, alternative headquarters for gathering of information on the problems of the pre-election period are being formed.
- By October 21, eight of the 57 TECs had reported not having received the election ballots yet. As of October 22, the CEC had reported that all the TECs have received election ballots. It needs to be noted that the election ballots ought to be handed over to TECs 10 calendar days prior to Election Day, according to Article 30, Clause 9 of the Election Law.
- The problem of withdrawal of PEC members remains acute, and this problem is compounded by the addition of new responsibilities for remaining PEC members: PECs are

now required to cross out the names of candidates who have dropped out of the election race on all ballots. It is unclear whether the PEC members can endure such a high workload and whether this will be reflected in their work on Election Day.

- In light of the limited capacity of the Kyrgyzstan Embassy in Moscow, there is a problem of long lines of voters being formed there. The Coalition is hoping that this problem will be resolved by the Kyrgyzstan Government and CEC.
- As of October 25, there are 19 registered candidates remaining. But the election ballot includes 23 candidates, four of whom have withdrawn and will be crossed out by hand according to Clause 10, Article 30, which raises understandable fears that the ballots could be damaged. Therefore, the candidates ought to track this process using their own observers. More candidates may yet drop out.
- Compared to the Parliamentary Elections of 2010, the election campaign period this year has proceeded calmly, even passively. There is no special struggle for votes by candidates, as local citizens note. As a result, the population has not had an opportunity to become acquainted with the candidates' platforms, and, moreover, many citizens do not even know the names of some of the candidates. Therefore, all the voters' attention is currently focused on the televised debates on Public Television & Radio Corporation (OTRK), which are finding a lot of resonance with the public.

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 celebrates the 20th anniversary of its independence. During the past seven years, the people have overthrown two authoritarian regimes, having spoken out against unlawfulness and corruption. The past year, 2010, was a time of serious trials. The April events and the inter-ethnic conflicts in the South took the lives of more than 500 citizens. Following the April events, the Interim Government was formed, headed by Roza Otunbayeva, which had developed and taken out to a referendum a new version of the Constitution. Despite some serious disagreements within the society and between the political parties, the new Constitution was adopted. The last elections of the Jogorku Kenesh have become one of the 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 institution for building a democratic state. Precisely the disagreement with the results of voting at the elections of Jogorku Kenesh of KR in 2005 have led to the state numerous protest actions have taken place in the subsequent years as well, for the same reason. Political upheavals have caused lowering of the socio-economic living standards. Open and fair elections are a guarantee of preservation of the stability of the state and implementation of reforms.

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

The Election of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic was set by the Decree of Jogorku Kenesh adopted on July 30, 2011, in compliance with Section 2, Clause 1, Article 74 of the Constitution of

KR. The Presidential Election is taking place following the adoption of the new Constitution of KR in 2010 and the reformed elections legislation.

The Presidential Election is 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 in the interests of the citizens of Kyrgyzstan by means of involving citizens in the democratic processes.

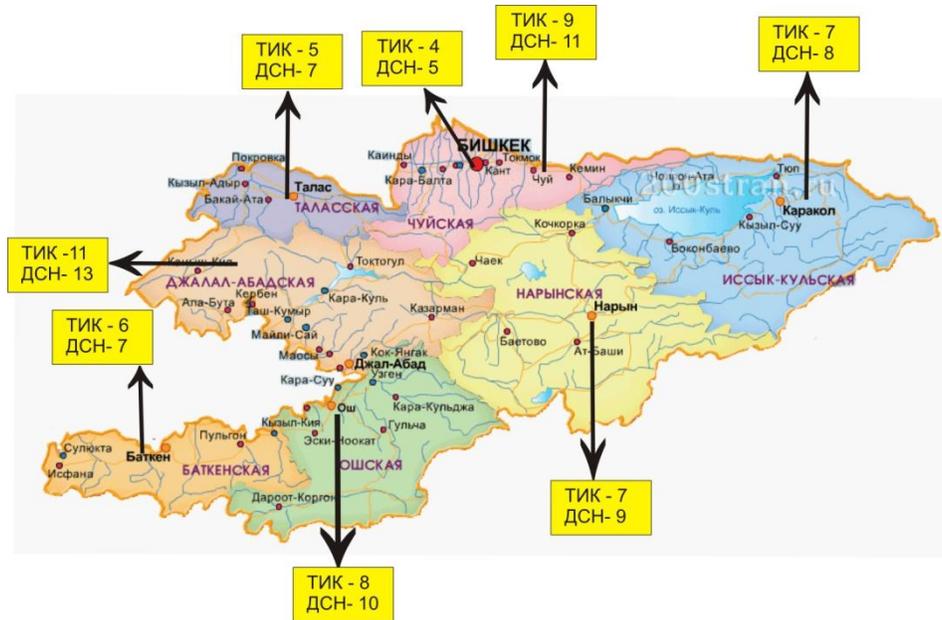
The Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society conducts long-term observation of the socio-political situation in the country and the activities on the preparation and conduction of the Elections of the President of KR on October 30, 2011, with the goal to provide an objective assessment of the activities on 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, nine lawyers, four analysts, as well as 70 independent LTOs are involved in the observation. The LTOs have observed all 57 TECs 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 15, and the CEC of the Kyrgyz Republic.

The Coalition’s LTOs 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 course of the activity on the preparation for the elections, the activities of the election commissions of 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, assess the level of the interest in the elections shown by the participants and the sufficiency of their knowledge on the upcoming elections, 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:



*“TIK” refers to TECs
“DSN” refers to LTOs*

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 OF OCTOBER 12-22, 2011

1. SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION AND SECURITY IN KYRGYZSTAN

The information on the political situation is based on the reports of long-term observers (LTOs) of the Coalition in the regions during October 4-18, and the monitoring of the political situation in the capital city up until October 22, 2011.

According to the data of the Coalition’s observers, the socio-political situation in the country during the reporting period is remaining unchanged—stable and calm. Nevertheless, separate incidents and protest activities are taking place in some regions, which draw increased attention of the public in light of the pre-election period.

One of the noticeable events for the reporting period was an occasion that took place on October 8th in the outskirts of the city of Osh, in the village of Nariman of Karasuiskiy district. According to the SNSC (State National Security Committee), as a result of the special operations implemented in the Osh oblast, 2 participants of extremist groups were killed, who were members of the so-called IJU (Islamist Jihad Union). One of them had captured an automobile with 4 suspicious men, who had opened fire from an automatic weapon. According to SNSC data, one of them was killed in the course of the fire, others were detained while entering the city of Osh. It needs to be noted that on October 8th, the highest leadership of the country—President R.Otunbayeva, Parliament Speaker

A.Keldibekov, and Acting Prime-Minister O.Babanov were in the Osh oblast at that time on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Kurmanjan Datka. According to the SNSC's statements, the criminals were planning a series of terrorist acts in an attempt to destabilize the situation in the country.¹

According to the statements of information agencies², the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) is planning to send its representatives to Kyrgyzstan in order to provide assistance to the law-enforcement forces of the Republic while conducting the elections of the Head of the State. This was reported by the CSTO Secretary General, Nikolai Bordyuja, in an interview to the "Mir" TV-Radio Station. "We are monitoring the situation and planning to send our representatives there in order to render assistance to the law-enforcement agencies of KR so that they, together with them, could develop measures of political support for the leadership of Kyrgyzstan on the part of other member-states of the CSTO so that the elections would go calmly and, most importantly, so that they are fruitful", he said. N.Bordyuja also added that currently "certain negative processes" are notable in Kyrgyzstan. In connection with that, the main objective lies in not allowing the complication of the situation and the repetition of the events of 2010.

The Coalition is asking the leadership of the country to explain the official government position regarding this information as, except for the interview of CST OSG, N.Bordyuja, in the mass media, there is no other information made available.

1.1. Law-enforcement agencies

In the Second Report of the Coalition on long-term observation of the elections, the Coalition noted facts of damaging of election materials of the candidates and the inaction on the part of the law-enforcement agencies in the investigation of such incidents. After the press-conference conducted by the Coalition on October 12, the Press Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) of KR has published a statement on its website³ on the same day stating that the Coalition's statements concerning the inaction of the Internal Affairs agencies do not reflect the reality of the situation. According to the Press Service of the MIA of KR, the Internal Affairs bodies have registered 8 facts of unlawful actions during the period from September 25 through October 11 – 3 cases of hooliganism, 3 cases of premeditated damaging of property, and 2 cases of theft, as well as 3 criminal cases were initiated under Article 164 "Theft" and Article 24 "Hooliganism" of the Criminal Code of KR, on which investigation is underway.

The Coalition welcomes the actions of the MIA of KR for reacting and for the information provided for the public on the registered facts of unlawful actions during the period of the election campaigning, and calls upon the MIA of KR to provide such information to the public in a regular and urgent manner concerning the facts and initiation of cases that take place during the election period and that concern the election legislation. Moreover, we believe it is necessary, before the completion of the election campaigning period, to inform the public on the results of the investigation on the initiated cases and to provide information on the outcomes of the 8 facts of unlawful actions registered by October 12th, 2011.

On October 22, during a meeting in Osh with the participation of Acting Prime-Minister, O.Babanov, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Zarylbek Rysaliev, had stated that, in case of deterioration of the situation at the upcoming Presidential elections, the MIA will transfer additional forces to the problematic locations by means of air and land transport. According to their statements, 320 operative employees have been trained for these purposes, which are able to jump with a

¹ <http://www.rg.ru/2011/10/10/kirgiziya-site.html>

² <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/politics/full/20249>

³ http://www.mvd.kg/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2887%3A2011-10-12-09-51-24&catid=71%3Anews&Itemid=522&lang=ru

parachute. The Head of the MIA had announced that, in general, the situation in the Republic is stable. The public order during the elections will be provided by over 6,000 thousand employees. During the 3 days, they will switch to a reinforced mode of service, informed Z.Rysaliev. In addition, people's militia groups, SNSC employees, Financial Police and Customs employees will assist in the provision of security, and additional security measures will be taken at 64 electoral precincts. For the purposes of the above-mentioned activities, he said, 17 million som had been allocated from the state budget.

For the purposes of ensuring the supervision over the enforcement of laws during the preparation and conduction of the Elections of the President of KR, the Prosecutor General's Office of the KR has conducted a total of 65 checks as of October 10, 2011. According to the results of the checks, 71 acts of prosecutory reacting had been entered, including 3 submissions for elimination of the violations of the law (2 of which had been satisfied), 59 injunctions (46 of which had been satisfied), and warnings given to 10 officials regarding the impermissibility of violations of the law. This information was publicized on the website of the Office of the Prosecutor General of KR on October 19.⁴

According to the Office of the Prosecutor General of KR, the entered acts of prosecutory reacting demonstrate that one of the most widely spread violation of the election legislation is non-fulfillment by the bodies of local self-government of the requirements on the provision of assistance to the precinct election commission in the preparation for the elections. That is, the actions on provision of the necessary equipment, communication means, transportation, voting booths, and proper conditions for safeguarding the voting ballots have not been undertaken. Moreover, annual leave time has not been provided for the members of election commissions in certain locations.

According to the Office of the Prosecutor General of KR, the bodies of the Office of the Prosecutor General have received 8 statements regarding violations of the election legislation overall:

- 5 complaints had been considered by the bodies of the Office of the Prosecutor General, out of which explanations had been given for 2 of them and for the other 2 decrees had been issued in denial of initiation of criminal cases;
- 1 complaint had been satisfied;
- 1 complaint had been sent to the CEC (on the fact of premature commencement of the election campaign on the part of certain candidates);
- 1 submission had been re-directed to the respective TEC;
- 1 complained had been to the MIA of KR.

On the facts of premeditated damaging of campaign materials of the candidates for the President of KR, the law-enforcement bodies in the field have received 10 materials. In the Naryn oblast, 3 facts have been registered. On one of the facts, a decision has been made to refuse the initiation of a criminal case due to lack of the fact of crime, and on two facts criminal cases had been initiated and an investigation thereof is being undertaken. In the Chuy oblast, 4 facts have been registered. On two of the facts, the initiation of a criminal case was denied, and on two other facts concerning a burning of a banner and theft of an advertisement banner, criminal cases had been initiated and investigation is underway. In the city of Bishkek, one fact had been registered. On this fact, the investigation department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Leninskiy district of the city of Bishkek has initiated a criminal case on the signs of a crime provided for by Article 234, Part 2, Item 4 of the Criminal Code of KR, and the necessary investigative-operative activities are being undertaken in order to identify the perpetrators that have committed this crime. In the Jalal-Abad

⁴ <http://www.prokuror.kg/?news/shownovelty/284>

oblast, 2 facts have been registered, on which criminal cases had been initiated and investigations thereof are underway.

The observers are noting that all the law-enforcement bodies are working in the reinforced mode. According to the data of the MIA of KR, the public order and security in all the election commissions during the Elections will be provided by the forces of over 6,500 employees of the Militia and the Military; moreover, employees of power structures and fiscal bodies will be recruited, and over 12,000 volunteers from the people's militia groups will be engaged.

In its Second Report, the Coalition had expressed fears that some of the members of the people's militia groups will be engaged in the election campaigning activities being in the territories of the precinct commissions. In this connection, the Government of KR and the law-enforcement bodies, which will be involved in the coordination of the operations of the people's militia groups, ought to conduct explanatory work on the impermissibility of conducting campaign activities in favor of one or another candidate, and to provide them with special identification signs, so that the observers representing candidates, or the mass media, would be able to monitor the actions of the people's militia groups at the precincts.

In the Coalition's Second Report it was also reported that a JK deputy from the SDPK faction, D.Terbishaliev, had initiated a draft law concerning arming the people's militia groups. The participants of the Round Table on the topic of "Electoral process through by the eyes of its voters", which took place on October 14 for the purposes of developing and strengthening the stability in the country, have condemned this initiative on arming the people's militia groups. On behalf of the participants—representatives of 10 candidates for the President of KR, heads of 9 NGOs—an address-letter had been sent to the Speaker of the Jogorku Kenesh of KR regarding the need to recall this draft law on arming the people's militia groups. "The adoption of this draft law and arming of untrained civilians could lead to unforeseen and irreversible situations within the society. Moreover, according to Article 4, Clause 4 of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, it is prohibited to create associations of citizens of militarized formations"—says the statement.

In addition, on October 21, candidate Suvanaliev had called on the employees of power structures and military servicemen of the Republic to fulfill their obligations within the framework of the Constitution of KR, and to manifest their citizen's obligation by taking an active part in the Election of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Moreover, the election headquarters of the candidate for the President of the Kyrgyz Republic, Almazbek Atambaev, has called on all the participants of the electoral process to undisputable observance of the requirements of the legislation, demonstration of restraint, and commitment to reasonable forms of election campaigning.

The Coalition would like to note that such statements on the part of the candidates are connected with the fact that there exist fears among the population regarding pre-election conflicts.

1.2. The work of the employees of law-enforcement agencies on assisting in the verification of voter lists.

The situation in the regions connected with the voter list verification.

According to the instructions of the CEC, mobile groups had been formed in order to verify voter lists by means of door-to-door canvassing, which were to include representatives of law-enforcement bodies or LSG bodies, in addition to a member of PEC and an NGO representative. However, as the observers in the Batken, Naryn, and Issyk-Kul oblasts and the city of Bishkek note, in violation of the CEC directive, the militiamen have not been engaged in the work of the mobile groups due to their shortage.

There have been instances when the lack of militiamen within the composition of mobile groups had complicated the work on verification of voter lists. In Bishkek, on October 12, the mobile group, which included a member of PEC # 1312 of the city of Bishkek and the Coalition's observers, was conducting pre-election door-to-door canvassing on the territory of this precinct. During the mobile group's canvassing, they were approached by 3 persons of Asian descent in the ages of 25-30 years old, who had requested to be included into the voter list. While doing that, they provided copies of their passports. The young people were not content with the fact that the mobile group member, Almaz Abdaminov, had asked them to provide the originals of their passports and, as a result of verbal confrontation, one of them punched the mobile group member in the chest. The second member of the mobile group (from the Coalition), during that time, had called the duty department of the 102 service (state militia assistance). Employees of the Internal Affairs bodies arrived 15 minutes later and detained the perpetrators of the public order.

On the same day at the same PEC #1312 located in the territory of the "Shoro" Enterprise at 344 Osmonkula, another incident took place, a voter had expressed a desire to write a petition regarding being included in to the voter list and provided 4 passports of other voters. Following a PEC chairman's refusal in inclusion into the voter list stating that the voters ought to personally visit the precinct and write the petition, he started behaving aggressively and invited other people on the phone. Then, 4-5 young people of Asian descent arrived in the PEC and started video-taping with their phones and threatening the PEC Chairman. They left the PEC, when the Chairman had started calling the militia. Upon the arrival of the employees of the Department of Internal Affairs, the Chairman wrote a statement regarding this incident.

The incident described above, which took place in Bishkek, demonstrates the need for the reinforcement of the work of law-enforcement bodies and provision of the safety of the work of the territorial and precinct election commissions in order to eliminate such incidents in the future.

The situation in the regions

The observers of the Coalition note that election campaigns of the candidates in the regions are taking place rather passively. Some of the districts are concerned that the election campaigning period will pass them by in this fashion, leaving them without any attention. As the observers note, a certain part of the population is concerned by this silence instead of an aggressive campaigning of the candidates as it happened during the past elections. "Is this a lull before a storm?" the voters are asking expressing concern over possible complication of the situation following the Election Day and announcement of the voting results.

According to the statements of human rights activists of the Coalition, cases of surveying of people of the Uzbek descent in the makhallas by young people regarding their electoral preferences were registered. In some of the makhallas, there had been threats made for voters' voting for a certain candidate. The Coalition is unable to name the makhallas in order to avoid the repetition of such threats. It has been noted that among minority ethnic groups, concern is rising for their own safety and they are asking who is going to guarantee and provide their security during and after the elections. This information had been directed to the proper authorities.

Moreover, the LTO observers are noting that the mobile groups' canvassing for voter list verification, while asking to show passports, had given rise to concern in the makhallas of Shark, Kyzyl-Kyshtyk, Nariman, Kashkar-Kyshtak. In this regard, the Coalition believes that this is caused by the low level of information by the CEC of the voters of these regions on the process of voter list verification.

Following the interview of human rights lawyer A.Abdirasulova in "Azattyk" regarding the threats in the makhallas, the MIA had stated that they received no complaints. In this light, the Coalition is remind that such complaints are not submitted due to the low level of trust towards the law-enforcement bodies and due to the fact that in Jalal-Abad and Osh, protests are taking place with

the participation of the relatives and employees of law-enforcement agencies that are advocating the militiamen convicted of crimes.

1.3. Protests and Actions

On October 10-11, in Ala-Bukin district of Jalal-Abad oblast, there was a protest held demanding the release of Ulan Baimyzaev, ex-Akim of that district. He was detained for bribing law-enforcement bodies for the purposes of concealment of use of a fake diploma and was placed in the pre-trial detention center of the city of Osh. His supporters, in the amount of 500 people, held a protest of disagreement during two days—October 10-11—and had blocked the entrance into the building of the district administration. They were also demanding the arrival of the oblast's governor and the resolution of this issue. The TEC of Ala-Bukinskiy district is also located in the same building, whose work had been stopped during those days.

Ongoing are the protestations of the inhabitants of Bazar-Korgonskiy district, who are demanding from the authorities the return of the 3 employees of the district militia, who were transported into the pre-trial facility of the Sokuluk district. This had been mentioned in the Second Report of the Coalition. On October 18, at 2 p.m., local inhabitants of the district of Kyrgyz descent, in the amount of 70-80 persons, had blocked the road of Osh-Bishkek another time. They are also demanding the return of the militiamen concern into Bazar-Kurganskiy district and the provision of a fair investigation and a judicial proceeding of the detained militiamen.

On October 13, in the Nooken district, a protest was held in front of the district administration with participation of over 100 peasants of the district, who are involved in the growing of cotton. The protesting peasants were demanding the increase of prices for the purchase of cotton and were expressing discontent by the operation of the State. As they stated, in 2011, the price for cotton amounted to no more than 1.37 som for the kilo, which does not satisfy the expectations peasants and does not cover the expenses for the cultivation of land, fertilizers, seeds, fuel, etc.

Moreover, on October 13, in the cities of Osh and Bishkek, there were protests held by the supporters and relatives of the arrested General Zamir Moldoshev in the amount of 50-100 persons. Zamir Moldoshev was detained on September 13 of this year on the charge of abuse of his service situation and rendering of indirect assistance in the murder of Medet Sadyrkulov. The protesters, who have created a Committee for the protection of the rights of the accused, were demanding from the authorities his release and house arrest for the period of the conduction of the investigation. They also stated that if the authorities do not satisfy their demands, they would boycott the Elections.

Another protest took place on October 17, in front of the Osh Regional Administration building, where supporters of the ex-Head of the Pre-Trial facility #1, M.Mamataliev, came out to demand his release. He was detained and placed in the pre-trial facility of the SNSC on this fact, when on April 13 of last year a detainee had escaped from the pre-trial facility #1 in Bishkek, who was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonments for murder. On this fact, the prosecutor general's office had initiated a criminal case with regard to the pre-trial facility-1 officials, including Melikoza Mamataliev, who was suspended from his official position immediately after the escape that took place.

2. THE ACTIVITY OF THE ELECTION COMMISSIONS

2.1. Central Election Commission (CEC)

During the reporting period, the CEC has held 5 sessions, where issues of registration and denial of registration of candidates, registration and denial in registration of authorized persons of the candidates, introduction of changes into the TEC compositions, approval of the Provision on the

Procedure of conduction of lottery-drawing on the inclusion into the election ballot, approval of the text and form of the ballot, the procedure of voting by the military servicemen and their families, and registration of international observers were discussed.

The Coalition welcomes the efforts and attempts of the CEC, which are being taken in order to ensure timely preparation and successful conduction of the Elections of the President of KR. It is necessary to note that the CEC is operating in compliance with the new election legislation and in the conditions of their probing and lack of interpretation of certain articles on the part of the Jogorku Kenesh, which creates a multiplicity of disputable instances in the CEC operation.

A positive moment in the operation of the CEC is the fact that the CEC is trying to react to the statements of non-government organizations—have made a warning to the administrations of the Kyrgyz State National University and the Academy of Law on the impermissibility of forced registration of student at a certain electoral precinct. Further, the positive moments could include the decision on the printing of electoral ballots with serial numbers, which would ease the process of controlling and accounting for the ballots, and would allow for the preventing of ballots meant to be at one precinct from being moved to another one.

Despite the positive moments in the work of the CEC, the Coalition would like to refrain from recognizing the activities of the CEC as transparent and open, as evidenced by the conduction of closed sessions of working groups, denial of access to the candidates' representatives and observers to the process of culling of the ballots by the printing house and their handing over to the CEC, and ballot transportation to the CEC, which contradicts the Article 30, Part 7, of the Election Law. Moreover, the Coalition would like to note that the CEC does not react to the changes that are taking place in the situation in a flexible and urgent manner. For instances, NGOs and candidates had proposed to hold a re-drawing of the lottery on the televised debates, having removed the names of the 4 candidates that have departed, whose last names could have also been removed from the election ballot.

It needs to be especially noted that the work on the voter list verification was characterized by the majority of the PECs and TECs complaining about the lack of clear directions from the CEC on the inclusion and amending of the voter addresses. The PECs were not receiving the citizens' complaints without the availability of Tax Identification Numbers (INN), and the question that is yet to be clarified is whether or not the voters can change their electoral add within the same populated area referring to a statement not yet approved on the part of the CEC.

The Coalition supposes that such a situation came about due to lack of openness of the CEC, which is undertaken very slowly. However, the Coalition believes that the openness of the CEC operations, transparency and timely explanation of the existing problems in the activities of the election commissions would facilitate a greater understanding on the part of the public of the workload of the CEC, and would increase the trust towards the CEC activities.

Election Ballots

At its session on October 10, the CEC had approved the text and form of the election ballot, the procedure of production thereof at the "Chum" publishing house, and the procedure of their delivery. According to the Deputy of the CEC Chairman, the election ballot includes the last names of all 23 candidates for the Office of the President of KR, who have, by that time, passed the registration with the CEC and received an identification of a candidate. 4 of the registered candidates had file petitions for resignation from the race of the election campaign participation after the formation of the procedure of name placement, on the basis of lottery-drawing, and on the approval of the sample election ballot. Four of the registered candidates wrote applications for their withdrawal of their candidacies from participating in the elections after the fact of formation of the order of name placement and on the basis of the lottery drawing and the approval of the election ballot. The CEC had announced that there will be no re-drawing held.

An unclear moment for both the observers and candidates' representatives still remains the process of crossing out the names of the former candidates from the election ballot. The CEC members have no unified position on this issue and there are disagreements regarding the resolution of this issue. Later, during a press-conference on October 17, the CEC Chairman, T.Abdraimov, had stated that certain candidates have behaved improperly by not having withdrawn their candidacies prior to the drawing, and having ended up on the printed election ballot. For this reason, all of the PEC members throughout the Republic will be forced to sit down and cross out the last names of all the withdrawn candidates from the ballots. Also, according to the CEC, the candidates are entitled to withdraw their candidacy up until three days prior to the elections. Later, the CEC Chairman had announced that the process of crossing out of the withdrawn candidacies from the ballot will take place in all the PECs on the night of October 28 and October 29.

The Coalition expresses a fear that the PECs may not get to perform this process with quality in such a brief period of time, especially given the fact that on October 22nd long-term voting is to commence, and on Saturday, October 29, the PECs will be carrying out mobile voting. Could this workload of the PECs on the eve of the Election Day affect the quality of their work?

The PEC members will have access to the election ballots. The issue is whether observers and candidates' representatives will be permitted to observe the process of crossing out names of the withdrawn candidates in the ballot.

The Coalition is calling upon all the candidates to ensure the presence of their own observers in the process of reception and transfer of the election ballots of Election Commissions, as well as of the process of crossing out of names in order to ensure maximal transparency of all these processes according to Article 30 of the Constitutional Law on Elections.

Moreover, the Coalition notes that the CEC of KR is taking all necessary measures for the prevention of pressure and bribery of voters on the election day through spreading of information on the prohibition of taking photographs of the election ballot in the voting booth. It is common knowledge that in the past there had been incidences of bribery of voters' votes on the election day, where the voter was taking photos of his ballot in order to receive a certain reward from a candidate's representatives, and that such practice was a widely spread phenomenon in Kyrgyzstan.

Printing and dispatching of election ballots

On October 19, the observers and authorized representatives of the candidates were invited to the CEC, but were not allowed inside of the Uchkun printing house, where the process of dispatching of ballots to the regions was taking place. An act was composed concerning this fact which was signed by representatives of 10 candidates and observers of 2 NGOs—the Coalition of "Tazaa-Shailoo". The Act was accepted by the Deputy Chairperson of the CEC, G.Jurabayeva, who noted that this was her personal omission since she was not aware of the procedure of access through the security forces of the "Uchkun" Printing house.

On the same day it became known that on October 18, the CEC had sent printed ballots in Batken oblast—241,200 ballots, to Jalal-Abad oblast—532,800 ballots, and partially to Talas oblast—125,000 ballots, to the Ak-Talinskiy TEC—19,500 ballots and to Chon-Alaiskiy district—15,000 ballots. The Coalition cannot help asking the question of why so many ballots had been sent to the Batken and Jalal-Abad oblasts, even though as of that moment, the final number of voters had not yet been determined.

Later, the CEC Chairman, T.Abdraimov, had stated that according to the law, the representatives of the presidential candidates and NGOs are not allowed to be present during the transportation of the

ballots from the printing house⁵. Although according to the Law on Elections (Art. 30, Clause 7)—the availability and presence of the representatives of the candidates and observers is a mandatory condition for the culling out and dispatch of the ballots to the TECs.

A CEC member, Ishenbai Kadyrbekov, stated in an interview to the mass media that every ballot will be numbered and every electoral precinct will be provided by previously numbered ballots. Thus, the CEC will be aware which ballots are at one or another precinct. Thus, there will be no possibility of dumping the ballots from the outside. These are the new provisions of these elections, Kadyrbekov noted.

In addition, he reported that as of the present moment, the presidential candidates list includes 23 persons. The ballot forms started being printed on October 10, and therefore they contain the names of the candidates who have since left the pre-election race. As of the moment of writing the present report, there were 19 candidates left for the post of the country's Head. The Coalition calls on the regional election headquarters of the candidates and the independent observers to monitor the process of receipt of election ballots by the TECs and their further transfer to the PECs, as well as the process of crossing out the withdrawn candidates from the election ballots.

Cancellation of candidates' registration

On October 13, the CEC had cancelled registration of 3 candidates due to the application from registered candidates for the post of the President—Nariman Tyuleev (application as of October 11, 2011), Shamshybek Medetbekov (application as of October 12, 2011), and Iskhak Masaliev (application as of October 13, 2011). On October 18, the CEC had cancelled the registration of Akylbek Japarov.

The Public Reception Room and Telephone Hotline of the CEC of KR

The Public Reception Room and Hotline of the CEC are still not functioning properly, which was already noted in the Second Report of the Coalition. In this regard, a question arises of where citizens could turn to receive information and file complaints, should they appear.

Working Group of the CEC on control over the observance of the rules of conduction of pre-election campaigning

The Working Group had been formed on July 19, 2011, by the Decree #37. The Head of the group is N.Ashimov. The Coalition's observer in the CEC notes that despite the large number of complaints regarding the violations connected with the conduction of election campaigns, full information is missing on the type of work undertaken by the Working Group on consideration of such complaints and what decisions had been made on each complaint. The lack of such information does not allow for a full-fledged evaluation of the work of the CEC on consideration of complaints.

2.2 Territorial and Precinct Election Commissions

The operation of the TECs

During the reporting period, the process of making changes into the TEC composition is continuing. For instance, the CEC has introduced changes into the compositions of the Leninskiy TEC of the city of Bishkek, Kara-Kuljinskiy TEC of the Osh oblast, Toguz-Toroiskiy TEC of the Jalal-Abad oblast, Jumgalskiy TEC of the Naryn oblast. The CEC had announced about accepting applications from political parties and representatives bodies of the LSG for inclusion into the composition and reserve lists of the TECs on the basis of a drawing. However, the date of the drawing is yet to be set.

⁵ <http://www.24.kg/election2011/112161-tujgunaaly-abdraimov-v-kyrgyzstane-zayavlenie.html>

The main problem is still the departure of TEC and PEC members from the composition of the commissions. In this connection, the CEC had decided to allocate monetary funds in order to pay per diem expenses to the TECs in the amount of 250 som for the several working days before and after the elections. Perhaps, such a decision will provide an incentive for the people to complete their work in TECs until after the elections.

The Coalition's observers have gathered information regarding the receipt of the election ballots by the TECS for early voting. By October 21, 8 of the 57 TECs had reported not having received the election ballots yet. As of October 22, the CEC had reported that all the TECS have received election ballots. It needs to be noted that the election ballots ought to be handed over to TECs 10 calendar days prior to the Election Day, according to Article 30, Clause 9 of the Election Law. As the Coalition's observers note, only at 6 out of 49 TECs candidates' representatives were present during the receipt of the election ballots. The Coalition's observers were present in 38 of TECs during the receipt of election ballots. A table of the quantitative data is provided.

2.3 The operation of the PECs

Most of the PECs in the Republic are working in a reinforced mode. Citizens' applications are being accepted for inclusion in the voter lists, changing the electoral address, or making changes in the personal data. Some of the PEC members are working within mobile groups.

Still urgent is the problem of departure of PEC members. The people are not willing to work due to lack of payment for the labor, given the high workload. The departing members are being replaced by the people from the reserve; however, there are virtually no people in the reserve as well. Such a situation is found universally throughout the Republic. The already heavy workload of the PEC members was additionally amplified by another responsibility—crossing out of the names of the withdrawn candidates by hand. According to the CEC Chairman, this work will be carried out the night before the mobile voting day, on October 28. And the next day, PEC members are to be present at the precinct to conduct mobile voting. And, naturally, on October 30—the Election Day—and the subsequent vote counting. This comes down to almost three days of non-stop work. Will the PEC members be able to endure such workload and will this not reflect on the quality of their work on Election Day?

Difficulties of technical nature are salient, for instance, such as poor equipment of the PEC in terms of consumer electronics and photocopying equipment. This complicates the work of the PEC on verification of voter lists. Many people arrive wanting to be included in the voter list or to change their electoral address, however, it turns out that there is no passport copy and they need to go to a different place to photocopy their passport. Not every voter returns with a copy of the passport back to the precinct. And in remote precincts they often have to go to another village or the regional center, which is only done by highly conscious citizens. The need for motivating the members of TECs and PECs due to their heavy workload was discussed earlier in this report.

2.4 Electoral precincts abroad

Outside of Kyrgyzstan, 29 electoral precincts have been opened in 23 countries of the world. On October 20, the number of voters registered in the entire 29 foreign precincts amount to 36 thousand 123 persons. The number of voters had increased by more than 12 thousand in comparison with the original list. The citizens' application for registration were accepted until October 19th, inclusively, the largest number of voters—13,600 persons—are registered with the consular records in the city of Moscow. Moreover, applications of another 2,000 citizens to be included in the voter list are being considered. However, due to the limited passing capacity of the PECs at the Embassy of Kyrgyzstan in Moscow, there is a probability that the largest part of the citizens would not be able to cast their votes, which might lead to the discontentment of the voters. Besides that, there is also a probability that citizens of Kyrgyzstan working abroad will be forced to

stand in line for a long time at the electoral precincts on the day of the voting.⁶ As was reported in the Second Report, according to the new election legislations, citizens not registered with the consular department are unable to participate in the voting. It is possible that the voters might arrive at the precincts and demand the realization of their electoral right. In this regard, an official letter was sent to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia, Rashid Nurgaliev, with the request to have the militia employees watch over public order during the Elections.

The Coalition calls upon the CEC and the Government of KR to provide proper conditions for the realization of the electoral right of the registered citizens who are now outside of KR through allocation of additional facilities in the buildings of the embassies and consulates in order to increase the passing capacity of the electoral precincts abroad.

3. VOTER LISTS

The CEC, with the assistance from international organizations, had finalized the electronic voter list, which was placed on the CEC's website. The search option had been added and improved, which allows searching for voters by their full names and place of residence, which makes the process of verification of personal data of Internet user much easier and faster. Now, it is sufficient to enter one's last name and no need to know the number of one's PEC, which is how it used to be. The CEC has stated that the voter lists are being updated as they information arrives from the TECs, but it needs to be noted that this process has been going rather slowly. Thus, for example, the Coalition's employees, who submitted applications to the PECs, are still unable to find themselves in the list during 10 days.

The preliminary list, which included 2 million 800 thousand of voters, has been constantly updated as the data arrives from the TECs. Every two days the TECs receive reports from the PECs. Voters may include themselves in the list, change their electoral address, or change their personal data until October 19, inclusively. Starting on October 20, the processing of the received applications on the forms 1, 2, and 3 will commence and will be completed on October 27 by means of creation of a unified main list. According to the new legislation, formation of additional lists is prohibited and on the day of the voting only those citizens who are included in the main voter list will be able to vote.

An unclear situation has arisen concerning the availability of the INN—many of the citizens, especially those residing in rural areas, do not have it and for this reason members of mobile groups of the PECs had been refusing to include them in the voter list. However, this contradicts the election legislation, which provides that passport data and INN are required when one is available. Such cases were registered in Aravanskiy, Issyk-Kulskiy, Ak-Suiskiy, and Talasskiy districts, and the city of Kyzyl-Kiya. The CEC is explaining the introduction of INN into the applications by the fact that over 100 thousand namesakes were found in the voter list with exactly same last names, first names, and patronymic, and this measure is necessary in order to sift away duplicate voters from the voter list.

The Coalition had sent a request to the CEC of KR earlier regarding whether citizens of KR could register using their international passports and passports issued in 1994, however, unfortunately, has not been able to receive an response to this question.

Furthermore, many questions are raised by the instruction of the CEC, TECs, and PECs concerning denial in the acceptance of applications from voters who wish to change their electoral address within the same populated area. A CEC reminder was circulated to the PECs of the Republic, which states that if a voter is applying with a request to include them into the voter list at a different

⁶ www.24.kg

address within the same populated area, such application is not to be accepted. This contradicts the norms of the election legislation, particularly Art. 15, Clause 4, which provides that TECs and PECs ought to include a voter into the voter list in accordance with his electoral address and to notify him of that no later than 10 calendar days before the election day.

Here, a question also arises about what should the voters do who, by virtue of their working activity, are unable to be at their precincts on the Election day. For example, the TEC and PEC members who are simply unable to leave their workplace in order to take part in the voting? The Coalition believes that this resolution of this issue needs to be considered and pertinent changes or amendments need to be made in the election legislation.

3.1 Mobile Groups for Registration

According to the Decree of the CEC as of September 23, 2011, on October 6 mobile groups have commenced door-to-door canvassing of the voters in order to verify voter lists. During the door-to-door canvassing, the members of mobile groups are carrying out the following functions:

- verification of information regarding the voters;
- handing out applications for inclusion of citizens into the voter lists on Form 1;
- handing out applications for changing citizens' electoral address on Form 2;
- handing out applications for making changes in the citizens' personal data on Form 3;
- handing out notifications on the checking of citizens' inclusion in the voter list;
- informing the voters on the changes in the electoral process.

It was presumed that members of PEC and representatives of LSG bodies, NGOs, and law-enforcement agencies will be engaged in the work of the mobile groups, however in many of the districts the PEC members are having to do this work on their own as the representatives of LSG bodies, NGOs, and law-enforcement agencies are refusing to work, citing the absence of payment and being busy during the Fall field work, etc. Such situation, for instance, was found in the PECs of Issyk-Kulskiy, Tonskiy, Narynskiy districts and the city of Karakol. The mobile group members are encountering big difficulties when working with the population. Many of the people are constantly not home and the mobile group members have to return to the same home several times. In light of the fact that the voter list had not been updated for several years, it includes many of the people who have died or left. Moreover, the members of the mobile groups are encountering situations when people are not willing to show their passports or provide data about self or family members. Many of them express distrust towards the authorities, saying that the elections will take place without them and that all the results have already been predetermined in either case. Some people were discontent with the fact that several political party representatives have also been canvassing and gathering their information.

3.2 Voter list verification

Voter list verification is done through identification of voters who have left, as well as entering of the data received by means of the applications filled out on Forms 1, 2, or 3. Form 1 is an application for citizens' inclusion in the voter list due to absence of their data in the voter list at the address of permanent residence (registration). Form 2 is an application for citizens' exclusion from the voter list at the address of permanent resident and their inclusion in the voter list at the place of their voting on the Election Day. Form 3 is an application for making changes in the citizens' personal data.

Table on the receipt of applications for voter list verification (data gathered from 31 TECs):

#	Oblast	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
1.	Chuy oblast (5 TECs)	3720	19496	805
2.	City of Bishkek, Lenin district	2369	25716	374
3.	Naryn oblast (3 TECs)	2249	1202	478
4.	Osh oblast (2 TECs)	2250	947	557
5.	Jalal-Abad oblast (8 TECs)	8580	6519	1919

6.	Batken oblast (5 TECs)	6214	3445	1423
7.	Talas oblast (4 TECs)	2314	1729	1241
8.	Issyk-Kul oblast (3 TECs)	1630	2138	344

The Coalition's observers' data, received from 31 TECs of the Republic, shows that the most active in the inclusion of themselves in the voter list were inhabitants of the Jalal-Abad and Batken oblasts. The biggest number of applications for changing of electoral address was received by the Leninskiy TEC of the city of Bishkek (PEC—building of the KSU—4,093, BHU—915, around the Osh Market—2,008) and the Chuy oblast (Alamedinskiy PEC—10,553, Sokulukskiy PEC—4,831).

Moreover, in connection with the many complaints on the part of the public that in the higher education institutions the students are forced to register at certain precincts, the Coalition addressed students asking them to report instances of pressure exerted upon them by the leadership and professors.⁷ However, the Coalition's telephone line has not received a single phone call from students. Besides, the Coalition would like to note that the PEC in the building of KSU had received 4,093 applications for change of electoral address as of the moment of writing of this report, and that most of these applications were made by the students. The Coalition is having doubt that such a large number of students have decided on their own to simultaneously vote at this precinct.

3.3 Problems with voter list verification

As was indicated above, mobile group members have faced negative attitudes of many of the citizens during the door-to-door canvassing for the purposes of voter list verification. The people were unwilling to provide their passports for photocopying, were not understanding why the INN is needed, did not open doors, did not provide data regarding their families, did not understand why notifications were needed. Such situation has formed due to the fact the population was not properly informed on the upcoming door-to-door canvassing by the mobile groups and on the latest changes in the election legislation. The procedure of voter list verification and the work of the mobile groups had not been covered by the mass media. The insufficient time for conducting voter list verification also does not provide an opportunity for the mobile groups to conduct full-fledged work on the verification and forming of a high-quality voter list.

3.4 Voting for the military servicemen

In Kyrgyzstan, the military servicemen will vote at the Presidential Election one day prior to the day of voting, on October 29. Such a decision was made by the CEC on its session on October 11. According to the approved procedure of voting for the voters who are in the military, the members of their family and other voters residing in the territories of the military units, the military servicemen will be voting outside of the voting facilities, at their military units.

According to Article 33 of the Constitutional Law of KR "On the Elections of the President of KR and the Deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh of KR", "...in exceptional cases, by the decision of a respective election commission, military servicemen serving on the day of the election in the military units located in isolated, remote areas away from the populated areas, if they permanently reside on the territory of the electoral precinct, which includes the location of their temporary location, shall vote at the place of their location."

The PEC is to provide such voters with the opportunity to vote outside the regular voting facility one calendar day prior to the day of the Election. According to the CEC, these military servicemen will be included in the voter list 12 days prior to their voting, which will take place on October 29. The

⁷ <http://www.open.kg/ru/tele/?id=310>

CEC Decree regarding this will be sent to the TEC of the Ministry of Defense. In addition, the voters that are detained in places of imprisonment will also vote one day before the Election Day.

In this connection, the Coalition and other organizations implementing the observation of the Election will also be observing the process of mobile voting on Saturday, October 29.

4. THE CANDIDATES

On October 7, 2011, 23 candidates had been registered for the post of the President of KR. After the cancellation of registration following official statements by four of the contestants—Nariman Tyuleev, Akylbek Japarov, Iskhak Masaliev, and Shamshybek Medetbekov—there remained 19 candidates:

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. Kurmanbek Osmonov (self-nominated)
9. Almanbet Matubraimov (self-nominated)
10. Marat Imankulov (self-nominated)
11. Kubanychbek Isabekov (self-nominated)
12. Arstanbek Abdylidaev (EI Uchun)
13. Almazbek Atambaev (SDPK)
14. Sooronbai Dyikanov (self-nominated)
15. Jumabek Toktogaziev (self-nominated)
16. Almazbek Karimov (self-nominated)
17. Torobai Kolubayev, (self-nominated)
18. Tursunbai Bakir Uulu (Erkin Kyrgyzstan)
19. Akbaraly Aitikeev (self-nominated)

The Candidates' Electoral Funds

A report on the movement of funds, published by the CEC on October 17, shows changes in the incoming and outgoing parts of the candidates' electoral funds. The Coalition's Second Report on observation of the election pointed out that eight candidates had the electoral funds totaling over 2 million som. This category also included Tursunbai Bakir Uulu, who was registered only on October 6, after prolonged judicial proceedings. Below is the CEC's list of candidates who are conducting more active election campaigns, including the data on their electoral funds. Below are also data on the size of the expenditures spent by the nine candidates:

1. A.Atambayev—35,500,000 som, out of which 34,021,286 som spent
2. A.Madumarov – 21,592,830 som, out of which 21 143 470 som spent
3. K.Tashiev - 13 472 290 som, out of which 13 137 702 some spent
4. K.Baibolov - 12 724 990 som, out of which 12 127 828 som spent
5. A.Kalmatov - 7 460 000 som, out of which 7 452 616 som spent
6. K.Isabekov - 6 620 800 som, out of which 5 906 760 som spent
7. A.Abdylidaev - 4 668 000 som, out of which 4 583 871 som spent
8. T.Bakir Uulu - 4 380 500 som, out of which 4 279 044 som spent
9. O.Suvanaliev - 3 120 000 som, out of which 2 820 980 som spent

Candidates' Electoral Headquarters

The Coalition's observers have noted universally the active commencement of the candidates' headquarters operations starting from September 25. The most equipped in terms of human resources, equipment and finances are the headquarters of candidates A.Atambayev, A.Madumarov, K.Tashiev, K.Baibolov, and O.Suwanaliev. The remaining candidates are significantly behind in terms of the number of headquarters throughout the Republic, and their logistics. People in remote areas do not know many of the unknown candidates because of the absence of their headquarters in their districts and a very poor campaigning. The number and operation of the candidates were covered in the Second Report of the Coalition. As the Coalition's observers note, the majority of the candidates' headquarters have sent their representatives to the PECs, and are planning to send their observers on the Election Day.

Based on the results of visits and meetings with the representatives of the candidates' headquarters by the Coalition's observers, a conclusion may be made that there are no difficulties arising in the work of their headquarters in the organization of meetings with the voters; there were no written statements and complaints regarding prevention of election campaigning activities. The headquarters' representatives have asked to send independent observers to the PECs on the Election day. Many of the headquarters were complaining about the use of administrative resources by some of the candidates, but doing so, have noted that this will be difficult to prove.

5. ELECTION CAMPAIGNING

As the observers note, the population is discussing the candidates' poor campaigning efforts as compared to the Parliamentary Election 2010 campaigns. There is no special struggle for the voters' votes. The election campaigning of the candidates is going passively, as local inhabitants note. The population not only has not gotten to get acquainted with the candidates' pre-election programs, but also do not even know some of the candidates. According to the observers, the most active election campaigns are conducted only by nine candidates, whose activity is notable in various regions of the country.

A multiplicity of election campaign activities are being carried out in Osh, Batken, and Jalal-Abad regions by the majority of the candidates. Many of the election headquarters have noted that campaign activities in the city of Bishkek will become most active by the end of the campaign period, after October 20. The voters living the cities of Bishkek and Osh, who have access to the Internet, receive information on the candidates from informational websites.

The table below lists the main methods of election campaigning used by the candidates for the post of the President of KR (data gathered by the Coalition's observers):

Campaign methods:	Atambayev	Madumarov	Tashiev	Suwanaliev	Baibolov	Kalimatov	Abdyldaev	Isabekov	Bakir Ululu
Printed materials--flyers, newspapers, booklets, calendars, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Posters (for posting)	+	+	+	+	+	+			
Banners (stretches)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Billboards (advertisement)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

signs)									
Door-to-door canvassing by campaign officials	+	+	+						
Meetings with the voters	+	+	+	+	+				
Concerts with participation of famous pop stars	+	+	+		+				
Auto parades and through loudspeakers		+	+						
Candidates' websites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Social networks	+	+	+						
Video clips on TV and Internet (the number of clips has increased)	+	+	+	+	+	+			
Articles in mass media									
Charitable civilities	+		+			+			
Production and distribution of own books			+					+	
Black PR—accusations		+							
Meetings in mosques and nearby									+
Sports events	+								

Televised Debates

OTRK: On October 17, televised debates have been commenced on the Public TV and Radio Company (OTRK), which will end on October 27. The order of the candidates' participation was determined in the course of a random selection, which was conducted by the CEC on October 6^h, prior to some candidates' withdrawal from the pre-election race. In this regard, the Coalition and other NGOs have addressed the CEC with the call to conduct a re-drawing in order to ensure the real competitiveness of the candidates in the debates. However, the CEC had responded that it will not hold a re-drawing. The CEC stated that it would make every necessary effort in order to ensure that all the presidential candidates have opponents in the TV debates.

Four debates have already been held, which have caused high resonance among the voters. The viewers' opinions have divided. There are opinions that the time for the debates is too limited and that the format does not allow for an opportunity to receive a sufficient picture of the candidates' programs and their positions with regards to the future development of Kyrgyzstan. Another viewpoint states that the TV debates are not objective and are taking place between the facilitator and the candidates, while the facilitators are not impartial towards certain candidates. The third viewpoint states that the TV debates give more opportunities to the voters to form their opinions on the candidates and to make their own choice.

The Coalition would like to note that the practice of conducting such TV debates was first used during the parliamentary elections in 2010. In those elections, the voters welcomed the idea of conducting visceral debates between candidates. These TV debates gather a large audience of viewers and facilitate the discussion of the candidates within the society. But the voters' demands regarding the format of the TV debates during the presidential election have changed significantly. While last year's debates were welcomed with admiration by almost all of the viewers, now the viewers are taking the debates more critically. They wish to receive more information on the programs and positions of the candidates in various spheres—the economy, agriculture, etc. Nevertheless, they all admit that the debates are arousing high interest and helping the voters know more about the candidates.

EI TR: While the TV debates on OTRK are widely discussed, other TV debates on EI TR are covered poorly by the media and discussed much less. The Coalition would like to report that the EI TR has been conducting TV debates among the candidates from October 12 through 27, live. Below is the schedule of the TV debates:

October 12 th , 21:15—22:35	S.Dyikanov, A.Matubraimov, A.Madumarov
October 14 th , 21:15—22:35	T.Kolubayet, O.Suvaliev, R.Omorov
October 17 th , 21:15—22:35	I.Masaliev, K.Osmonov, A.Abdylidaev
October 19 th , 21:15—22:35	T.Bakir Uulu, A.Karimov
October 21 st , 21:15—22:35	N.Tyuleev, K.BAibolov, Sh.Mederbekov
October 25 th , 21:15—22:35	J.Toktogaziev, A.Kalimatov, A.Aitikeev
October 26 th , 21:15—22:35	M.Imankulov, T.Asanbekov, A.Japarov
October 27 th , 21:15—22:35	K.Isabekov, K.Tashiev, A.Atambayev

VIOLATIONS IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Use of the administrative resources

The Coalition's observers have registered several facts of the use of the administrative resource by some of the candidates for the post of the President of KR. On the morning of October 18, classes were cancelled at several universities in the city of Osh, and the students and instructors were sent to the square where a meeting was held with the Presidential candidate, A.Atambayev. The meeting was also attended by employees of other state enterprises and institutions. It was obvious that the professors had brought the students and were controlling their presence at the meeting. Overall, around 6-8,000 people were in attendance.

Moreover, on October 20, the Coalition's observers have attended a campaign concern at the Old Square in Bishkek, which was held at the initiative of the "Republika", "Zamandash-Sovremennik", and "Akshumkar" parties. This meeting was attended by the students of the International University of Kyrgyzstan, KSU, KGMA, KGPU. The students were arriving in groups of at least 8-10 people; they were approaching older people (either professors or group curators), and they were marked in some sort of journals. According to some of the students, they were released from the last classes and were told to come to the meeting with the candidate and to watch the concert. When the observers were taking photographs of the older people (either professors or group curators), some of them were turning away and hiding their faces.

On these facts, the Coalition's observers have compiled acts on the violation of election legislation and the Coalition had applied to the CEC, the Prosecutor General" Office, the MIA of KR, with the request to check the indicated facts and to take appropriate measures in case if the violations are confirmed.

The Jogorku Kenesh of KR is also discussing the issue of the use of the administrative resource by the candidates for the post of the President of KR. There have been facts noted of the use of the administrative resource by representatives of the Ministry of Emergencies in KR in Osh to the

benefit of K.Tashiev, and that employees of the State Auto Inspection in Osh are keeping drivers' licenses from the drivers who state that they would vote for A.Atambayev.

6. MASS MEDIA

Mass Media organizations are conducting monitoring of the election campaigns in the media. The Coalition would like to note that the mass media is not only covering the campaigning process, but also provides information on the preferences of the voters, give analytical review of the current situation, provide readers with opinions of the experts, political scientists, and public activities regarding the electoral process.

The CEC Chairman, T.Abdraimov, at a press-conference on October 17, had stated that some mass media outlets are heating up the situation in the country by publishing untruthful information. Responding to the question of the 24.kg Internet Agency journalist, he stated that this includes 24.kg agency as well and other information agencies, who are not accredited and do not bear responsibility for their information. The CEC Chairman stated that after these elections, he will personally strive to accredit all the internet information agencies in order to ensure that they bear the responsibility for their publications during election periods.

7. THE ACTIVITIES OF OTHER BODIES

7.1. The Jogorku Kenesh of Kyrgyzstan

During its plenary sessions, the parliament has introduced amendments to the Code of Administrative Responsibility, the Civil Procedure and Criminal Procedure Codes in three readings in mid-October. According to the Deputy Chairman of the Jogorku Kenesh Committee for Constitutional legislation and State structure, Erkinbek Alymbekov, a draft law has been developed for the purposes of full-fledged implementation of the legal provisions by the election commissions and other state bodies participating in the electoral process. The proposed document establishes responsibility for a set of violation of the law and tightens the responsibility for other violations of the law infringing upon the electoral rights of the citizens. Additions to the Criminal Procedure Code were caused by the need to fill the gap due to the absence in the Code of Investigative Jurisdiction of Article 141 of the Criminal Code—"Falsification of electoral documents, documents of referenda, and incorrect counting of the votes". In this connection, it is proposed to move Article 140 "Bribery for voters' votes" from the category of cases of private prosecution into the category of cases of public prosecution as a crime violating the electoral rights and related to the crimes against the constitutional rights and freedoms of the human and citizen, with transferring thereof to the bodies of the Prosecutor's Office.⁸

7.2. The activities of civic organizations

High level of activeness during the presidential election has been demonstrated by youth organizations. Thus, young activities have organized a campaign, "I think. I vote. There is a Future!" The goal of the campaign is to encourage the inhabitants of Bishkek and Osh to vote on October 30 using their brain and not succumbing to pressure.

In addition, these youth organizations are conducting independent observation of the pre-election period and on the Election Day throughout the country, organizing seminars for young voters on informing them on the electoral rights, holding various round tables to discuss the role of the youth in the elections. In doing so, they are actively using social networks and SMS-messaging services.

⁸ <http://www.kabar.kg/law-and-order/full/20234>

The Civil Initiative of Internet Policy (CIIP) organized a map at the site <http://map.inkg.info/>, to which the voters and observers are able to send messages regarding violations, and which will be reflected immediately on the electronic map of the country.

The Taza-Shailoo Association is also conducting independent observation of the pre-election period and on the Election Day.

The Headquarters for Public Control (HPC) has conducted a round table “The Election process through the eyes of its participants”, where the representatives of candidates and civic organizations discussed the election process.

“Dostoyanie Respubliki” PA has been conducting education trainings in all of the country’s regions from October 1st through the 24th, on the topic of “The role and participation of youth in democratic processes.” The trainings are attended by 350 young people.

Within the framework of the project “The Conscious choice is the choice of the new generation”, a TV bridge Bishkek-Osh will be held on October 25, 2011 at 11am—1 pm in the Coalition’s Office.

Besides that, the Parliament of Political Parties, jointly with the Anticorruption Business Committee, PC “Citizens against Corruption, Youth Movement “ We choose leadership”, the JKKR Committee on Human Rights, the Prosecutor General’s office, MID, and the State Tax Inspectorate are initiating the creation of a National Headquarters and Hotline for monitoring of the implementation of the Code of Honor signed by several of the candidates and ensuring urgent reacting to various forms of conflicts during the Elections.

The Coalition is starting to conduct observation in the TECs over the process of early voting, transfer of electoral ballots to the PECs, the process of crossing out of the former-candidates in the election commissions, and on Saturday, October 29, will conduct monitoring of mobile voting at 500 PECs. On October 30, the Coalition will conduct statistically-based monitoring with the help of 1,000 STOs at 500 PECs. Such form of observation was first used by the Coalition during the last parliamentary elections and has shown its effectiveness. On the morning of October 30, the Coalition will distribute a press-release on the results of the observation over the process of early and mobile voting.

CONCLUSIONS

- The social-political situation in the country remains calm, however the population is retaining certain tensions and fears connected to possible emergence of conflicts following the Elections; special concern is expressed by the inhabitants of Uzbek makhallas in Osh oblast.
- The CSTO has earlier stated its plans to send its representatives to Kyrgyzstan in order to provide assistance to the law-enforcement forces of the Republic in conducting security for the election, however the official authorities of Kyrgyzstan have not commented on this information for the public in any way.
- The law-enforcement agencies are working in a reinforced mode. According to the MIA of KR, public order and security in all the election commissions during the Elections will be provided by the efforts of over 6,500 employees of the Militia and the Military; moreover, employees of power structures and fiscal bodies will be recruited, and over 12,000 volunteers from the people’s militia groups will be engaged. At the same time, the level of public trust towards the law-enforcement agencies remains low.

- Mobile groups for voter list verification have finalized their work on October 20, however, during their work they had encountered various difficulties—despite the CEC instruction, militiamen and LSG representatives were not actively involved in the work of the mobile groups; the voters, due to lack of proper information, did not understand the activities of the MGs and thereby hindered the verification process. There are complaints that the process of compilation and verification of voter lists should have been started 2-3 months prior to the elections. The limited time and the PEC workload also hampered a full-scale process of voter list verification. Due to low level of awareness among the population, the mobile group members faced such problems as aggressive attitude of the population toward them, and reluctance of the citizens to provide their own and their family's passport data.
- The issue of transparency and openness of the activities of the CEC of KR remains urgent, which is evidence by the conduction of closed sessions of working groups, non-permission of candidates' representatives and observers to the observation over the process of culling out the ballots by the printing house. Open informing of the existing problems and difficulties in the activities of the CEC of KR on the part of its leadership could be met with understanding and would increase the trust towards this body.
- The public reception room and the hotline of the CEC are not functioning properly. In this light, a question arises of where could the citizens apply for information and to submit complaints, should they arise. In this connection, alternative headquarters for gathering of information on the problems of the pre-election period are being formed.
- By October 21, 8 of the 57 TECs had reported not having received the election ballots yet. As of October 22, the CEC had reported that all the TECS have received election ballots. It needs to be noted that the election ballots ought to be handed over to TECs 10 calendar days prior to Election Day, according to Article 30, Clause 9 of the Election Law.
- The problem of withdrawal of PEC members remains acute, while new responsibilities on crossing out the names of withdrawn candidates on the ballots were also added for the PEC members. Will they be able to endure such high workload and will this not reflect on their work on Election Day?
- In light of the limited passing capacity of the embassy in Moscow, there is a problem of long lines of voters being formed. The Coalition is hoping that this problem will be resolved by the Government of KR and the CEC of KR.
- As of the writing of this report, there are 19 registered candidates remaining for the post of the President of KR. But the election ballot includes 23 candidates, four of whom have withdrawn and will be crossed out according to Clause 10, Article 30, which raises understandable fear that the ballots could be damaged. Therefore, the candidates ought to track this process through their own observers.
- Compared to the Parliamentary Elections of 2010, the election campaign period this year went calmly, even passively. There is no special struggle for the voters' votes. The election campaigning of the candidates is going passively, as the local inhabitants note. The population not only has not gotten to get acquainted with the candidates' pre-election programs, but also do not even know some of the candidates. Therefore, all the voters' attention is currently focused on the TV debates on OTRK, which are finding a lot of resonance with the public.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

For the Jogorku Kenesh of KR:

1. To implement parliamentary control over the activities of law-enforcement agencies and security bodies during the period of organization and conduction of the elections.

For the Government of KR:

1. To explain the situation around the CSTO's intention to send its representatives in order to render assistance to the law-enforcement bodies of KR during the elections, voiced by the CSTO Secretary General, N.Bordyuja.

For the law-enforcement bodies:

1. To ensure order and security during the conduction of the Elections for all the citizens.
2. To provide public with the information on the outcomes of the investigation on the registered facts of unlawful actions during the pre-election period.
3. To conduct explanatory work among the voluntary people's militia groups on the impermissibility of their conducting campaigning activities.
4. To provide the voluntary people's militia groups with special recognition signs.

For the election commissions:

1. To use the last week before the election for the purposes of maximizing information for the citizens of KR on the upcoming elections and the procedures of voting, voters' rights, and the timeline for the recouping of the voting results.
2. To provide for additional measures on increasing the passing capacity of the electoral precincts abroad; particularly, in the city of Moscow.
3. To provide maximal transparency and proper implementation of all the procedures of conduction of voting.
4. To provide maximal transparency during the recouping of the results of the voting.
5. To conduct recouping of the results of the voting within minimal timeframe possible.
6. To provide non-stop operation of the CEC website and its availability during the voting.
7. To provide non-stop publication of the incoming PEC protocols with eh results of the voting online.

For the judicial bodies:

1. To provide timely review of all electoral complaints within the timeframes established by the law.

For the candidates and political parties:

1. In light of the nearing of the day of the Election of the President of KR, to conduct election campaigns strictly within the legal framework and to protect own rights through legal means.
2. To assist in the conduction of open, honest, fair, and peaceful elections and to make every effort in order to prevent any kind of provocations.
3. To act within the letter of the law at all stages of the elections and after them.
4. To provide full-fledged participation of their representatives within the election commissions of all levels.
5. To conduct the observation of the process of delivering election ballots to the precinct election commissions and the crossing out of the names of withdrawn candidates in the election ballots.
6. To conduct monitoring over the course of mobile voting and on the Election day.

For the mass media:

1. To assist in the objective coverage of the election process, voting, and result-recouping, as well as their transparency and openness.

For the voters of KR:

1. To take an active part in the Election of the President of KR.
2. To make a conscious choice.
3. To observe the secrecy of their vote.