



REPORT
ON
THE ELECTIONS
IN
KAZAKHSTAN

7 MARCH 1994

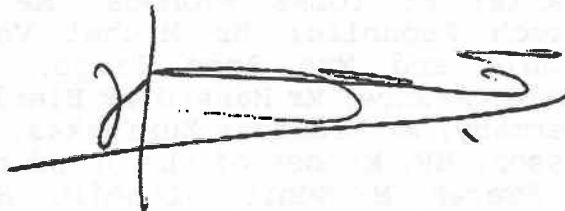
Foreword

The elections which took place in Kazakhstan on March 7, 1994, represented a major step forward in the transition to democracy in the most Eastern country of the Central Asian members of the CSCE. When the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly accepted the invitation of the Kazakh Government to send a team of observers to the elections, we were aware of the fact that this new nation had a long history and unique culture that did not include democratic traditions. We also knew that the election law recently adopted contained at least one major flaw that would make our effort to reach positive conclusions about the election process extremely difficult.

The provision which allowed nearly one-quarter of the new Parliament to be virtually appointed by the President, combined with the widespread violation of Article 46 of the Electoral Code and apparent abuse of authority by local electoral commissions, made a positive conclusion by our team of election observers impossible. Although the Kazakh Government made a substantial effort to accommodate the work of the international observers, we could not help giving an honest and straightforward assessment that the election process did not meet the standards which CSCE Participating States have pledged to uphold.

The members of the delegation worked extremely hard under sometimes difficult circumstances throughout the project. They used their unique experience and expertise as politicians to accurately assess the electoral proceedings, showing how valuable the role of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly can be in the development of democratic institutions in the emerging democracies within the CSCE.

I am grateful to the staff of the International Secretariat for their thorough preparation and organizational effort on behalf of the delegation. I was very pleased to have the opportunity to lead this delegation, which I think has made a significant contribution to the credibility of CSCE election observations.

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Jan van Houwelingen
Head of Delegation

Introduction

In the "Helsinki Declaration", adopted by the Second Annual Session of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Helsinki, July 1993, the Assembly "expresses its determination to have monitoring elections as an important task on the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly's agenda". The Declaration also recognizes monitoring elections as "part of a continuous process" in the building of democracy.

The first elections observed by CSCE parliamentarians were those of the Russian Federation held on 12 December, 1993. A delegation was then sent to observe the elections in Moldova, held on 27 February, 1994. The third election-monitoring project undertaken by the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly was the observation of elections in Kazakhstan on 7 March, 1994. A fourth delegation of nearly 30 parliamentarians observed the elections in Ukraine held on 27 March, 1994.

These activities represent important first steps taken by the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly to carry out and continue the vital task of monitoring elections. With more and more experience being gained in this area by parliamentarians and staff of the Assembly, newly-emerging democracies and countries on the road to democracy can rely on an informed, responsible and accurate assessment of their election process.

The Kazakhstan Elections, 7 March 1994.

Mr Ilkka Suominen, President of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, received an invitation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan signed by V. Gizzatov, Deputy Minister and dated 25 January, 1994. The Secretariat, based in Copenhagen, then extended this invitation to all CSCE member countries and formed a delegation from 10 countries of 9 parliamentarians and 4 staff.

The delegation visited Kazakhstan from 4-9 March, 1994 led by Mr Jan van Houwelingen, MP, Member of the Tweede Kamer (Second Chamber) and Chairman of the Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Dutch Parliament. The delegation included Mr Vedat Sakalla, MP, Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bulgaria; Mr Tomáš Svoboda, MP and Mr Milan Loukota, MP, Czech Republic; Mr Michel Voisin, Deputy, Assemblée Nationale and Mme Anne Frago, Administrator, Assemblée Nationale, France; Mr Hans-Dirk Bierling, Member of the Bundestag, Germany; Mr Ričardas Zurinskas, MP, Lithuania, Ms Kristina Svensson, MP, Member of the Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, Sweden; Mr Münif Islamoğlu, Head of Turkish CSCE Group and Mr Hüseyin Kerimoğlu, Interpreter, Turkey. Mr R. Spencer Oliver, Director and Gina Dark, Staff Assistant, from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly Secretariat also participated and provided staff and organizational support.

In order to be as well-informed as possible on the

geographical, economic, social and political background of Kazakhstan, the Secretariat gathered relevant material and documents, many of which were sent to members of the delegation in advance.

Saturday, 5 March

After an overnight flight to Almaty and just a few hours rest, the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation began its programme on Saturday 5 March with morning briefings by several NGOs. These NGOs, present in Almaty for several weeks, even months prior to the elections, had acquired a clear overall picture of the social and political situation in Kazakhstan. (For the detailed schedule of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly's delegation, see Annex 1).

NGO presentations

- 1 Mr Eric Rudenshiold of "The International Republican Institute". The IRI has hosted conferences, lectures, seminars, programmes and workshops in both Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan for party leaders, candidates, legislators, observers, parliamentarians, students, journalists and women's groups in order to facilitate the development of democracy. They also provide reports and translations of official documents. Further information on their work in Central Asia, some facts on Kazakhstan and a summary of the political parties in Kazakhstan were distributed to members of the delegation.
- 2 Ms Linda Edgeworth of "The International Foundation for Electoral Systems" (IFES). IFES also provided valuable guidelines for international observers directly linked to the election Law "On Elections in Kazakhstan", which were made available in written form to all observers. The guidelines included general standards for observers, an overview of the electoral system, the opening procedures of polling places, ballot information and information on the processing of voters, vote tabulation, Area Electoral Commission observations and the process for reporting observations. Their pack also included an "Election Calendar" and "Deadlines dictated by Prior Events", regulations for observers, observer checklists, data on polling places and general facts on Kazakhstan. IFES began their work in Kazakhstan in Summer 1993 and have had staff present in Almaty since January. They plan to continue their work in Kazakhstan and establish an office in Almaty in June.
- 3 Mr John Ritchotte of "The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs" (NDI). NDI aims to "promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions around the world". They provide training, literature, information, advice on electoral law, as well as organise and support conferences, programmes and

seminars. They have been working with various political groups and individuals for over 18 months in Kazakhstan and Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan) from their office in Almaty. The NDI Pre-Election Report (issued to CSCE Parliamentary Assembly members prior to their arrival in Almaty) provided a valuable introduction to events, legislation, issues, parties and personalities involved in the lead-up to the elections and was based on findings from an NDI-sponsored delegation which visited Kazakhstan from January 26 to February 8. The NDI also provided an "Election Monitoring Outline" which revealed the main ideas behind election monitoring and advised how to go about it.

- 4 Ms Elizabeth Winship from the CSCE ODIHR (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights) provided a package which included information on the CSCE ODIHR, an election day checklist for observers, and other CSCE documents.

With so much introductory and background information made available to them, and with an intensive programme of varied meetings ahead of them, there left little possibility for CSCE Parliamentary Assembly observers either to be mis\under-informed or to be ill-prepared.

Later in the morning, several members of the delegation attended a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Tuletai Suleiminov. As well as general information on Kazakhstan and on the lead-up to their first democratic multi-party elections, several other sensitive issues were raised. These included the problems related to nuclear testing on the territory of Kazakhstan and especially the high rate of leukaemia in the country. Relations with both China and Russia were discussed in some detail. Despite the recent independence of Kazakhstan, the need to retain close contacts with Russia was recognised by Mr Suleiminov.

In the afternoon, at a meeting hosted by the Central Electoral Commission, an address was made by the Chairman of the CEC of Kazakhstan, Mr K. T. Turysov who welcomed the international observers from approximately 40 countries and 6 public organisations. An opportunity to ask questions was provided. This meeting was then followed by a press conference.

In the evening, CSCE Parliamentary Assembly observers were invited by the representative of the CSCE Chairman-in-Office, the Italian Ambassador to Kazakhstan, Mr Maurizio Teucci for a reception at the Residence of the German Ambassador. This provided further opportunity to talk to diplomatic representatives of CSCE countries in Kazakhstan, local media, representatives of various NGOs and of the Kazakh government and parliament.

It should also be noted that on Saturday and Sunday, 5 and 6

March, 1994, several members of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation had the chance to meet with representatives of their Embassies who provided them with additional background information and organised supplementary meetings with officials, registered and non-registered or disqualified candidates, as well as other experts.

Sunday, 6 March

The programme continued on Sunday with meetings with leaders of political parties and movements whose candidates were to appear on the ballot. This was followed by a meeting with members of the Almaty City Electoral Commission.

In order to obtain a balanced view of events and the election process, the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation attended an afternoon meeting with non-registered or disqualified and opposition candidates, organised by the International Republican Institute. We were told that 218 candidates were disqualified and only a small number had appealed to the Courts. The reason for the non-registration or disqualification of candidates was largely due to problems with the lists of required signatures and arbitrary application of the electoral law by local commissions. The Central Electoral Commission claimed that this was mainly due to the lack of experience of candidates and their lack of knowledge of the electoral law. Another reason for non-registration was non-payment of the minimum 5 months' salary, a very high fee for Kazakhs under current economic circumstances. According to some of the non-registered or disqualified candidates, however, some of the disqualifications were grossly unfair. There were also reports of candidates from the administration abusing their own position to help their own electoral chances. Withholding of materials and funds for the electoral campaign often meant that candidates had difficulties in collecting the 3000 required signatures in such a short period of time.

Members of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation later had further informal opportunities to talk to some of these, and other, non-registered or disqualified candidates, as well as leaders of trade-union movements, representatives of local media who had experienced problems during the electoral campaign for their critical reports (there were reports of attempted closures, restricted broadcasting time etc.) and representatives of trade union leaders conducting hunger-strike in Karaganda in protest against abuses by the local electoral commissions.

By Election Day, Monday March 7, CSCE Parliamentary Assembly observers had received a balanced "official" and "non-official" view of the events and processes leading up to the elections.

Election Day, Monday, March 7

The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation observed over 50 polling places in Almaty, Kapchugai and villages to the North; Issyk, Talgar and villages to the East; Kaskelen and villages to the South; and also villages to the West of Almaty on the road to Bishkek. By splitting into 6 groups (see Annex 1) the observers covered as much territory as possible. Most groups started early in the morning in Almaty to be at a polling place for the opening, and then met for breakfast to exchange initial views, before deploying to outlying areas later in the day.

After breakfast, the delegation met with Mr Mikhail Fyodorovich Molokov, Chairman of the Supreme Court. There are 3 Courts - the Constitutional Court, the Higher Arbitration Court and the Supreme Court which work at city, oblast and national levels. Cases from disqualified or non-registered candidates are first viewed at city and oblast level and the Supreme Court cannot get involved until a decision has been made at these levels. Only if a further appeal is made can the Supreme Court act. In many instances the delegation had been told that local courts or electoral commissions simply refused to deal with complaints, in effect preventing appeal to the higher court.

By late morning, the delegation was divided once again into 6 groups and visited polling stations all day in the assigned areas. After watching the closure of polling places and the beginning of the counting process, most of the delegation met to exchange observations and opinions on the day's proceedings. Some members of the delegation continued to observe late on election night, including the end of the vote-count. The combined views of the delegation, discussed in great detail, were released in the form of a press release the following day, Tuesday 8 March.

Although some members of the delegation had to leave on the morning of 8 March, the rest of the delegation had an early afternoon meeting with other NGOs and observers at the Hotel Kazakhstan. This meeting and subsequent discussions revealed that the conclusions reached by the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly observers were shared to a large extent by most of the international observers. The leader of the delegation, Mr Jan van Houwelingen, read the press release at a press conference organized by the ODIHR. Other observer delegations expressed similar views at the press conference. No observers present disagreed with the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly's conclusions and observations.

Conclusions

While the delegation appreciated the attempt by the Government of Kazakhstan to move toward a democratic system through the conduct of elections, and commends Kazakhstan for having invited international observers, the general

assessment of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly was that the elections did not meet internationally accepted standards for free and fair elections.

On the positive side, the fact that elections were held, that opposition parties and candidates campaigned and expressed their views, and that international observers were invited indicates a desire on the part of the Government of Kazakhstan to move towards democracy and proves that it has taken steps in that direction. Unfortunately, their efforts fell short of the standards which CSCE parliamentarians generally regard as necessary for the establishment of a pluralistic democratic system. The goal of free and fair elections in Kazakhstan was not reached.

The CSCE Parliamentary delegation observed a number of deficiencies which led to the conclusion that they have reached. Included in these shortcomings and deficiencies were:

- 1 The elections were called upon short notice and did not give political parties and candidates sufficient time to organize and conduct effective campaigns.
- 2 The system for registration of parties was difficult and severely flawed. The Ministry of Justice disqualified parties and some electoral commissions disqualified candidates in an arbitrary and capricious manner and provided insufficient recourse for appeal or reversal of such decisions.
- 3 The State List appointed by the President, has the effect of appointment of over twenty per cent of the Parliament by the Government. This violates the basic CSCE standards which the Government had agreed to uphold by signing and accepting CSCE documents, including the Charter of Paris and the Helsinki Final Act.
- 4 The CSCE Parliamentary observers were particularly critical of the practice, which apparently was universally applied, of allowing one individual to cast votes for several voters by simply presenting their passports to the officials at the polling place. A general estimate was that between thirty-five and fifty per cent of the votes were cast in this manner according to the lists compiled at the polling places visited by the delegation. This goes against Article 46 of the Kazakhstan Electoral Law which reads:

"Article 46. Organization of Voting."

Each voter votes personally, voting for other individuals is not acceptable. Voting ballots should be given to voters on the basis of voters' lists by presenting the identity card of the voter.

Voters sign the list on receiving the ballot. Committee member who has given the ballot puts his signature in it and also signs in the list against the name of a voter who received a ballot.

In cases when individual voters cannot come to the voting district because of health or any other reasons, the district election committee at their request should organize voting at the place of stay of these voters.

In case a voter learned that he would not be able to come to the voting district on the elections day not later than 3 days before the elections, he is entitled to get his ballot beforehand at the district election committee. When receiving the ballot, the voter signs in the list. The voter after filling in the ballot, puts them into an envelope which is glued and sealed and signed by the commission members and passes it over to the commission. The sealed envelope should be kept at the district election committee until the day of the elections."

- 5 The maintenance of double lists, one kept at the polling place and another carried out of the polling place provided opportunity for double voting and could have made the results of polling places where this occurred invalid. In at least two instances, election judges indicated that members of the commission took portable voting boxes to homes trying to urge and encourage people to vote. All of this was done out of the view of observers, pollwatchers, candidates and security guards.
- 6 The pre-election campaign failed to meet basic standards of fairness, not only due to the arbitrary disqualification of parties and candidates, but also due to the severe limitations on resources available to opposition parties and candidates and to the unfair advantages provided to the government-sponsored candidates by local authorities.
- 7 It appeared that many voters did not understand the procedures, were confused by the balloting system, and were unfamiliar with the parties and the candidates. The lack of preparation and information available to the electorate made an informed democratic choice difficult, if not impossible.
- 8 In Kapchugai, observers were told that there were thirteen "open" polling places and three "closed" polling places. The "closed" polling places were located on a military base where 5,000 voters, nearly twenty per cent of the voters in Kapchugai, were located. The

observers were denied permission to visit these polling places and were told that no pollwatchers were permitted there. Understanding the potential for abuse by military authorities directly responsible to the Government, CSCE Parliamentary observers believe that this is a serious flaw in the electoral system of Kazakhstan.

- 9 The system for distribution and control of ballots was particularly weak. In many instances, many more ballots than were needed were distributed to polling places and there was no system to ensure that unused ballots were counted and destroyed in order to avoid the "stuffing" of ballot boxes. In many cases, the urns were not guarded constantly and the portable ballot boxes were carried out of the polling places and, upon their return, were placed in rooms out of view of observers and pollwatchers.
- 10 The independent press was apparently denied the opportunity to publish and broadcast through denial of paper for printing and broadcast time on both radio and television. There were some instances of harassment and intimidation by the authorities of independent media which was critical of the activities of local election commissions, particularly in Almaty and Karaganda.

For these and other reasons, the CSCE Parliamentary delegation concluded that the elections in Kazakhstan failed to meet internationally accepted standards for pluralistic democratic elections.

In the evening, members attended a buffet reception hosted by the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Mr Turysov, where they were able to informally congratulate Kazakhstan officials for the holding of the elections and also to clarify the reasons for their assessment in conversations with members of the Central Electoral Commission and other interested parties. On the periphery of the reception, Mr Jan van Houwelingen, Chairman of the CSCE Parliamentary observer delegation, spent over an hour explaining the delegation's conclusions to Mr Turysov. Mr V.K. Gizzatov, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan also participated in these discussions. Mr Turysov expressed his gratitude to the international observers for their work and for their assistance in pointing out the problems and flaws in the first attempt by Kazakhstan to hold free and fair democratic multi-party elections.

**Continuation of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly
delegation's programme in Central Asia.**

**Visits to
Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan,
Dzhambul and Chimkent, Kazakhstan,
and Tashkent, Uzbekistan.**

Wednesday, March 9

The following morning, Wednesday March 9, a smaller delegation left Almaty to continue a programme of visits to other regions of Kazakhstan and to 2 other recently-independent CSCE member countries in Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. This delegation, headed by Mr Jan van Houwelingen, Netherlands, also included Mr Michel Voisin, Deputy and Madame Anne Frago from the staff, Assemblée Nationale, France and Mr R. Spencer Oliver and Gina Dark from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly Secretariat.

Accompanied to Bishkek by their Kazakh hosts who joined the delegation for lunch hosted by the Kyrgyz Parliament, the delegation then visited the "Government House" where members had several meetings with high-level government and parliamentary officials. These included, amongst others, Mr Esengul Kasymovich Omuraliev, Vice Prime-Minister; Mr Markil Ibraev, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Mr Alikbek Djekshenkulov, Chairman of the Standing Committee for international and interparliament relationships, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet, Mr Anvar Artykov, People's Deputy, Chairman of the Standing Commission for planning, budget, finances, prices and restructuring of the economic management; Mr Zhyldyz Bakasheva, Chief Consultant of the Standing Committee for international and interparliament relationships.

Numerous issues were discussed such as the current economic climate; the need for foreign aid and investment; the development of industry and agriculture as well as hydro-electric power; political, social and economic relations with Russia, neighbouring China, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan; ethnic minorities and language education; ecological problems and military questions. In addition, the progress of Kyrgyzstan on the road to democracy was discussed with the Chairman and members of the Central Electoral Commission, as well as electoral legislation processes. The Kyrgyz officials also expressed great interest in the observations and conclusions reached by the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly's delegation with regard to the conduct of the elections in Kazakhstan. Methods of increasing Kyrgyzstan's involvement in the CSCE process were also considered. Representatives of the local press and television were present during some of the meetings.

In the evening, the delegation had dinner with their Kyrgyz hosts where they resumed their talks. Afterwards, the

delegation had an informal discussion with the American Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan, Mr Ed Hurwitz, who had been invited to join the group for dinner.

Thursday, March 10

The delegation left Bishkek early in the morning of Thursday 10 March 1994 and travelled as far as Merke where the members were met by Kazakh officials from the Dzhambul region. The Governor of the Dzhambul regional administration, Mr Umirbek Baigeldiev and the Vice-Governor, Mr Almukhan Isakov, then hosted a working lunch for the delegation. Over lunch, the Kazakhstan elections were discussed along with the conclusions of the delegation. The Governor also provided information on the Dzhambul region, its industries, development and economic situation.

The delegation, accompanied by the Vice-Governor, then departed to Chimkent. They were met half-way by their new host, Mr Kouanyshbek Boultaev, a newly elected local Deputy.

On the delegation's arrival in Chimkent in the evening, meetings with newly-elected candidates, members of the City Electoral Commission and representatives of the local administration took place. Once again, great interest was shown on the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly's conclusions on the electoral process in Kazakhstan. Various viewpoints were exchanged, and questions asked and answered by both sides. Mr Boultaev then hosted supper for the delegation at the "Voskhod" (Восход) hotel where very open and honest discussion on many social and political issues took place. Democracy and democratic processes were considered in detail. The fear of allowing **too much** freedom of choice which could result in the "wrong" people being chosen, was expressed. Mr Jan van Houwelingen explained that the possibility of making mistakes was one of the risks of democracy but that only through being given the opportunity and freedom to choose, would people become more responsible in their decision-making and take more interest in the government of their region. Another fear expressed was that in the short term, economic development was considered more important than democratic development and that therefore, it was necessary to keep a certain amount of control in this respect so that parliaments could keep peace and avoid civil wars and internal strife.

Friday, March 11

The next morning, Friday March 11, the delegation attended a meeting with local authorities, including members of the electoral commission. The delegation then departed for Tashkent.

The delegation was then met at the Uzbek border by Dr Saidakmal Saidaminov, Head of International Organisations Dept, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr Faizulla Abdurakhmanov, Secretary of the Uzbekistan delegation to the

CSCE Parliamentary Assembly and Head of the Department of Interparliamentary Connections. On arrival, the delegation had a light lunch before continuing the programme. Monsieur Voisin and Madame Frago then had a meeting with the French Embassy whilst the remainder of the delegation were taken on a brief tour of Tashkent. The tour included a visit to the memorial to the earthquake victims of 1966, and being shown the "new" and "old" parts of the town. Their hosts explained that due to lack of funds and materials, some administrative buildings under construction had not been completed but they took pains to point out a new concert hall\theatre to show that despite economic difficulties, cultural development continued.

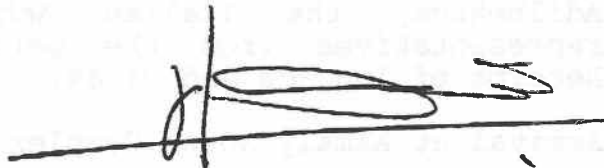
Three hours of intensive meetings then followed at the Government House. The main points of the recently-introduced Uzbek Constitution were explained to the delegation, as were the main cultural characteristics of the Uzbek people. As with the Kyrgyz and the Kazakh officials, Uzbek officials were very interested in the conclusions of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly on the elections held in Kazakhstan. On the whole, they reacted positively to the fact that CSCE parliamentary observers had put forward an honest evaluation of these elections. They indicated that they thought that the expression of these views would be helpful in the conduct of future elections in Central Asia and would be taken into account by organizers of these elections. The Uzbek Parliament plans to hold elections either late 1994 or in January or February, 1995. It seems probable that they will also invite international observers. They explained that steps are already being taken to draw up the appropriate legislation and to follow democratic electoral procedures in preparation for these elections. Issues of language, religion and ethnic groups; relations with neighbouring Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan, the West and Russia were also raised, as well as the process by which Uzbekistan could be more fully involved in the CSCE process.

In the evening, a reception was hosted by the Committee on International Affairs of the Supreme Council and Executive Committee of the National Parliamentary Group of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Members of the Uzbek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other governmental and parliamentary officials, the Italian Ambassador and representatives from the French Embassy were also present. The delegation departed from Uzbekistan on Saturday, March 12, 1994.

The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation felt that both the election monitoring project in Kazakhstan and the subsequent visits to Bishkek in Kyrgyzstan, Dzhambul and Chimkent in Kazakhstan and Tashkent in Uzbekistan, were extremely useful and informative. Not only were they useful for the governments and parliaments of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, but also for the other newly-independent Central Asian Republics of Tajikistan and Turkmenistan and, indeed, the other former Soviet Republics. It was a valuable opportunity for the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly to learn about its member states in this part of the world, and to more actively welcome and encourage them to become more involved in the CSCE process. This encouragement had an even greater impact as the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly's visits followed close on the heels of the visit of Dr Wilhelm Höynck, Secretary General to the CSCE, to Central Asia just a few weeks before.

As these newly-independent states struggle to consolidate economic and political reforms and to resolve social divisions and problems, it is the task of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly to help them overcome their practical difficulties and to assist them in their democratic development. For this to happen, long-term assistance, expertise, advice, guidance and encouragement will be needed.

The delegation of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly is extremely grateful to the Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan governments and parliaments for their courtesy, hospitality and organisation of high-level meetings; to NDI, IRI, and IFES for valuable information and briefings; and to the Italian, American, French, German, Lithuanian and Turkish Embassies for their logistical assistance and hospitality during the election monitoring project in Kazakhstan, and the short visits to Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. We would also like to thank all drivers, interpreters and assistants who facilitated and added to the success of the delegation's visit.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a stylized 'J' followed by a series of loops and a final flourish.

Jan van Houwelingen
Head of Delegation

Annex 1

**The Schedule of Activities for the CSCE parliamentary
observers**

4 - 8 March 1994

Friday, 4 March 1994

Evening Delayed arrival at Almaty Airport. TK630 and TK161 of Mr Michel Voisin, Mrs Anne Frago, France, Mr Vedat Sakalla, Bulgaria, Mr Münif Islamoğlu and Mr Hussein Kerimoğlu, Turkey.

Guests were met by Mrs Koumouszhan Omerbeyeva, Head of the Department for Interparliamentary Relations of the Supreme Soviet and Ms Bayan Adilbekova, MFA, Third Secretary. Turkish and French Embassy representatives also met their parliamentarians.

Departure to Almaly Hotel Complex or other hotel accommodation of the guests. Rest.

Saturday, 5 March 1994

03:45 Arrival of Mr Jan van Houwelingen, Head of Delegation, Mr Tomáš Svoboda, Mr Milan Loukota, Czech Republic, Mr Hans-Dirk Bierling, Germany, Ms Kristina Svensson, Sweden, Mr R. Spencer Oliver, Director and Ms Gina Dark, Staff Assistant of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly Secretariat.

Guests were met by Mrs Omerbeyeva and Ms Adilbekova, the Italian Ambassador and representatives from the German Embassy. Receipt of luggage and visas.

06:00 Arrival at Almaly Hotel Complex. Rest.

09:00 - 09:30 Breakfast, accreditation.

09:40 Departure to the House of Parliament.

10:00 Informational briefings. Presentations were made by Ms Linda Edgeworth of IFES (International Fund for Electoral Systems), Mr John Ritchotte of NDI (National Democratic Institute), and Mr Eric Rudenshiold of IRI (International Republican Institute).

Saturday, 5 March 1994 continued...

10:45 Departure to the Foreign Ministry for part of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation.

11:00-12:00 Meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Tuletai Suleimenov.

12:30-13:30 Lunch at Almaly Hotel Complex.

13:30 Departure to the Parliament.

14:00-15:00 Address given by the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of Kazakhstan, Mr K.T. Turysov.

15:00-16:30 Press Conference for foreign observers with local and foreign media.

16:30 Departure to the Almaly Hotel Complex. Rest.

18:30 Reception hosted by the Italian Ambassador Mr Maurizio Teucci, attended by representatives of CSCE Embassies resident in Almaty, various NGOs, Kazakh government and local media representatives.

Sunday, 6 March, 1994

08:30-9:00 Breakfast

09:10 Departure to Parliament.

09:30-10:30 Meetings with the leaders of political parties and movements whose candidates will appear on the ballot for seats in the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan.

10:45 Departure to the City Council, 74A Ablaykhan Street.

11:00-12:00 Meeting with the members of Almaty City Electoral Commission.

12:10 Departure to Almaly Hotel Complex.

12:30-13:30 Lunch. Some members had lunch with their Embassies.

14:00 Meeting with non-registered and opposition candidates organised by the International Republican Institute.

16:00 Free time. Visit to museum and local market.

Sunday, 6 March continued...

18:30 Dinner with respective Embassies. Several members also met privately with various representatives and of local parties, candidates, disqualified and opposition candidates.

Monday, 7 March - Election Day

06:30 Arrival of Mr Ricardas Zurinskas, Lithuania. Met at the airport by the Lithuanian Ambassador and representatives of the Kazakh Parliament.

Prior to the opening of the polls, the delegation was divided into six different groups, according to language abilities and available interpreters. Three of the groups stayed in Almaty, one travelled to Kapchugai in the North, one to Issyk and the East, and one to various towns and villages to the West of Almaty on the road to Bishkek.

Group 1 Almaty
Mr Ricardas Zurinskas, Lithuania
Mr Ahmet Sakalla, Bulgaria

Group 2 Almaty
Mr Münif Islamoğlu, Turkey
Mr Hüseyin Kerimoğlu, Turkey

Group 3 Almaty, Kapchugai and North
Ms Kristina Svensson, Sweden
Mr R. Spencer Oliver, CSCE PA Secretariat
Ms Gina Dark, CSCE PA Secretariat

Group 4 Almaty, Talgar
Mr Michel Voisin, France
Mme Anne Frago, France

Group 5 Issyk, Talgar and other villages to East
Mr Jan van Houwelingen, Netherlands
Mr Hans-Dirk Bierling, Germany

Group 6 Almaty, Kaskelen, "Medeo" and other villages to South
Mr Tomáš Svoboda, Czech Republic
Mr Milan Loukota, Czech Republic

06:30 Groups 3,4,5 and 6 observed the opening of polling stations in Almaty.

09:30-10:00 Return to Almaty Hotel Complex for breakfast.

10:00-10:30 Exchange of initial observations

10:40 Departure to the Justice House, Almaty

Monday, 7 March - Election Day - continued...

11:00-12:00 Meeting with the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Mr Malakhov

All groups then split up and observed polling stations in their assigned areas all day.

21:30 Supper for some members of the delegation. Other members continued to observe the vote-count.

22:00 Some members continued to observe the vote-count.
Exchange of observations made in preparation for the press release.

Tuesday, 8 March

Morning Departure for members from Czech Republic, Sweden, Bulgaria and Germany.

Remainder of delegation

09:00-09:30 Breakfast

10:00-12:30 Visit to Sports Complex "Medeo" (skating rink) by members.
Preparation of final press release by staff.

13:00-14:00 Exchange of observations with other observers at the Kazakhstan Hotel.

15:00-16:30 Press Conference for CSCE Parliamentary Assembly with local and international press.

16:30-17:30 Free time. Return to Almaly Hotel Complex

17:30 Departure for reception

18:00-20:00 Buffet reception hosted by the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Mr Turysov.

**Continuation of visits
Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan**

Wednesday, 9 March

The following members then continued their programme with visits to Kyrgyzstan, other regions of Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan:

Mr Jan van Houwelingen, Netherlands - Head of Delegation; Monsieur Michel Voisin, Deputy, France; Madame Anne Frago, Administrator, Assemblée Nationale, France; Mr R. Spencer Oliver, Director, CSCE Parliamentary Assembly Secretariat; Ms Gina Dark, Staff Assistant, CSCE Parliamentary Assembly Secretariat.

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| 08:00-08:30 | Breakfast |
| 08:45 | Departure by bus on the Silk Road to Bishkek. |
| 13:00 | Arrival in Bishkek. Accommodation. Lunch. |
| 14:00-17:00 | Meetings with representatives of the Kyrgyz government and Parliament including, amongst others: Mr Esengul Kasymovich Omuraliev, Vice Prime-Minister; Mr Markil Ibraev, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission; Mr Alikbek Djekshenkulov, Chairman of the Standing Committee for international and interparliament relationships, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet; Mr Anvar Artykov, People's Deputy, Chairman of the Standing Commission for planning, budget, finances, prices and restructuring of the economic management; Mr Zhyldyz Bakasheva, Chief Consultant of the Standing Committee for International and interparliament relationships, Candidate of philological science. |
| 18:00 | Dinner for CSCE PA delegation hosted by Kyrgyz officials. |
| 20:00 | Informal talk with the American Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan, Mr Ed Hurwitz. |

Thursday, 10 March

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| 08:00-08:30 | Breakfast |
| 08:45 | Departure by minibus and car to Dzhambul, accompanied as far as Merke by parliamentary representatives of Kyrgyzstan. |

Thursday, 10 March continued...

- 14:00 Met by the Regional Administration of Dzhambul.
Lunch with Governor Mr Umirbek Baigeldiev and Vice-Governor, Mr Almukhan Isakov of the Dzhambul region.
- 17:30 Departure by minibus and car to Chimkent escorted by the Vice-Governor, Mr Almukhan Isakov.
- 20:00 Arrival in Chimkent. Hotel accommodation in "Voskhod" hotel.
- 20:30 Meetings at City Council with newly-elected candidates, and members of the regional administration.
- 22:00 Supper hosted by Mr Kouanyshbek K. Boultaev, newly elected candidate for the Chimkent region.

Friday, 11 March

- 08:00 Breakfast
- 08:30-10:30 Visit to local market and brief sight-seeing tour of Chimkent.
- 11:00 Meeting at the Local Administration with members of the City Electoral Commission, candidates and members of the regional administration. Presentation of gifts from hosts.
- 11:45 Departure from Chimkent
- 12:30 Visit to wine distillery. Dégustation de vins.
- 14:00 Arrival at Uzbek border. Met by Dr Saidakmal Saidaminov, Head of International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. and Mr Faizulla Abdurakhmanov, Secretary of the CSCE PA Uzbek Delegation, Head, Department of Interparliamentary Connections. Escorted to Tashkent.
- 14:30 Hotel accommodation. Lunch.
- 15:00-16:25 Tour given by Dr Saidaminov and Mr. Abdurakhmanov of Tashkent including the open-air theatre, and memorial to the earthquake victims.

Friday, 11 March continued...

16:30 Meeting

18:00 Meeting

20:30 Dinner hosted by the Committee on International Affairs of the Supreme Council and Executive Committee of the National Parliamentary Group of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Hotel "Turkiston".

Saturday, 12 March

06:00 Departure for Tashkent airport

08:05-delayed Flight LH3321 to Frankfurt.

End of programme.