

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

## REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

# PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 4 DECEMBER 2005

# OSCE/ODIHR NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION REPORT 13 – 17 September 2005



Warsaw 28 September 2005

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#### REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 4 December 2005

#### OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report<sup>1</sup> 13 – 17 September 2005

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Following an invitation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan to observe the 4 December 2005 presidential election, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) undertook a Needs Assessment Mission (NAM) to Kazakhstan between 13 and 17 September 2005. The NAM included Nikolai Vulchanov, Deputy Head of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Department, Jonathan Stonestreet, OSCE/ODIHR Election Advisor, and Stefan Krause, Election Expert.

The NAM assessed the pre-electoral environment and the level of preparations for the conduct of the 4 December 2005 elections for the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in line with OSCE commitments contained in the 1990 Copenhagen Document. The Mission assessed the pre-election environment, the activities of the election administration, and the extent to which recommendations from previous OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Missions (EOMs) have been implemented. These factors were taken into consideration by the NAM, with a view to providing advice on modalities for the establishment of a possible EOM for these elections.

The NAM held meetings in Astana and Almaty (see Annex 1) with representatives of the authorities, election administration, political parties and prospective candidates, civil society and international community.

The OSCE/ODIHR is grateful to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan for its assistance, and to the OSCE Centre in Almaty for the support and excellent cooperation provided during the NAM.

#### II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The timing of the presidential election was discussed by political actors in Kazakhstan, namely as to whether, under the Constitution, presidential elections should be held in December 2005 or December 2006. The issue was ultimately referred to the Constitutional Council, which ruled that the elections should take place in December 2005. Following that decision, the Majilis, the lower House of Parliament, on 7 September called presidential elections for 4 December 2005.

This report is available in Kazakh and Russian, but the English version remains the only official one.

The OSCE/ODIHR observed the 2004 parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan and concluded that while the elections reflected improvement over past parliamentary elections, serious shortcomings remained, and that the election process fell short of OSCE commitments and other international standards for democratic elections in many respects. Until recently, none of the recommendations made by the OSCE/ODIHR after the parliamentary elections appeared to have been addressed.

However, on 9 September 2005, the President issued a decree instructing the Central Election Commission (CEC), the Government, the executive authorities throughout the country, and other official bodies to undertake actions which, if implemented, could provide the basis for significant improvement in the conduct of the presidential election over past practice.

The OSCE/ODIHR and the authorities of Kazakhstan have had a constructive dialogue over the past several years regarding the legal framework for elections, resulting in progress towards meeting OSCE commitments, although some improvements to the Constitutional Law on Elections (election law) are still necessary. However, the recommendations made in the OSCE/ODIHR Final Report on the 2004 parliamentary elections regarding the legal framework, as well as recommendations contained in the OSCE/ODIHR Assessment of the Constitutional Law on Elections, have not been implemented. In addition, the election law, as well as national security legislation, were amended in April 2005. The amendments restrict fundamental freedoms, such as the freedom of assembly, in a manner which contradicts OSCE Commitments. The election law amendments were also problematic regarding the reduced inclusiveness of political party representation on election commissions and regarding provisions for mobile and absentee voting.

On 16 September, the CEC issued a decision that appears to address a number of recommendations for the election administration made in the OSCE/ODIHR Final Report on the 2004 parliamentary elections. The CEC also stated that their activities would be fully open to observers, as would those of lower level commissions. The OSCE/ODIHR welcomes the intentions of the CEC to improve the administration of the electoral process and will follow the implementation of the decision.

The CEC has decided that electronic voting (e-voting) will be implemented in up to twenty per cent of polling stations, as compared to ten per cent in 2004. In polling stations where electronic voting will be implemented, voters will be given a choice to vote by traditional paper ballot. Changes have been made to the hardware and functioning of the e-voting system; however, the system still lacks manual audit capabilities and does not provide for a paper trail. Representatives of the government and the pro-presidential parties expressed their confidence in the e-voting system, while opposition representatives told the NAM that they lack confidence in this system.

In February 2005, an opposition party, the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan (DCK), was dissolved by a court ruling. In two separate events in April and May 2005, a leading opposition politician, and now prospective candidate, had meetings violently broken up by a group of unidentified persons, and there were some physical injuries in each case. Subsequently, one individual received a conditional one year prison sentence for hooliganism.

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See <a href="www.osce.org/odihr-elections/14472.html">www.osce.org/odihr-elections/14472.html</a> for the OSCE/ODIHR Final Report on the 2004 parliamentary elections and <a href="www.osce.org/odihr-elections/13442.html">www.osce.org/odihr-elections/13442.html</a> for the OSCE/ODIHR Assessment of the Constitutional Law on Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Several interlocutors raised concerns about pressure on media presenting views in opposition to those of the current authorities, particularly on independent and opposition newspapers. Many expressed doubts that all participants in the upcoming elections would have an equal opportunity to convey their message to the electorate, or would receive equal or equitable treatment in television news coverage.

At the time of the NAM's visit, five prospective candidates had clearly stated their intention to contest the presidential election and more were expected to seek registration. The representative of the president's campaign stated his confidence in the fairness of the election process, but other nominees indicated to the NAM that they did not expect a level playing field in the upcoming elections, especially in terms of media coverage and interference from the authorities.

An opposition leader, who is now a prospective candidate, received a letter of "clarification" from the Almaty City Prosecutor before the election was called, advising him to discontinue his meetings with citizens across the country, since the election law allows for campaigning only after the end of the registration period on 24 October. The letter appears to misinterpret the law, since the elections had not been called at the time the letter was written, and would therefore indicate direct interference from the authorities in this individual's freedom of movement, association and expression.

The NAM recommends that an OSCE/ODIHR EOM be established to observe the 4 December presidential election in Kazakhstan. The EOM will monitor the compliance of the election process in line with OSCE Commitments for democratic elections and domestic law. Interlocutors expressed support for an EOM. The OSCE/ODIHR requests OSCE participating States to second to the EOM 36 long-term observers to follow the election process across the country from mid-October, and 400 short term observers to monitor election day procedures, including voting, counting of votes and tabulation of results at all levels of the election administration. In the event of a second round, a decision on the modalities of observation would be taken after the date of the second round is established.

#### III. FINDINGS

#### A. POLITICAL CONTEXT

According to the Constitution, adopted by referendum on 30 August 1995, Kazakhstan is a presidential republic. The president is elected by popular vote for a seven-year term in office, for a maximum of two consecutive terms. The Parliament has two chambers. The lower chamber, the Majilis, consists of 77 representatives elected by popular vote for a five year term. The higher chamber, the Senate, is comprised of 39 representatives; of these 32 are elected indirectly, while the remaining seven are appointed by the President.

Incumbent President Nursultan Nazarbayev is in his first term in office following the adoption of a new Constitution in 1995. Prior to the adoption of the new Constitution, Mr. Nazarbayev had been elected President by the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan in 1991, and his position was confirmed by an uncontested election later the same year. In April 1995, the President's term was extended to the year 2000 by a national referendum. In January 1999, President Nazarbayev won a seven-year term as head of state.

During the past year, discussions have taken place as to whether presidential elections should be held in December 2005 or December 2006. Under the Constitution, a presidential election must be held "on the first Sunday of December of the corresponding year". Since the last polls took place in January 1999, some argued that a new presidential election should take place in December 2006. However, this would have been 11 months after the expiry of the incumbent's term in office. After referral of the issue by the Majilis, the Constitutional Council ruled that presidential elections should be held on the first Sunday of December of 2005, and on 7 September the Majilis called the elections for 4 December 2005.

There are 11 registered parties in Kazakhstan, one less than in 2004. The decrease in the number of parties is due to the dissolution by court decision of the party Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan in February 2005. The NAM was informed that at least two political parties are in the process of registration with the Ministry of Justice. The main pro-presidential parties are Otan and Asar, with the former being led by President Nazarbayev and the latter led by Ms. Dariga Nazarbayeva. Two of the registered political parties describe themselves as opposition, the Ak Zhol party and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. In addition, the "Real Ak Zhol," which split from Ak Zhol in 2005 and is currently awaiting registration, also defines itself as an opposition party. Opposition groups, with the exception of Ak Zhol, have formed the movement "For a Just Kazakhstan." According to the Ministry of Justice, the movement has been registered, but it still needs to open branches in eight regions to get the status of a republican public association.

There was considerable disparity in views among political parties and prospective candidates regarding confidence in the election process. Opposition parties voiced their concerns to the NAM that election violations and fraud would take place at all stages of the electoral process. However, they also stated that they will either field or support a candidate in the upcoming elections. Political parties describing themselves as pro-presidential stated their confidence in the election process.<sup>3</sup>

In an address to the people of Kazakhstan on 18 February 2005, President Nazarbayev proposed a "National Program of Political Reforms." In this address, he stressed "the importance of further improvement to our election laws" and tasked the CEC with analyzing the shortcomings of the current legislation and making proposals "which must fully conform to international standards and the level of development of our society." In his address to parliament on 1 September, President Nazarbayev stated that he would do his "best to make the upcoming election absolutely free, fair [and] transparent".

On 9 September, the President issued a decree tasking the CEC, various government ministries, and national and local authorities with specific tasks in the upcoming elections. If implemented, the decree could provide the basis for significant improvement in the conduct of the presidential election over past practice.

For several months throughout late spring and summer, President Nazarbayev paid a series of highly-publicized working visits to various parts of the country, concluding them with a visit to Almaty in early September. However, another prospective candidate, Mr. Zharmakhan Tuyakbay, had meetings with supporters violently disrupted in the cities of Ust-Kamenogorsk and Shymkent in April and May 2005, by unidentified individuals, and there were some

The parties which stated to the NAM their support for President Nazarbayev include Otan, Asar, the Democratic Party and the Civic Party.

physical injuries in each case. One individual implicated in these events subsequently received a conditional one year prison sentence for hooliganism.

#### B. OBSERVATION OF PREVIOUS ELECTIONS AND FOLLOW UP

Following invitations from the authorities, the OSCE/ODIHR conducted a limited assessment of the January 1999 presidential elections and observed the parliamentary elections held in October 1999 and September/October 2004.

The OSCE/ODIHR EOM for the 2004 parliamentary elections concluded that "while these elections reflected improvement over past parliamentary elections, serious shortcomings remain, and the election process fell short of OSCE commitments and other international standards for democratic elections in many respects."

The OSCE/ODIHR Final Report for the 2004 parliamentary elections suggested a set of 24 recommendations aimed at improving the legal framework, the administration of the elections, and other issues. None of the recommendations regarding the legal framework have been implemented to date. However, on 16 September, the CEC adopted a decision which addresses some of the recommendations regarding election administration and the voting process (see Election Administration section below).

#### C. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The Constitution provides that the candidate for President, who receives more than 50 percent of the votes of the voters that took part in the election, is elected. If none of the candidates receives 50 percent of the votes, then a second round of elections is held between the two candidates who obtained the largest number of votes. The candidate who receives the larger number of votes of those voters who take part in the second round of elections is elected.

The election law was amended extensively in 2004. The 2004 amendments included many provisions which resulted from a dialogue which started with the 2000 Round Table Process held under the auspices of the OSCE in co-operation with the authorities of Kazakhstan. Some of the 2004 amendments represented considerable progress and took into account a number of recommendations contained in previous OSCE/ODIHR reports and assessments. However, the OSCE/ODIHR also noted that "the Election Law requires further improvement to fully meet OSCE commitments for democratic elections, especially with regard to remaining limitations on civil and political rights."

The election law was last amended in April 2005. Several of the 2005 amendments to the election law did not meet OSCE commitments for democratic elections, and overall, rather than the amendments bringing the legislation more closely in line with OSCE commitments, the 2005 amendments largely had the opposite effect. Most notably, Article 44.6 introduced a provision that "[any] forms of expressing public, group and personal interests and protests that can have an impact on voters and election commissions are not allowed from the moment when the term for conducting the election campaign is over and until the official publication of the results of elections." This amendment violates both the right of freedom of association and the right to peaceful assembly. Both rights are fundamental and universally recognized

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OSCE/ODIHR Assessment of the Constitutional Law on Elections of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Available at www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2004/08/3409 en.pdf

Other amendments were technical in nature.

and are contained in both the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document and the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights.<sup>6</sup>

Another amendment provides that election commission members who were proposed by parties which are deregistered by court decision lose their seats on election commissions. Given the deregistration of the opposition party DCK, this amendment has had the practical effect of further reducing inclusiveness on election commissions. Moreover, the requirements for candidate registration have been increased and now require that, in addition to other documents, a candidate submit a certificate from the tax authorities that the candidate and his/her spouse have submitted declarations on income and property. The 2005 amendments also increased the possibilities for mobile voting and provided for absentee voting on the basis of a certificate issued by a Precinct Election Commission. In both cases, the law did not introduce sufficient safeguards to prevent abuse. The CEC informed the NAM that it had adopted an instruction detailing the issuance of certificates which would prevent electoral abuse.

#### D. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

In presidential elections, election commissions operate at three levels. The Central Election Commission (CEC) is at the top of the election administration, and the Territorial Election Commissions (TEC's), including 16 oblast election commissions, comprise the second level of the election administration. Some 9,600 Polling Station Election Commissions comprise the lowest level of the election administration. All election commissions consist of seven members.

According to the constitution, the Majilis appoints and removes all members of the CEC upon the proposal of the President. A new Chairperson of the CEC has been appointed since the 2004 parliamentary elections. The procedures for nominations, appointments and removals of members of all other election commissions are provided for in the election law. However, despite inclusion of a mechanism that provides basic elements of a framework for political consultations to establish an inclusive and pluralistic election administration, the law only partially addresses previous OSCE/ODIHR concerns regarding formation of election commissions. Political parties identifying themselves as opposition noted that they currently have little or no representation at all levels of the election administration.

The CEC Chairperson told the NAM that he is looking forward to regular contacts with the OSCE/ODIHR EOM. The CEC also plans to meet regularly as a body during the campaign period, in contrast to the practice in the 2004 elections. As noted above, on 16 September, the CEC issued a decision that addresses a number of recommendations for the election administration made in the OSCE/ODIHR Final Report on the 2004 parliamentary elections. The NAM welcomes the intentions of the CEC to improve the administration of the electoral process and will follow the implementation of the decision.

Electronic voting, which was first introduced in the 2004 parliamentary election in some 10 percent of polling stations, will again be used in the upcoming presidential elections. On 16 September, the CEC decided that e-voting would be implemented in no more than 20 per cent

The Republic of Kazakhstan has signed the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights but has not yet ratified it.

The Territorial level of election commissions is further subdivided into numerous rayon, city, and city-rayon election commissions, depending on the oblast.

percent of polling stations. Unlike in the 2004 elections, when the decision to give voters the choice whether to use e-voting or paper ballots was taken at a very late stage, the CEC has stated that in these elections, it intends to make preparations ahead of time in order to allow voters the choice between the two voting methods.

While the CEC has introduced some changes to the system of e-voting, it did not address some of the concerns previously raised by the OSCE/ODIHR and some domestic stakeholders. Specifically, the system has no paper trail or manual audit capacity, which would be needed for potential recounts or accessible evidence for potential appeals against results. The system still allows voters to generate a random number (PIN code) which will appear in a protocol next to the name of the candidate for whom the votes have been counted. While the PIN code is intended to allow voters a method by which to verify that their vote was recorded as cast, it is unclear that the PIN code adequately serves this function. Moreover, the OSCE/ODIHR has previously expressed concern that the PIN code opens the potential for violation of the secrecy of the vote as well as intimidation.

Several candidates and opposition parties told the NAM that they lack confidence in the evoting system, while representatives of pro-presidential parties generally professed trust in the system. The OSCE/ODIHR will again include e-voting expertise in the EOM in order to provide its preliminary assessment on the issue.

Several interlocutors raised concerns about the quality of the voter lists. It is unclear to what extent lists have been improved since the 2004 elections. In its report on the 2004 parliamentary elections, the OSCE/ODIHR had noted problems with the accuracy of the lists, as well as significant discrepancies between paper and electronic lists used in polling stations where electronic voting was implemented. The CEC noted that responsibility for compilation of the voter lists lies with the executive authorities. The CEC told the NAM that in the upcoming election, there would be a single, paper voter list in polling stations in which both electronic voting and paper ballot voting will be conducted. This would implement a previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendation.

The 16 September decision of the CEC instructed TEC's to forward preliminary results of voting by polling station to the CEC for posting on the CEC website. Together with ensuring that all observers and candidate proxies receive copies of results protocols at polling station level, implementation of this instruction would constitute progress towards increasing confidence in the tabulation of the results.

#### E. NOMINATION AND REGISTRATION OF CANDIDATES

Candidates for President must be citizens of Kazakhstan who are at least 40 years of age, must have resided on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan for not less than 15 years, and must have "perfect command of the state language."

Nominations can be submitted to the CEC by registered republican public associations as well as by individual citizens through self-nomination. Nominations can be submitted from the day elections are called until two months before election day. Nominees must pass a language test.

Registration takes place from the end of the nomination period until 40 days before election day. To be registered, prospective candidates must submit support signatures from no less than one percent of registered voters, collected in at least two thirds of the higher-level administrative units (14 oblasts and the cities of Astana and Almaty). In addition, they must

deposit an "election contribution" amounting to 50 minimum monthly wages, which is only returned to the elected candidate, to candidates who receive at least five percent of the vote, or in the event of the death of a registered candidate. In addition, candidates must submit statements on income and property mentioned above.

At the time of the NAM visit to Kazakhstan, five prospective candidates had been nominated by parties or had submitted their own nominations and more were expected to do so. These included the incumbent president Nursultan Nazarbayev, "For a Just Kazakhstan" leader Zharmakhan Tuyakbay, and Senator Ualikhan Kaisarov.

Candidates can be deregistered under certain conditions, including if a court rules that the candidate, through false information, discredited "the honor and dignity of another candidate". Deregistration can also occur if a candidate has campaigned before he or she was registered or during the campaign blackout period.

On 16 August, before the announcement of the date of the elections, the Prosecutor of the City of Almaty sent a "clarification of the law" to a leading politician from the opposition and a prospective candidate. In this letter, the prosecutor stated that "...Presently, you are conducting meetings with the population in a number of regions of the country, during which reasons for the necessity of nominating your candidacy in the forthcoming presidential elections are expressed ..." After pointing out that under the election law, the pre-electoral campaign starts with the end of the registration period and ends at the beginning of the day before election day, the prosecutor states that "... the early pre-electoral campaigning conducted by you is not allowed and is subject to responsibility under Art. 99 of the Code on Administrative Violations of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In this connection, we suggest to you that you refrain from the above-mentioned actions and avoid violations of the law."

When asked for his opinion on this letter, a representative of the CEC noted that he had a different interpretation of the election law since the letter was sent before the election day was set. He stated however, that in his view, such restrictions would indeed apply from the date of calling the elections until the end of the registration period. The acting chairman of Otan told the NAM that the letter was a "reminder" which any candidate might have received, including the incumbent president.

This "clarification of the law" restricts the right to freedom of expression, freedom of movement and freedom of assembly of a potential nominee for candidate. Furthermore, in this particular case, the legal restrictions on early campaigning may not even apply since the elections had not been called when the letter was written. The existing legal provisions determine that registered candidates can start their campaign after the expiry of the deadlines for registration of candidates, in line with previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendations to ensure a level playing field for all candidates. However, a restrictive interpretation of such regulation has the potential to prohibit prospective candidates any activity, as shown by the above letter of the Prosecutor of the City of Almaty. A liberal interpretation of the legal provisions during this electoral campaigning could be even more important, in view of the fact that one of the prospective candidates is the incumbent President, who enjoys the advantages of incumbency.

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Letter from the Prosecutor of the City of Almaty, dated 16 August 2005, Protocol Number 7–10–1328–05.

#### F. MEDIA

During its visit to Almaty and Astana, the NAM met a limited number of representatives of media organizations. Some 2,200 media outlets are registered in the Republic of Kazakhstan, approximately 80 percent of which are privately owned. According to interlocutors from the administration and pro-presidential parties, this indicates a high level of media pluralism. Other interlocutors, however, stated that State media are under the control of people close to the authorities, while numerous other media are owned or controlled by persons close to the incumbent President, including Asar party Chairwoman Dariga Nazarbayeva.

Numerous interlocutors told the NAM that print media perceived to be in opposition to the current authorities are subject to pressure of various kinds. Specifically, they described problems in distribution, confiscation or seizure of newspapers, wholesale buying of available copies, as well as various forms of harassment of owners and staff of such media. They also noted that print media known to be in opposition were sometimes forced by court decisions to suspend publication or to close down. While some of these publications re-emerge under different names, they face problems in establishing and maintaining a readership base.

The NAM stressed to all interlocutors that monitoring of broadcast and print media will be a key activity of the anticipated EOM. It will include a quantitative and qualitative assessment of the campaign coverage during both the free air time and the news broadcasts. The EOM will also follow up on any cases of harassment or undue restrictions placed in media coverage of the election campaign. The CEC told the NAM that it will conduct its own media monitoring, as have several NGOs.

#### G. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC OBSERVERS

Most interlocutors of the NAM welcomed the presence of an OSCE/ODIHR election observation mission for the presidential elections on 4 December 2005, and a number of them stressed the need for an EOM to cover the whole territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

During its stay in Almaty, the NAM invited representatives of international and domestic NGOs to discuss the pre-electoral environment and assess the potential for non-partisan domestic observation. It appears that there are well organized civic groups, such as the Republican Network of Independent Monitors (RNIM) and the League of Electors of Kazakhstan, which have invested efforts in election observation and intend to observe the presidential elections across the country. The RNIM plans to conduct both long-term and short-term observation, while the League of Electors will only conduct short-term observation. Other organizations have stated that they also plan to observe the elections or certain aspects of the election campaign.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The NAM recommends that an OSCE/ODIHR EOM be established in mid-October to observe the forthcoming presidential election in Kazakhstan. In addition to a core team of experts, the mission should also include 36 long-term observers, 18 teams of two observers each, to be deployed throughout Kazakhstan in the second half of October. Additionally, the secondment of 400 short-term observers is requested to follow election day voting and counting procedures, and tabulation of the results at all levels. In the event of a second round,

which should take place within two months from election day, the OSCE/ODIHR would determine its activities once a relevant official decision has been taken.

## ANNEX: PROGRAM OF THE OSCE/ODIHR NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION TO KAZAKHSTAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2005

Wednesday, 14 September – ALMATY		
Meeting with OSCE Centre in Almaty	Ivar Vikki, Ambassador, Head of Centre	
Meeting with Embassies of OSCE participating States in Almaty	See table below	
	John Ordway, Ambassador	
Meeting with US Embassy and USAID	Deborah Menoutti	
	Thomas Delaney	
	Kimberley Delaney	
Macting with Dalagation of the European	John Penny	
Meeting with Delegation of the European Commission	Alessandro Liamine	
	Ivonne Bollow	
	Republican Network of Independent Monitors	
Meeting with domestic election observation	Elections and Democracy	
groups	League of Electors of Kazakhstan	
	For Fair Election	

Thursday, 15 September - ASTANA		
Meeting with Central Election Commission	Onalsyn Zhumabekov, Chairperson Vladimir Foos, Secretary Tatyana Okhlopkova, Member Marat Sarsenbayev, Head of International Department	
Meeting with CEC Secretariat on electronic voting	Vladimir Foos, Secretary Nikolai Barelko, Director of Information Technological Centre	
Meeting with British Embassy	James Sharp, Ambassador	
Meeting with Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Rakhmatullin Akan, Head of Humanitarian Cooperation Department; Abylkhozhina Nelly, Head of OSCE and Democratization Section	
Meeting with Ministry of Justice	Zagipa Baliyeva, Minister Serik Nugmanov, Vice Minister Magda Sergey, Vice Minister Kairbolat Eskaliyev, Acting Chairman of Committee of Criminal- Executive System Ainash Aitkaliyeva, Head of International Law Department	
Meeting with Russian Embassy	Aleksei Pavlov, Counselor Dmitri Tretiakov, Attache	
Meeting with presidential nominee	Senator Ualikhan Kaisarov	

Friday, 16 September – ALMATY				
Meeting with international organizations	Zhanar Sagimbayeva, UN Laura Lockard, NDI Aizhan Arkhabayeva, IRI			
	Jennifer Wilson and Marat Bigaliyev, IFES			
Meeting with political party	Alikhan Baimenov, Chairperson of "Ak Zhol" party			
Meeting with political parties	See table below			
Meeting with presidential nominee	Zharmakhan Tuyakbay, Chairperson of "For a Just Kazakhstan" movement			
	Oraz Jandosov Tolegen Zhukeev			

Saturday, 17 September – ALMATY			
Meeting with "Vremia-Print" printing house	Elena Burmistrova, Director		
Meeting with media NGOs	Adil Soz Freedom House		
Meeting with representative of presidential nominee Nursultan Nazarbayev	Zhumagulov Bakytzhan, Acting Chairman of Republican Political Party "Otan"		

#### List of participants of the meeting with diplomatic representations in Almaty, 14 September 2005:

Embassy of Canada	Ambassador Anna Biolik
Embassy of the Netherlands	Ambassador Peter van Leeuwen
Embassy of Romania	Mr. Valeriu Stoica, Counselor
Embassy of France	Mrs. Tanabayeva
Embassy of Hungary	Ambassador Miklos Jaczkovits
Embassy of Spain	Mr. Juan Mazarredo, Mr. Angel Garcia
Embassy of Poland	Mr. Petr Ivashkevich, Deputy Head of Mission
Embassy of Germany	Mr. Fugel, Visa Section
Embassy of Greece	Mr. Scouter, Deputy Head of Mission
Embassy of Uzbekistan	Mr. Shavkhat Sharifkhodzhaev, First Secretary

#### List of participants of a joint meeting with political parties, 16 September 2005:

Name of party	Name of representatives confirmed for participation
Civic Party of Kazakhstan	Azat Peruashev, Chairman
Democratic Party of Kazakhstan "Ak Zhol"	Nurmukhamedov Burikhan, Deputy Head of Almaty Office
Republican Party "Asar"	Mukhtar Erman, Head of Almaty Office; Sholpan Baibolova
Social-Democratic Party "Aul"	Gani Kaliyev, Chairman
Communist Party of Kazakhstan	Represented by Bulat Abilov, co-chairman of "Real Ak Zhol" party
Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan	Kosarev Vladislav, Chairman
Democratic Party of Kazakhstan	Sydykhov Tolegen Seidomarovich, Deputy Chair/Chair of Almaty City Representative Office
Republican Political Party "Otan"	Dunaev Galiaskar, Head of Almaty Office;
	Samratov Asylkan, Deputy Head of Almaty Office
Party of Patriots of Kazakhstan	Nurpeisova Guldana, Member of Central Committee
Public Association Party "Rukhaniyat"	Altynshash Dzhaganova, Chairman;
	Volkov Anatoliy, Deputy Chairperson
Agrarian Party of Kazakhstan	Declined invitation