

ELECTION OBSERVATION DELEGATION TO THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN UKRAINE

(26 October 2014)

Report by Andrej PLENKOVIĆ, Chair of the Delegation

Annexes:

- A List of Participants and Programme
- **B EP Delegation press statement**
- C Preliminary Findings and Conclusions

Introduction

On 18 September 2014, the Conference of Presidents authorised the sending of an Election Observation Delegation, composed of 7 Members, to observe the early parliamentary elections in the Ukraine, scheduled for 26 October 2014. In view of its political importance, and on an exceptional basis, at its meeting on 16 October the Conference of Presidents decided to increase the size of the EP delegation to 15 Members.

The Election Observation Delegation was composed of 14 Members, from 9 different EU countries, representing all political groups of the European Parliament. It included Andrej PLENKOVIĆ (Head of Delegation, Croatia, EPP), Joachim ZELLER (Germany, EPP), Anna Maria CORAZZA BILDT (Sweden, EPP), Michal BONI (Poland, EPP), Kati PIRI (Netherlands, S&D), Tibor SZANYI (Hungary, S&D), Miroslav POCHE (Czech Republic, S&D), Ryszard CZARNECKI (Poland, ECR), Mark DEMESMAEKER (Belgium, ECR), Johannes Cornelis van BAALEN (Netherlands, ALDE), Petras AUŠTREVIČIUS (Lithuania, ALDE), Miloslav RANSDORF (Czech Republic, GUE/NGL), Rebecca HARMS (Germany, Greens/EFA), and Valentinas MAZURONIS (Lithuania, EFDD).

The Delegation conducted its activities in Ukraine between 24 and 27 October 2014. Following the usual practice in the OSCE area, the EP Delegation was integrated in the International Election Observation Mission (IEOM) organised by ODIHR, together with the Parliamentary Assemblies of the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and NATO.

Based on the first hand observations by the EP Members and the international interlocutors within the IEOM, the 26 October early parliamentary elections were assessed as an important step in consolidating democratic elections in line with international standards and commitments.

These parliamentary elections - after EuroMaidan, civic uprising and the early Presidential elections in May represent a further important step in the changing political landscape in Ukraine in the course of the past 11 months, and a key element for the conduct of a necessary and much awaited comprehensive reform process.

Political Context

With the success of the EuroMaidan revolution, the illegal annexation of Crimea, and the continued hostilities in a large part of the Donbass occupied by Russian-backed rebels and Russian regular forces, the parliamentary vote was a necessary corrective to restore democratic legitimacy at the centre of Ukrainian politics and a vital step to rebuild the Ukrainian state.

The dismissal of the Azarov Government and the departure of president Yanukovych created a political vacuum that was filled by an interim government formed at the end of February 2014, under the leadership of ArseniyYatsenyuk. The withdrawal of a number of parties from the Ukrainian governmental coalition on 24 July - a formal step aimed to deliberately create a situation which allows for the President to call pre-term parliamentary elections - led to President Petro Poroshenko's decision on 26 August to dissolve Parliament and call for early elections.

The elections were held under increasingly challenging political and security circumstances. Despite the ceasefire agreement in Minsk and its consecutive implementing memorandum (signed on 5 and 19 September), violence continued in the regions of Luhansk and Donetsk throughout the electoral process, and the vote could not be organised in 15 constituencies. No voting at all took place on the Crimean peninsula, due to its illegal annexation by the Russian Federation in March.

Programme of the Delegation

In the framework of the International Election Observation Mission, the EP Delegation cooperated with the OSCE/PA Delegation headed by Ms Doris Barnett (Germany), the PACE Delegation headed by Mr Christopher Chope (UK), the NATO PA Delegation headed by Ms Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania), and the OSCE/ODIHR long-term Election Observation Mission headed by Tana de Zulueta (Italy), as well as with Mr Kent Härstedt (Sweden), appointed as special coordinator for this IEOM by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office. The cooperation with the ODIHR/OSCE and the parliamentary assemblies was correct and a compromise on the joint statement was reached.

Prior to Election Day, the EP election observation delegation took part in the joint IEOM opening session. The Delegation carried a separate programme of meetings which included meetings with President Poroshenko, Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, Chairman of Verkhovna Rada Turchynov, Minister of Foreign Affairs Klimkin and Head of the Central Electoral Commission Okhendovsky. The delegation also met with representatives of the entire Ukrainian political spectrum, civil society and think tanks, the OSCE/ODIHR Head of Mission Tana de Zulueta and Deputy Head of Mission Stefan Krause, as well as the EU Ambassador Jan Tombinski and Ambassadors of Member States' Embassies in Ukraine. The EU Delegation facilitated necessary contacts with the Ukrainian authorities and had a very good cooperation with the Members during the entire mission.

On Election Day, the EP Delegation split into eight teams, and observed election operations in various polling stations, starting from the opening procedures, voting and closing procedures and counting of the votes. In line with the deployment plan that was established in cooperation with the long-term OSCE/ODIHR election observation mission, the polling stations observed by the EP delegation were in Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Cherkasy, including both urban and rural areas. All EP teams deployed reached similar conclusions, which were in accordance with the IEOM observations.

On 27 October 2014, a joint Press Conference was held by the Heads of the EP, OSCE PA, PACE, NATO PA and the OSCE/ODIHR delegations. A detailed Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions was released (see Annex C). As Head of the EP Delegation, Mr Plenkovic issued a separate EP press release, which restated key EP political messages regarding elections and EU-Ukraine relations (see Annex B). The EP election observation delegation had solid media echo in Ukrainian and European media.

The OSCE/ODIHR long-term mission remains in the country after the elections. The final OSCE/ODIHR report will be issued some eight weeks after the completion of the election process, putting forward recommendations to further improve the electoral framework.

Assessment of the electoral process

The EP Delegation's assessment of the elections is very positive. Despite the extremely difficult situation in the country, the illegal annexation of Crimea and the Russia-backed conflict in the East, the government and the electoral authorities succeeded in organising the elections very well, without major incidents that could have affected the outcome, in an orderly and peaceful manner and in line with international standards. Good electoral practices already recognised during the presidential elections in May have been further consolidated.

Several positive points could be noticed, such as an impartial and efficient Central Election Commission, general respect for fundamental freedoms, substantially fewer reported cases of abuse of administrative resources and an amply contested election that offered voters real choice.

The candidate registration process was generally inclusive and provided voters a wide choice among different parties and candidates. A total of 6,684 candidates were registered; 3,128 candidates on 29 party lists and 3,556 in single-mandate districts, of whom 1,405 nominated by parties and 2,151 self-nominated.

The Ukrainian Government and the Central Electoral Commission should be praised for having made forthcoming efforts to enable the voters from the occupied parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, as well as Crimea, to take part in the vote (even if limited numbers made the most of this opportunity). Moreover, on

Election Day voting took place in 12 of the 21 election districts in Donetsk oblast and in 5 of the 11 districts in Luhansk oblast (corresponding to the areas controlled by the government).

In most of the country, Election Day proceeded calmly and peacefully. The EP Delegation found that voting procedures were well followed, and congratulated the thousands of polling officials, most of which were women, that worked hard to administer the vote in a competent and professional manner and to guarantee the high standards of these elections. It is important to underline that the IEOM assessed voting process positively in 99 per cent of polling stations observed. Moreover, despite the security situation and a deep mistrust in the political culture of the country, marred by systemic corruption and an oligarchic system - which may have impacted the turnout in some regions - the Ukrainian people still went to cast their votes in considerable numbers, achieving an overall 52% turn-out rate (from 32% in Donetsk to 70% in Lviv).

The authorities endeavoured to overcome challenges of the electoral law. The newly elected parliament should therefore ensure that key electoral reforms are passed to prevent certain less positive practices, noted in the IEOM preliminary statement, from becoming entrenched.

Election Results

The members of the Verkhovna Rada are elected in a mixed system of representation of the 450 seats in the Rada, 225 are proportionally distributed to lists that receive more than 5 percent of the vote; the remaining 225 members are elected using single-member "majoritarian" districts with a plurality vote.

For the time being, the Verkhovna Rada will be composed of 423 deputies - 27 seats out of 225 in the single mandate constituencies could not be filled due to the absence of vote in Crimea (12 seats), parts of Donetsk region (9 seats) and parts of Luhansk region (6 seats). These vacant seats will be filled via special by-elections once the situation on the ground so allows and the legal basis for by-election is established. The legitimacy of the 26th October parliament elections is not in question since Ukraine's constitution requires the minimum of 300 MPs being elected for the elections to be legal and valid.

Table: Results of the 2014 parliamentary election in Ukraine

Party	Vote share (%)	Seats (proportional representation)	Seats (constituencies)	Seats (total)
Petro Poroshenko Bloc	21.82	63	69	132
People's Front	22.14	64	18	82
Samopomich	10.97	32	1	33
Opposition Bloc	9.43	27	2	29
Radical Party	7.44	22	0	22
Batkivschtschina	5.68	17	2	19
Svoboda	4.71	0	6	6
Communist Party	3.88	0	0	0

Strong Ukraine	3.11	0	1	1
Civil Position	3.1	0	0	0
Zastup	2.65	0	1	1
Right Sector	1.8	0	1	1
Volia	-	0	1	1
Independents	-	-	94	94
TOTAL		225	196	421 ¹

Only 6 party lists out of 29 succeeded in reaching the threshold of 5 % of the votes. The People's Front and Poroshenko's Bloc emerged as the main winners of the race, with almost equal number of votes from the proportional seats. Samopomich - led by former Maidan activists and popular Mayor of Lviv Sadoviy and whose candidate list was composed of newcomers and activists - finished third in the elections. Batkivschtschina (Fatherland) party of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko received almost 6% of the vote.

The former ruling party under Yanukovych times, the Party of Regions, did not run in these elections due to massive discredit. Nevertheless, most outgoing MPs joined the Opposition Bloc that received 9.4% of the vote or ran as self-nominated candidates as part of the single-mandate districts.

For the first time since Ukraine's 1991 independence, the Communist Party will not be represented in the Parliament as it failed to surpass the election threshold with only 3.9% of the vote, and could not get any candidate elected in single constituencies.

It is also worth mentioning that the Right Sector and Svoboda - famous for their radical and nationalistic rhetoric - did not pass the 5% threshold of the proportional vote, thus proving once more that Ukrainian society is far from succumbing to extremism. They achieved only 7 single-mandate seats. However, Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party did obtain 22 seats, all through the proportionate voting.

On the day of the elections, Poroshenko's Bloc and People's Front agreed to work towards a governmental coalition, later joined by Samopomich. These parties have thus formed a joint trilateral group and begun talks, including on the drafting of a coalition agreement. They remain open to other "democratic forces" in the context of them joining the coalition, including Batkivschyna and the Radical Party.

Out of the main six political parties which will form the new Verkhovna Rada, the Opposition Block stated that they would not join the coalition, even upon invitation by the other parties. The greater majority of the independent candidates are expected to join the Opposition Bloc.

The international community and European leaders praised the conduct of the elections and welcomed their results.

Political assessment and conclusions

In the past year, Ukraine demonstrated clearly - three times - its commitment to the European path: EuroMaidan movement, the election of Petro Poroshenko as President in May, and the recent convincing victory of parties with clear and open pro-European agenda in the 26 October early parliamentary elections.

¹ The names of 421 elected people's deputies of Ukraine were announced and published in the official media. The names of two more deputies will be known after recounting of votes in districts #63 and #38.

The election's results undoubtedly show that the majority of Ukrainians want the direction of Ukraine to be guided by reforms, Europe, unity and peace, and that the geopolitical choice of Ukraine to balance between the EU and Russia is of the past. An unambiguously European-oriented Verkhovna Rada will facilitate the continuation of European reform agenda and a comprehensive state-building.

The main and most difficult challenge for Ukraine remains the defence of its territorial sovereignty, including the reintegration of its currently occupied territories in the East into the country's constitutional order as well as of the illegally annexed Crimea. The elections that took place on 2 November and were organised by the self-proclaimed authorities in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions have been, of course, considered illegal and illegitimate by the Ukrainian authorities. No third party recognised these elections, and the European Union and the United States made clear that these elections violate the spirit and the letter of the Minsk Protocol, according to which local elections in the occupied areas were supposed to be held on 7 December, in accordance with Ukrainian law. Russia's non condemnation but on the contrary "respect" of these elections in Donbass, seriously jeopardizes the overall peace process in the region, weakens the fragile efforts for a political solution, and could be interpreted as a disguised attempt to transform the crisis into a frozen conflict.

In this context, the high likelihood of further threats and continued agression by Russia is of utmost concern for Ukraine and the EU, but also for the stability of the wider EU neighbourhood. The EU restrictive measures against Russia ought to stay in force and should not be downscaled until Russia fully respects and delivers on its Minsk commitments, including the withdrawal of all military forces, weapons and military equipment from Ukraine. On the contrary, if the situation further deteriorates due to Russian actions, these sanctions should be increased.

Besides finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in the east and undertaking a genuine dialogue for national unity with all regions and parties concerned, the new authorities will also have the responsibility to revive the economy and to embark on the ambitious reform agenda, especially in the area of rule of law, judiciary and fight against corruption - main issues of concern for all interlocutors and civil organisations the EP Delegation met in Ukraine. Civil society representatives underlined that the people of Ukraine still have trust in their leaders - but only for a foreseeable future, and as long as they deliver unambiguously and swiftly on their programme and commitments. The momentum should be seized and the opportunity should not be missed.

Ukraine's leaders expect continued strong engagement and support by the EU - technical (know-how), political, and financial. A clear roadmap of implementation of reforms by Ukraine, backed by EU assistance with a policy of preconditions in measuring progress, is a prerequisite.

In the coming months and years the European Union, and the European Parliament, need to and will support Ukraine. The European Parliament should assist the new Verkhovna Rada in undertaking the EU-oriented reforms linked to the Association Agreement, together with other EU institutions and actors. In addition, parliamentary cooperation needs to be further strengthened in order to enhance the scrutiny over the governments' actions and ensure that the EU-Ukraine relations continue to deepen for the benefit of the Ukrainian and EU citizens.

Recommendations

Following the successful election observation mission - and given the access, leverage and positive role of the EP in Ukraine (in particular after the parliamentary elections and the formation of the new Rada) - the EP Election Observation Delegation recommends to the Democracy Support and Election Coordination Group (DEG), in close cooperation with the Foreign Affairs Committee and the EP Delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Association Committee, to prepare the following activities:

- 1. Include Ukraine as a priority country under the Comprehensive Democracy Support Approach;
- 2. Follow-up closely the conclusions and recommendations of the final OSCE/ODIHR report;

- 3. Develop specific democracy support and parliamentary capacity-building activities with the Ukraine Parliament (such as study visits of parliamentarians; staff trainings and measures encouraging the development of competent, independent and non-partisan parliamentary secretariat; exchange of good practices between EU Member States' national parliaments and the Ukrainian Parliament) to assist the new Rada in the elaboration and the timely and efficient implementation of the EU-oriented legislative reform agenda;
- 4. Facilitate dialogue between the new Rada and civil society organisations (which effectively operate as watchdogs vis-à-vis the Ukraine political elite) by organising inclusive parliamentary roundtables with the leaders of the major political parties in Ukraine and civil society actors on a set of thematic issues (e.g. prosecution and corruption, electoral reform, oversight and governance of the security sector, amnesty, decentralisation/local governance, party financing, transparency and parliamentary bodies);
- 5. Inform the HRVP and the Commissioner for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations of its intended democracy support activities with the Ukraine parliament and explore concretely with them how such complementary parliamentary activities can be included in overall EU efforts to facilitate the consolidation of democracy in Ukraine as well as provide additional parliamentary mediation and facilitation capacity, including in relation to the situation in the eastern part of the country.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN UKRAINE ELECTION OBSERVATION DELEGATION

24-27 October 2014

PROGRAMME

Members

Mr Andrej PLENKOVIĆ, Croatia, EPP - Head of Delegation
Mr Joachim ZELLER, Germany, EPP
Ms Anna Maria CORAZZA BILDT, Sweden, EPP
Mr Michal BONI, Poland, EPP
Ms Kati PIRI, Netherlands, S&D
Mr Tibor SZANYI, Hungary, S&D
Mr Miroslav POCHE, Czech Republic, S&D
Mr Ryszard CZARNECKI, Poland, ECR
Mr Mark DEMESMAEKER, Belgium, ECR
Mr Johannes Cornelis van BAALEN, Netherlands, ALDE
Mr Petras AUŠTREVIČIUS, Lithuania, ALDE
Mr Miloslav RANSDORF, Czech Republic, GUE/NGL
Ms Rebecca HARMS, Germany, Greens/EFA
Mr Valentinas MAZURONIS, Lithuania, EFDD

Secretariat

Mr Pietro DUCCI Ms Nikolina VASSILEVA Mr Karl MINAIRE Mr Julien CRAMPES Ms Alyson WOOD

Political Groups

Mr Robert GOLANSKI, EPP Mr Vincenzo GRECO, S&D Mr Wojciech Jan DANECKI, ECR Mr Rune GLASBERG, ALDE Mr Tobias HEIDER, Greens/EFA Ms Egle KROPAITE, EFDD

DG COMM

Ms Agnese KRIVADE Ms Charlotte DU RIETZ

Office of EP President

Mr Arnoldas PRANCKEVICIUS, Advisor

Thursday, 23 October 2014

Arrival of Members and staff from political groups

Transfer to Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv, organised by the secretariat

Friday, 24 October 2014

Time	Event		
	FREE BREAKFAST TIME		
08.15	Internal meeting of the EP election observation delegation : - update on practical details and on programme of the delegation Venue : Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv– KYIV 2 Conference Room		
08.30	Meeting with the Head of EU Delegation Ambassador Jan Tombinski and Ambassadors / Representatives of EU Missions to Ukraine Venue : Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv– KYIV 2 Conference Room		
	Joint Briefings for the parliamentary assemblies to the International Election Observation Mission Venue: Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv		
10.00	Opening by the Heads of Parliamentary Delegations Kent Härstedt, Special Co-ordinator and Leader of the short-term OSCE observer mission Doris Barnett, Head of Delegation, OSCE PA Christopher Chope, Head of Delegation, PACE (Marietta de Pourbaix-Lundin, PACE delegation) Andrej Plenković, Head of Delegation, EP Rasa Jukneviciene, Head of Delegation, NATO PA		
10.15	Political Background Ambassador Vaidotas Verba, OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine Ambassador Vladimir Ristovski, Head of Office, Council of Europe Office in Ukraine Ambassador Jan Tombiński, Head of Delegation, Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine Mr. Marcin Koziel, Head of Office, NATO Liaison Office in Ukraine		
10.45	 Briefing by the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Welcome and overview of the EOM's work – Ms. Tana de Zulueta, Head of the OSCE/ODIHR EOM Political overview, the Contestants and the Election Campaign, Participation of Women, Participation of National Minorities – Mr. Stefan Szwed, Political Analyst Media overview and media campaign – Mr. Pietro Tesfamariam, Media Analyst Electoral Legal Framework and Legal Aspects – Mr. Armen Mazmanyan, Legal Analyst Election Administration, Candidate Registration and Voter Registration – Vladimir Misev, Election Analyst and Mr. Kakha Inaishvili, Election Analyst Election day procedures and Statistical Analysis – Mr. Kakha Inaishvili, Election Analyst and Mr. Anders Uno Eriksson, Statistical Analyst Security – Mr. Davor Ćorluka, Security Expert 		
	Meetings for the EP delegation		

12.00	Meeting with Mykhailo Okhendovskyi, Chairperson of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine Venue: CEC headquarters		
13.15	LUNCH BREAK Venue: Members' Restaurant, Verkhovna Rada, main building (entrance V)		
14.00	Meeting with Oleksandr Turchynov, Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada Venue: Verkhovna Rada		
16.00	Meeting with Pavlo Klimkin, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Venue: Ministry of Foreign Affairs		
17.30	 Meeting with representatives from think tanks and others: Committee of voters OPORA Gorshenin Institute Chesno / Civic consortium for election initiatives Open Dialogue Foundation Venue: Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv- KYIV 2 Conference Room		
18.30	Meeting with Kalman Mizsei, Head of Mission - EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine (EUAM Ukraine) Venue: Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv– KYIV 2 Conference Room		
19.00 - 20.00	Meeting with OSCE/ODIHR Head of Mission, Tana de Zulueta , and Deputy Head of Mission, Stefan Krause Venue : Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv– KYIV 2 Conference Room		
	FREE TIME		

Saturday, 25 October 2014

Time	Event			
	Meetings for the EP delegation			
	Political parties' representatives:			
8.30 - 13.00	 (08.30) Opposition Bloc (Oleksandr Vilkul, party candidate n°2; Yulia Lyovochkina, party member) (09.30) Bloc Poroshenko / UDAR (Vitalyi Kovalchuk, campaign manager, UDAR MP, Deputy Head UDAR; Maria Ilonova, MP) (10.15) Batkivshchyna (V.Nemyria, MP) (11.00) Strong Ukraine (Oleksandr Baranov, Head of National Secretariat) (12.00) Communist party (Petro Symonenko, Leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine) Venue: KYIV 1 Conference Room			
	LUNCH BREAK			
14.30	For the Chair only: Meeting of Heads of Parliamentary Delegations			
15.30	Civil society representatives:			
	EuroMaidan / Center for Civil Liberties (Sasha Romantsova)			

	 International center for Policy Studies (Iarosla Kovalchuk) Public Movement for empowering women in Ukraine (Olga Verzhakovskaja, Nelja Vterkovskaja, Natalja Dedok) 	
	Venue: KYIV 1 Conference Room	
17.15	Departure to airport for teams deploying outside of Kiev - transfer for teams deploying in Odessa , Dnepropetrovsk, Kharkiv (upon arrival, check in at hotels and meetings with local Long Term Observers)	

Sunday, 26 October 2014 - ELECTION DAY

Time	Event
all day (voting takes place from 8.00 to 20.00)	Observation of Opening, Voting, Closing and Vote Count
15.00	For the Chair only: Meeting of Heads of Delegations

Monday, 27 October 2014

Time	Event
8.00	Return from areas of deployment
9.15	For the Chair only: Meeting of Heads of Delegations
10.30	Internal EP Election Observation Delegation Debriefing Venue: Fairmont Grand Hotel Kyiv- KYIV 1 Conference Room
11.30	Meeting with Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Prime Minister of Ukraine Venue: Hrusevskovo 12/2
12.30	Meeting with Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine Venue: Presidential administration Bankova 11
14.30	Joint press conference of the International Election Observation Mission Venue :Teacher's House
afternoon	Departure of Members and staff

Annex B

Ukrainians have voted for peace and Europe, says EP chief observer Plenkovic

Press release - Delegations - 27-10-2014 - 16:01

Stronger democracy and a "strategic choice for peace and Europe" was the Ukrainian people's message in Sunday's elections to the Verkhovna Rada, said Andrej Plenkovic (EPP, HR), head of the EP delegation at the international election monitors' press conference in Kiev on Monday. "Our assessment is very positive. The elections were conducted in line with international standards," he said.

MEPs had observed Ukrainian people casting their votes with a sense of pride and strong civic duty, he noted.

"Despite the extremely difficult situation in the country, the illegal annexation of Crimea by Russia and the hybrid aggression Ukraine is suffering, the government and the electoral authorities succeeded in organising these elections very well, in an orderly and peaceful manner," Mr Plenkovic stressed.

He congratulated the Ukrainian people and the newly elected MPs for choosing a "clear European orientation". He said MEPs looked forward to the swift constitution of the new Verkhovna Rada and the rapid formation of the new government, which would have "a strong EU agenda".

"The EU and, most importantly, the European Parliament stand beside Ukraine, ready to support and assist the implementation of the Association Agreement. Ukraine needs the help of the EU and the EU will help Ukraine," said Mr Plenkovic, who also chairs the EP delegation for parliamentary cooperation with Ukraine.

The European Parliament Election Observation Delegation has 14 members, from nine different EU countries, representing all Parliament's political groups. On election day they observed the opening of polling, voting and the count in Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Cherkasy.

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Annex C











NATO Parliamentary Assembly Assemblée parlementaire de l'OTAN

INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION Ukraine — Early Parliamentary Elections, 26 October 2014

STATEMENT OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Kyiv, 27 October 2014 – This Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions is the result of a common endeavour involving the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR), the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the European Parliament (EP) and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA).

Kent Härstedt (Sweden) was appointed by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office as Special Coordinator and leader of the short-term OSCE observer mission. Doris Barnett (Germany) headed the OSCE PA delegation, Christopher Chope (United Kingdom) led the PACE delegation, Andrej Plenković (Croatia) headed the EP delegation, and Rasa Juknevičienė (Lithuania) led the NATO PA delegation. Tana de Zulueta (Italy) is the Head of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission, deployed from 19 September 2014.

The assessment was made to determine whether the election complied with OSCE commitments and Council of Europe standards, as well as international obligations and domestic legislation. This Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions is delivered prior to the completion of the election process. The final assessment of the election will depend, in part, on the conduct of the remaining stages of the election process, including the tabulation of results and the handling of possible post- election day complaints and appeals. The OSCE/ODIHR will issue a comprehensive final report, including recommendations for potential improvements, some eight weeks after the completion of the election process. The OSCE PA will present its report at its Bureau Meeting in Basel on 3 December. The PACE will adopt its report on 18 November. The EP will present its report in its Committee on Foreign Affairs on 3 November. The NATO PA will present its report to the Standing Committee at its Annual Session in the Hague on 23 November.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The 26 October early parliamentary elections marked an important step in Ukraine's aspirations to consolidate democratic elections in line with its international commitments. There were many positive points to the process, such as an impartial and efficient Central Election Commission, an amply contested election that offered voters real choice, and a general respect for fundamental freedoms. The newly elected parliament should take the political responsibility to ensure that key reforms are passed to prevent certain bad practices noted in this statement from becoming entrenched. As well, grievances should be resolved with respect for the rule of law and through democratic institutions. In most of the country, election day proceeded calmly, with few disturbances. Voting and counting were transparent and assessed positively overall. The early stages of the tabulation process were viewed more negatively by observers, with tensions in some cases.

The elections took place in an increasingly challenging political and security environment, notwithstanding the September Minsk agreements. The context was characterized by the illegal annexation of the Crimean peninsula by the Russian Federation, the ongoing hostilities in the east of the country, and the continued *de facto* control of parts of the territory by illegal armed groups. Electoral authorities made resolute efforts to organize elections throughout the country, but they could not be held in parts of the regions (*oblasts*) of Donetsk and Luhansk or on the Crimean peninsula.

Candidates were generally free to campaign, and the election campaign was competitive and visible. Misuse of administrative resources was not named as an issue of major concern, unlike in previous elections. Some contestants reported that cases of intimidation and obstruction influenced their campaign strategies. In the last ten days of the campaign, observers noted a marked increase of violence targeting some election stakeholders, intimidation of and threats against candidates and campaign workers, and cases of targeted destruction of campaign materials and offices. There were a number of credible allegations of vote buying, many of which are being investigated by the authorities.

The legal framework, which was amended in 2013 and 2014, is generally adequate for the conduct of democratic elections. The recent amendments addressed some recommendations made previously by the OSCE/ODIHR and the Council of Europe's European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission), but did not address a number of concerns, including certain candidacy requirements which are at odds with OSCE and Council of Europe commitments and international obligations. Despite attempts and notwithstanding public demand, the outgoing parliament did not pass comprehensive electoral reform.

The Central Election Commission (CEC) operated independently and collegially overall and met all legal deadlines. While CEC sessions were generally open for parties, candidates, observers and the media, the practice of the CEC holding preparatory meetings before sessions and the resulting lack of substantive discussion in the sessions themselves decreased the transparency of the CEC's work. District Election Commissions (DECs) and Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) were formed within the legal deadlines, with slight delays in isolated cases. The work of DECs was assessed as good or adequate overall. However, as in previous elections, parties and candidates replaced on average half or more of commission members nominated by them, which affected the stability and efficiency of the election administration.

Interlocutors expressed confidence in the accuracy of the voter register. Authorities made significant efforts to facilitate the participation of voters from Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* by simplifying the procedure for the temporary transfer of the voting address. Nevertheless, a limited number availed themselves of this opportunity.

Candidate registration was generally inclusive, with the CEC registering over 6,600 candidates on party lists and in single-mandate districts, providing voters a choice among a wide range of parties and candidates. However, the process was affected by the rejection of over 640 nominees on technical grounds and by the non-uniform approach of individual CEC members who reviewed parties' and candidates' applications.

The 2013 amendments to the election law introduced limited measures to increase the transparency of campaign finances; however, several previous recommendations of the OSCE/ODIHR and the Venice Commission remain unaddressed, and enforcement mechanisms and sanctions remain weak. Public perceptions of corruption are pervasive and undermine confidence in the political process. The issue of corruption in society was an important topic of the election campaign, and was invoked by many stakeholders as a key challenge across different aspects of the process.

While the media environment is dynamic and diverse and the legislation generally provides a sound framework for freedom of the media, the lack of autonomy from political or corporate interests restricts independent reporting. Steps taken prior to the elections to stop certain channels from broadcasting alleged propaganda, while not directly impacting the elections, restricted freedom of information. The ongoing hostilities in the east prevented Ukrainian broadcasters from transmitting and continued to jeopardize the safety of journalists in the area. OSCE/ODIHR EOM media monitoring showed that reporting was dominated by the crisis in the east. State-owned media

provided contestants with free airtime, as required by law. In a positive initiative, state-owned national TV hosted debates among political parties. Monitoring results indicated that voters were provided with extensive information. Private broadcasters provided varied coverage to different political contestants, but sometimes misrepresented their political affiliation. President Petro Poroshenko and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk took unfair advantage of their positions with televized appeals to voters to elect a pro-reform parliament on the eve of the election during the campaign silence period.

Minorities' participation in these elections was affected by the crisis in the east and the illegal annexation of Crimea, which made it difficult to organize elections in those parts of the country where nearly half of the 14 million citizens who identify themselves as native Russian speakers, as well as the Crimean Tatars, live. The electoral legal framework is not conducive to national-minority representation. The boundaries of electoral districts did not take minority interests into consideration, although provided by law. No intolerant speech towards minorities was observed during the campaign, but many candidates used nationalistic campaign rhetoric.

The CEC received a high number of complaints before election day. Most complaints filed with the CEC were considered in private by individual CEC members, rather than by the commission as a whole, which undermined the transparency and collegiality of the process. Furthermore, the CEC took an overly formalistic approach, dismissing many complaints due to minor deficiencies. Higher courts adjudicated election-related cases in a non-uniform manner.

The registration and accreditation of observers by the CEC was inclusive. It granted permission to 37 Ukrainian non-governmental organizations to observe the election process and registered a high number of international observers. *OPORA* and CVU mounted the most comprehensive exercises.

The legislation guarantees equality between women and men in public and political life. While around a quarter of the candidates on party lists were women, an increase of 6 per cent compared to the 2012 elections, women accounted for only 13 per cent of majoritarian candidates. Women are well-represented at the CEC and DECs, including in leadership roles.

In most of the country, election day proceeded calmly, with few disturbances and only isolated security incidents reported during voting hours. The CEC started posting detailed preliminary election results disaggregated by polling stations on its website at around 23:00 and reported voter turnout at 52.4 per cent. Due to the efforts of the election administration to ensure voting in as much of the east as possible under extraordinary circumstances, voting took place in 12 of the 21 election districts in Donetsk *oblast* and in 5 of the 11 districts in Luhansk *oblast*. The voting process was well-organized and orderly, and assessed positively in 99 per cent of polling stations observed, although some procedural problems were noted. The vote count was assessed somewhat more negatively as established procedures were not always followed. The early stages of the tabulation process were assessed negatively in 17 cases, mainly due to inadequate premises and overcrowding, as well as tension in some DECs.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Background

These early parliamentary elections were held under increasingly challenging political and security circumstances. Hostilities which started in the spring are ongoing in the east of the country, and, *de facto*, illegal armed groups continue to control of parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions (*oblasts*). A ceasefire agreement and an implementation memorandum were signed in Minsk on 5 and 19 September, respectively. However, violence continued throughout the pre-election period, albeit

reduced. No voting took place on the Crimean peninsula, which was illegally annexed by the Russian Federation in March. 2

Events over the past year and challenges to Ukraine's territorial integrity reshaped the country's political landscape. On 25 May, Petro Poroshenko was elected the country's new president. The Party of Regions (PoR), which won the last parliamentary elections in 2012, did not register a party list for these elections. Candidates of the United Democratic Alliance for Reform (UDAR), one of the five political parties to pass the five per cent threshold in 2012, competed as part of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc (PPB) party. The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) contested the elections while proceedings to prohibit the party were ongoing. Besides the Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko (RP), All-Ukrainian Union – Batkivshchyna, Civil Position (CP) and Svoboda, other prominent contestants included the recently formed People's Front (PF), Self-Reliance (Samopomich), OB and the re-established SU. Some two-thirds of the incumbent members of parliament stood for re-election.

Legal Framework and Election System

Parliamentary elections are regulated by the Constitution, the Law on the Election of People's Deputies (hereinafter, election law), the Law on the Central Election Commission (CEC), the Law on the State Voter Register, other laws, and regulations of the CEC. The legal framework for parliamentary elections was amended in 2013 and 2014, addressing some recommendations made previously by the OSCE/ODIHR and the Venice Commission. The amendments, among others, provided the criteria for the establishment and delimitation of single-mandate districts and required considering the interests of national minorities in this process, allowed for correction of mistakes and inaccuracies in candidate registration documents, reduced the number of voters allocated to polling stations, and lowered the amounts of electoral deposits.⁵

At the same time, these changes did not address a number of concerns noted previously by the OSCE/ODIHR and the Venice Commission. Certain candidacy rights remain restricted due to the limitations for those with prior criminal records, regardless of the gravity of crime committed, and due to the five-year residency requirement. Both requirements are at odds with OSCE and Council of Europe commitments and other international obligations. Other concerns include the lack of provisions for the formation of party blocs, and the existing formula for the composition of District Election Commissions (DECs) and Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) that puts parties with parliamentary factions at an advantage. The legal framework also continues to be fragmented and in many instances is unclear. The ambiguity of the law was aggravated by non-uniform application of certain provisions by the CEC and courts, resulting in uneven conditions for contestants.

Further amendments to the legal framework were made on 14 October 2014, when parliament adopted changes in the Criminal Code increasing liability for election-related offenses.

A law awarding 'special status' to territories in the Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* was adopted by parliament on 16 September and signed by the president on 16 October.

A so-called 'referendum' on the Crimean peninsula on 16 March, in breach of Ukraine's Constitution, was followed by decisions of the two chambers of the Russian parliament to include Crimea and the city of Sevastopol as federal subjects of the Russian Federation. See the Council of Europe's European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) Opinion No. 762/2014, adopted on 21 March 2014. The opinion is available at: http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2014)002-e.

Some PoR candidates ran in majoritarian contests. Many more people formerly affiliated with PoR stood as self-nominated candidates or were nominated by other parties, mainly the Opposition Bloc (OB) and Strong Ukraine (SU).

Proceedings to ban the CPU were initiated by the Ministry of Justice on 8 July.

See paragraph 7.5 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document, paragraph 15 of the 1996 UNHRC General Comment No. 25, Section I.1.1.c of the Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters of the Council of Europe's European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission), and case law of the European Court of Human Rights (*Hirst v. UK*).

Under the election law, the parliament is elected for a five-year term and is composed of 450 members, one half of whom are elected on the basis of proportional representation with closed party lists in one single nationwide constituency. The other half are elected in single-mandate districts under a plurality system (first-past-the-post). Political parties must receive at least five per cent of all votes cast in order to participate in the distribution of mandates in the proportional system. Following the reinstatement of the 2004 constitutional amendments, members of parliament (MPs) will lose their mandate if they fail to join or if they leave the parliamentary faction of the political party for which they were elected. The mixed electoral system is viewed by many stakeholders as deficient and prone to electoral irregularities. Despite this and notwithstanding public demand, the outgoing parliament did not reform the electoral system.

Election Administration

The elections were administered by the CEC, 213 DECs, and 29,977 PECs. No election bodies could be formed in Crimea. The CEC is a permanent institution tasked with, among other things, ensuring the protection of citizens' electoral rights and providing for the uniform implementation of the election law. The CEC operated independently and collegially, overall, meeting all legal deadlines. Since 27 August, the CEC passed 1,266 resolutions. Most CEC resolutions were adopted unanimously and all were published on the CEC website, providing transparency.

In general, CEC sessions were open to parties, candidates, observers and media representatives and were announced in advance on the CEC website. The transparency of the work of the CEC was decreased by the practice of holding preparatory meetings behind closed doors, unlike during the early presidential election, when observers were allowed to attend such meetings. The sessions lacked substantive discussion, which was apparently taking place during the preparatory meetings, and observers were usually not provided with draft decisions or other materials, apart from the session agenda. The session agenda.

On 5 September, the CEC formed the DECs based on nominations from political parties participating in the proportional component of the elections. The initial appointment of DEC members was followed by a high number of replacements, including of chairpersons, deputy chairpersons and secretaries (so-called executive positions), which increased the CEC's workload and delayed the work of DECs. Since 9 September, 2,207 of the 3,769 DEC members (58.8 per cent) were replaced, including 459 executives. 11 Replacements occurred in all DECs with 588 replacements in Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*, including in DECs which according to the CEC were not functioning. 13

This is at odds with paragraph 7.9 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document. The Venice Commission repeatedly criticized the relevant provision of the 2004 Constitution; see: Report on the Imperative Mandate and Similar Practices, available at: http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2009)027-e.

The electoral system has long been a subject of controversy in Ukraine and the majoritarian component of the mixed system has been viewed by many interlocutors to be particularly vulnerable to fraud. See the OSCE/ODIHR and Venice Commission Joint Opinions on this issue, mainly CDL-AD(2011)037, para.22, and CDL-AD(2013)016, para.15.

Several CEC sessions were not announced at all or took place earlier than had been announced.

The Law on the CEC stipulates that the commission must act in an open and public manner and allows observers and proxies to participate in discussion on all issues. Furthermore, the CEC Rules of Procedures allows invited persons to attend CEC 'preparatory' meetings. The OSCE/ODIHR EOM was allowed to observe five preparatory meetings before election day.

Of the 2,207 replaced members, approximately 6 per cent were reappointed as nominees of different electoral subjects than the ones that nominated them initially.

In 35 DECs, more than two thirds of members were replaced.

DECs 41–44, 51, 54–56, 61 in Donetsk *oblast* and DECs 104, 105 108-111 in Luhansk *oblast*. These DECs are responsible for 1,732 PECs with some 2.3 million registered voters.

OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers visited around 180 DECs, some more than once. In about 80 per cent of cases, observers assessed the organization and preparations for elections as good or adequate. While electoral authorities made resolute efforts to organize elections throughout the country, the hostile security environment in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* negatively affected electoral preparations in a relatively high number of electoral districts there. In an effort to facilitate their work, the offices of several DECs were moved to government-controlled areas within these *oblasts*. According to the CEC, of the total of 32 DECs established in these two *oblasts*, 17 were fully or partly operational on election day and night. ¹⁴ These operational DECs included territories within their boundaries, which are currently not under government control. ¹⁵

OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers reported that overall, DECs formed PECs by the legal deadline of 10 October. In general, the PEC formation process was assessed as orderly and mostly in line with procedures. Regrettably, OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers were consistently denied access to IT rooms to observe the processing of nominee lists. ¹⁶ In addition, a number of factors negatively affected PEC formation. In particular, data processing problems with the CEC's information system *Vybory*, mistrust among DEC members towards each other or the process, as well as prolonged discussions involving party/candidate proxies and observers during allocation of executive positions over-burdened DECs during the PEC formation. It is noteworthy that the first wave of replacements of PEC members started shortly after their formation and continued up until election day thereby affecting both the work of DECs and PECs. In some cases half or more than half of commissioners were replaced.

Women are well-represented at the DEC level, where they account for 54 per cent of all members. As of 24 October, 99 DECs are chaired by women, while there are 107 female deputy chairpersons and 144 secretaries. In the CEC, 5 of the 15 members, including one of the two deputy chairpersons and the secretary, are women.

Upon a request from the CEC, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) conducted training for DEC and PEC members. OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers in general assessed the trainings they attended positively. The OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine (PCU), upon the request of the CEC, launched an online training tool for election commissioners and other participants of the electoral process. Unfortunately, on the eve of the election this training platform was hacked and rendered temporarily inaccessible by www.cyber-berkut.org. The CEC website was also subject to denial of service attacks, but continued to function on election day.

Voter Registration

Voters are registered automatically in the centralized State Voter Register (SVR). The CEC supervises the central SVR office, 27 Registration Administration Bodies and 756 Register Maintenance Bodies (RMBs), which continuously update and maintain the SVR. According to the CEC, as of 20 October deadline, 35,828,401 voters were registered. This included some 681,600 homebound voters who were registered to vote at their place of stay, and 460,000 voters who were registered to vote at 112 polling stations abroad.

DECs 45 - 50, 52, 53, 57 - 60 and DECs 106, 107, 112, 113 and 114 in Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*, respectively. These DECs are responsible for 2,167 PECs with some 2.7 million registered voters. According to the election law, a DEC must establish election results regardless of the number of precincts declared invalid.

On 14 October, the CEC passed resolution addressing parliament to urgently consider draft law regulating certain aspects of electoral law, *intel alia*, related to conduct of elections in Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*. The parliament did not consider the mentioned draft law.

On 6 October, the CEC adopted Resolution No. 1493 to ensure the safety and protection of those components of the "*Vybory*" system that are located in DEC premises.

Interlocutors expressed confidence regarding the accuracy of the voter register. Preliminary voter lists were extracted from the SVR and compiled separately for each polling station. OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers reported that almost all PECs for which handover was observed received the preliminary voter lists within or shortly after the deadline.

As of 25 October, 54 of the 96 RMBs in Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*, which are responsible for 3.2 million registered voters, were temporarily closed. Consequently, around 1,500 PECs received the preliminary voter lists (out of 3,899 in these *oblasts*). Final voter lists were to be printed and distributed to PECs on 23 October.

The election law allows all eligible voters to change, on a temporary basis, their voting address. ¹⁷ On 7 October, the CEC adopted a simplified procedure in an effort to facilitate the participation of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other voters from Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* in these elections. ¹⁸ Voters from the Crimean peninsula had a similar simplified procedure. As of 20 October deadline, some 190,200 voters requested to temporarily change their voting address, including some 25,000 military personnel, 3,600 voters from the Crimean peninsula, ¹⁹ and some 32,800 voters from Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*.

Candidate Registration

The election law requires a financial deposit and a variety of documentation for the registration of candidates or party lists. Candidates in single-mandate districts could be nominated by political parties or through self-nomination. Parties are entitled to put forward electoral lists of no more than 225 candidates for the nationwide election district and one candidate per single-mandate district.

Candidate nomination lasted from 28 August to 25 September. The CEC had to decide on more than 7,000 registration requests within five days of receiving a nomination. A total of 6,684 candidates were registered; 3,128 candidates on 29 party lists and 3,556 in single-mandate districts, of whom 1,405 nominated by parties and 2,151 self-nominated. In the candidates were registered; 3,128 candidates on 29 party lists and 3,556 in single-mandate districts, of whom 1,405 nominated by parties and 2,151 self-nominated.

The registration process was generally inclusive and provided voters a wide choice among different parties and candidates. However, it was affected by the rejection of over 640 candidates on technical grounds or due to minor omissions, which appears to be contrary to the election law. ²² Although most resolutions on candidate registration were adopted unanimously, the approach of individual CEC

Such voters have to justify their requests. Requests must be made no later than five days before election day. Voters who would like to temporarily transfer their voting address outside their respective single-mandate constituency are only entitled to the proportional ballot.

According to CEC Resolution No. 1529 of 7 October, voters from Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* do not need any justification when requesting temporary changes of their voting address. On 6 October, the CEC adopted Resolution No. 1495 that allows any RMB to enter changes to the voter registration records of residents of Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*.

The total number of voters registered on the Crimean peninsula as of 21 October was 1,799,918.

According to the CEC chairperson, the period during which prospective candidates could submit their documentation was overly long in light of the generally shortened deadlines for the early elections.

A total of 235 candidates in single-mandate districts withdrew after being registered.

Article 60.3 of the election law states that errors and inaccuracies detected in documents submitted by candidates for registration shall be subject to correction and shall not be a reason for refusing to register a candidate. Also, Paragraph 24 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document states that "[any] restrictions on rights and freedoms must, in a democratic society, relate to one of the objectives of the applicable law and be strictly proportionate to the aim of that law." See also the Venice Commission's Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters. CDL-

the aim of that law." See also the Venice Commission's Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters, CDL-AD(2002)023, para. I.1.1.1.d.

members in this regard lacked uniformity. ²³ Some CEC decisions were appealed to the Kyiv Administrative Court of Appeal or the High Administrative Court; ultimately, 49 candidates were additionally registered based on court decisions.

While around 25 per cent of the candidates on party lists were women, an increase of 6 per cent compared to the 2012 elections, women accounted for only 13 per cent of majoritarian candidates. Equal rights between men and women, including in public and political life, are guaranteed by the Constitution and further protected by the election law and the Law on Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men. Yet, the level of women's representation remains minimal.

The Campaign Environment and Campaign Finance

The campaign was competitive and visible, although some contestants told the OSCE/ODIHR EOM that due to the exceptional circumstances, they chose to run less lavish campaigns than in previous elections. However, it was subdued in parts of the country, especially in rural areas. Billboards, banners and posters were numerous and prominently displayed in cities and towns and along major roads. The most visible campaigns were those of *Batkivshchyna*, PPB, PF, CP, RP and SU. Only a few large rallies were held, however, with most contestants opting for smaller meetings with voters. Many parties and some candidates used social media to attract voters. Some interlocutors claimed that the relatively low visibility of their campaign was a function of both cost saving in order to fund volunteer battalions in the east and concerns about the appropriateness of high campaign spending during exceptional circumstances.

The OSCE/ODIHR EOM observed 87 rallies and meetings with voters. Although candidates were able to campaign freely in most parts of the country, the campaign was marred by violent incidents that targeted some candidates, their campaign workers and campaign events. 24 Observers noted a marked increase of such incidents in the last ten days of the campaign. Some contestants reported that cases of intimidation and obstruction influenced their campaign strategies. A number of candidates and other election stakeholders were also subjected to so-called 'street lustration' directed at individuals associated with the former authorities, including MPs who voted in support of the 16 January laws curtailing democratic freedoms. 25 Aggressive rhetoric and instances of negative PR aimed at discrediting competitors persisted. Many OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers reported sighting or receiving reports of destroyed campaign offices or tents, and targeted defacing of campaign posters in some cases. 26 A high number of credible allegations of vote buying and provision of commodities or

According to CEC Resolution No. 177, all CEC members are assigned specific parties or *oblasts* (and single-mandate districts within those *oblasts*) and reviewed candidates' documents from the respective party or *oblast*. Some CEC members opted to inform and allow candidates to correct errors or omissions, while others did not. While 7 CEC members proposed rejection of candidates for less than 5 per cent of nominations they reviewed, 1

CEC member proposed to reject half of the applications she reviewed; 5 CEC members proposed to reject over 20 per cent of the applications reviewed by them. All their proposals were adopted by the CEC.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the OSCE/ODIHR EOM on 16 October that it had registered 572 election-related complaints and incidents, including 23 that involved infliction of bodily harm. Criminal charges were pressed in 31 cases, and in 6, administrative sanctions were applied. Some 274 incidents could not be confirmed. Violence and threats against candidates and campaign workers were reported by OSCE/ODIHR observers from all across the country.

Cases of 'street lustration' of individuals associated with the former government, including candidates and other election stakeholders, were reported by OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers from Kyiv city, as well as from Chernihiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovohrad and Odesa *oblasts*. In many instances of 'street lustration', targets were thrown into trash bins, with several enduring other forms of humiliation meant to supplant an official lustration process. Several candidates expressed support for the 'street lustration' process. OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers reported that an investigation in one such case was opened in Odesa.

OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers saw or received reports on destroyed campaign offices or tents from Dnipropetrovsk (CPU, OB, RP, PPB, one self-nominated), Ivano-Frankivsk (RP), Kharkiv (CPU, OB), Odesa (*Batkivshchyna*) and Zaporizhya (RP) *oblasts*.

services to individuals or groups paid for by candidates were made to OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers, with many cases being investigated by the authorities.²⁷ On 25 October, during the campaign-silence period, billboards and posters bearing a striking visual resemblance to the campaign materials of several candidates went on display, in violation of the election law.

Voters had choice among a wide range of parties and candidates. Many incumbent MPs shed their previous political affiliation, or associated with other political parties, while several independent candidates enjoyed more or less overt support of certain parties. Moreover, majoritarian elections included a high number of so-called 'clones' with names similar to those of other candidates, as well as 'technical' candidates who interlocutors believed were spoilers, who did not campaign and allegedly only registered to obtain representation in election commissions. Some parties withdrew their majoritarian candidates in favor of other contestants at a late stage of the process, in a few instances reportedly due to intimidation.

Campaign rhetoric was heavily influenced by continued violence in Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*. Themes of national unity, territorial integrity and defense, decentralization and 'special status' for the territories in the east dominated the campaign rhetoric. Public perceptions of corruption are pervasive and undermine confidence in the political process. ³⁰ The issue of corruption in society was an important topic of the election campaign, and was invoked by many stakeholders as a key challenge across different aspects of the process; this included the election administration, the campaign and candidates' ability to reach a wide media audience. ³¹ Other pressing issues, such as lustration and economic reform were also raised. Most parties also focused on the country's foreign policy. Some interlocutors remarked that the campaign was overly focused on personalities, to the detriment of a substantive debate on issues deemed critical to Ukraine's future.

Issues of equal participation of men and women in elections and the country's political life more broadly were generally not part of the campaign and did not feature prominently in most candidate or party programmes. The difficulty women candidates faced in securing funding for their campaigns was cited by some OSCE/ODIHR EOM interlocutors as a key reason for the low level of participation of women candidates, especially in single-mandate constituency elections.

Unlike in past elections, the misuse of administrative resources was not an issue of major concern. Although some candidates holding executive or high administrative positions took official leave to campaign, several others remained in office. The high visibility of some state, regional and local officials at public events was deemed by some interlocutors as providing an undue advantage to affiliated contestants. President Petro Poroshenko and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk took unfair advantage of their positions with appeals to voters to elect a pro-reform parliament on the eve of the election during the campaign silence period.³²

The 2013 amendments to the election law introduced limited measures to increase the transparency of campaign finances. The size of electoral funds, from which all campaign expenses must be paid directly by bank transfer, is now established in the law. There are no limits on individual donations,

On 18 October, the Minister of Internal Affairs stated that 141 cases of voter bribery were under investigation.

In some instances contestants used symbols of parties that did not officially endorse their candidacies.

PEC members nominated by so-called 'technical' candidates are widely seen as representing, in reality, the interests of other contestants, who allegedly use these members to unduly gain more influence in these PECs.

On 14 October, the parliament adopted a package of anti-corruption laws that, among others, created a new oversight body. These laws were signed by the president on 23 October.

Ukraine was ranked 144th out of 177 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index 2013, with a score of 25 out of 100 (see: http://www.transparency.org/cpi2013/results).

President Poroshenko is the honorary chairperson of the PPB, while Prime Minister Yatsenyuk is the chairperson of PF. Paragraph 5.4 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document provides for "a clear separation between the State and political parties; in particular, political parties will not be merged with the State."

and in-kind contributions are unregulated. ³³ A number of previous OSCE/ODIHR and Venice Commission recommendations have not been addressed, ³⁴ and campaign finance enforcement mechanisms remain weak. Requirements that parties and candidates publish reports on donations and spending during the pre-election period are insufficiently specified. ³⁵ These issues were named by some interlocutors as factors, which permit the country's wealthy business elite to wield disproportionate influence over the campaign process.

The Media

The media environment is lively and diverse, with a wide range of media outlets. Yet, the lack of autonomy of the media from political or corporate interests restricts independent reporting, both at the national and regional level. Furthermore, the limited advertising market and low professional standard of journalism contribute to the practice of paid-for news items, known as 'jeansa'. Television remains the main source of information, but Internet sources are increasing their audience and role. There are a high number of print media outlets, but their readership is limited. State-owned television and radio, which includes national and regional channels, is currently undergoing a transitional period, pending its transformation into a public-service broadcaster.

The legislation generally provides a sound framework for freedom of the media. Nonetheless, ongoing hostilities in the east prevented Ukrainian broadcasters from transmitting and continued to jeopardize journalists' safety in the area, as they are hindered in their work, receive constant threats, and have been abducted and killed. Steps taken prior to the elections to stop certain channels from broadcasting alleged propaganda, while not directly impacting the election, restricted freedom of information. ³⁷

The conduct of the media during the election campaign is regulated by the election law, which stipulates that both state and private media should offer balanced coverage and provide contestants with equal conditions. In line with the law, contestants were granted free airtime in state national and regional media. The National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council (NTRBC) supervised the media's compliance with existing laws during the election campaign. ³⁸ NTRBC's authority was limited to issuing warnings. However, the decisions on detected violations were not made public during the pre-election period, which lessened the body's effectiveness. Civil society organizations made a positive contribution by monitoring national and regional media.

The sources of funds are limited to a party's or candidate's own resources and private donations. The size of an electoral fund for a party with a candidate list may not exceed 90,000 minimum salaries (some UAH 112.5 million or less than EUR 7 million), while for a majoritarian candidate it may not exceed 4,000 minimum salaries (some UAH 5 million or just over EUR 300,000).

See CDL-AD92013)016 and CDL-AD(2013)026.

Interim financial reports on the receipt and use of funds must be filed not later than 20 days before election day with the CEC by parties, and with DECs by majoritarian candidates. Final financial reports must be filed with the CEC not later than 15 days after election day by parties, and with DECs not later than 10 days by majoritarian candidates.

See Statement by Ukrainian and Russian media organizations adopted following a meeting at the Office of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, available at http://www.osce.org/fom/124537?download=true.

Six television channels were banned from being rebroadcast by decisions of Kyiv Administrative Court at the request of the Television and Radio Broadcasting Council. Decisions with regard to five channels were appealed to Kyiv Appellate Administrative Court. Appeal concerning one of the channels was rejected and decisions regarding four other channels are pending.

The presence among the members of the NTRBC of two people running on the proportional list of PPB raises concerns over a possible conflict of interest and may undermine the independence of the regulatory body.

OSCE/ODIHR EOM media monitoring showed that during the campaign period, the political debate in the media was dominated by the crisis in the east.³⁹ National broadcast media covered the campaign in a variety of formats. In several instances, broadcast media while covering and hosting candidates did not present them as such, in other cases candidates were labeled with a different political affiliations than the ones under which they were registered for these elections; this may have confused voters and have limited their ability to make an informed choice on election day.

The news coverage of the campaign by the state-owned *First National Channel* was limited, and 55 per cent of relevant news was devoted to the work of state institutions. In a positive initiative, the channel organized and broadcast "National Debates" among political parties. In the remaining editorial programmes, PF, *Batkivshchyna* and PPB received the highest amount of the airtime (13, 12 and 11 per cent, respectively). National private TV channels provided varied coverage to different political contestants. In particular, *5 Channel* devoted a total of 38 per cent of its coverage to President Poroshenko and PPB. TRK Ukraina offered considerable amount of coverage to OB (21 per cent). I+I devoted 16 per cent of mainly negative editorial coverage to RP, in particular its leader. Three political parties purchased 54 per cent of all paid advertising on the monitored national channels, namely PPB and *Batkivshchyna* (17 per cent each) and PF (20 per cent). Voter education spots were almost absent on national broadcast media.

Participation of National Minorities

Electoral rights of national minorities in these elections were negatively affected by circumstantial and systemic factors. Voting could not be organized in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* and on the Crimean peninsula, where over half of the 14 million citizens who identify themselves as native Russian speakers, as well as the Crimean Tatars, live. Measures adopted to simplify voting procedures for residents and IDPs from these regions still required two trips for out-of-region registration and voting, entailing time, risk and expense. ⁴³ Crimean Tatar representatives also informed the OSCE/ODIHR EOM that their community is too intimidated by increased repression against them in Crimea to travel outside the territory on election day. ⁴⁴

Some aspects of the electoral legislation are not conducive to minority participation or representation. Requirements for political parties to draw their base from two-thirds of the country's *oblasts*, the five per cent threshold for party lists, a lack of legal provisions for electoral blocs and the lack of special measures promoting minority participation limit the possibilities for minority parties or their representatives to enter parliament. While the election law was amended in 2013 to incorporate

On 26 September, the OSCE/ODIHR EOM commenced a quantitative and qualitative media monitoring of the state-owned *First National Channel*; private TV channels *Inter*, *5 Channel*, *ICTV*, *I+1* and *TRK Ukraina*, as well as two private regional TV channels, *ZIK TV* (Lviv) and *A/TVK* (Kharkiv).

Namely the president, prime minister, government and National Security and Defense Council.

Seven debates, each with representatives of four political parties, took place from 13 to 23 October. All parties except the CPU agreed to participate.

⁵ Channel is owned by President Poroshenko.

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Situation Report No. 17, as of 24 October 2014, there were 430,059 IDPs in Ukraine, while approximately 454,339 people had fled to neighboring countries. See http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Sitrep%2017%20-%20Ukraine.pdf. NGOs estimate that the true number of IDPs may be twice as high, due to their reluctance to register.

Since the annexation of Crimea in March, nine Crimean Tatars have disappeared and three have been found dead, two during the election period. The community also complains of interrogations and searches of their homes.

See, among others, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Report, The functioning of democratic institutions in Ukraine, Doc 12814, 9 January 2012, 15.3, available at: http://assembly.coe.int/Mainf.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta12/ERES1862.htm.

recommendations that ethnic composition be taken into account when drawing electoral boundaries, ⁴⁶ constituency boundaries were not redrawn before these elections. This prompted a complaint from the Hungarian minority that the delimitation of electoral districts in Zakarpattya *oblast* from 2012 would again prevent them from securing a majoritarian MP.

Intolerant speech directed at minorities was not observed, despite the fact that the campaign rhetoric by many candidates was nationalistic and aggressive in nature. Debate about language policy was subdued or absent, in contrast to previous election campaigns, and minority issues did not figure in most party platforms. Less than a dozen known national minority representatives appeared on major party lists. National minority candidates appeared to be represented slightly more in single-mandate constituencies with concentrated minority settlements.

Complaints and Appeals

Complaints and appeals can be submitted by all participants in the electoral process, either to superior election commissions or to administrative courts. If the same complaint is filed with both the election administration and the judiciary, the election commission is required to suspend consideration of the complaint pending resolution in the court. It has been a long-standing recommendation of the OSCE/ODIHR and the Venice Commission to clarify the concurrent jurisdiction of election commissions and courts over electoral disputes. 48

As of 24 October, the CEC received 278 complaints. Only 24 of these were considered in full session. All other complaints were considered in private and responded by individual CEC members, thereby undermining the transparency and collegiality of the process. In addition, a large number of complaints (about 85 per cent of complaints lodged) were dismissed due to technical omissions in formulating them, leaving complainants without effective redress, contrary to OSCE commitments.⁴⁹

Some 294 election-related complaints were filed with the Kyiv Administrative Court of Appeal, of which 227 were subsequently appealed to the High Administrative Court. Most of these cases concerned candidate registration. Despite the large number of appeals, these courts adjudicated complaints within the compressed timeframes envisaged by law for electoral disputes. However, there were several cases of non-uniform interpretation of the law by different panels of judges of the same court, in both instances. This effectively undermined legal certainty, as well as the principle of equality before the law. Despite its explicit disagreement with the courts' rulings concerning candidate registration, the CEC complied with all judgments and took necessary actions to restore the complainants' rights.

One incident of hate speech and depictions of violence against the Russian community in campaign posters was observed in connection with the campaign of the *Svoboda* candidate in DEC 223 in Kyiv. The candidate disavowed these posters, stating that they were black PR against him.

See, among others, CDL-AD(2013)016, para.98. See also the Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters, p.II.3.3.C.c. The Venice Commission conducted training for administrative court judges on electoral dispute resolution in October 2013.

Paragraph 5.10 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document requires that "everybody will have effective means of redress against administrative decisions, so as to guarantee respect for fundamental rights and ensure legal integrity".

OSCE/ODIHR and Venice Commission Joint Opinion on the Draft Amendments to the Laws on Election of People's Deputies and on the Central Election Commission and on the Draft Law on Repeat Elections of Ukraine, June 2013, III (B) 25–27, available at: http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/102816?download=true.

This was acknowledged by both courts' judges, who informed the OSCE/ODIHR EOM that each panel had discretion in applying the law according to their judgment while not being bound by any prior decisions of either superior courts or the same court.

PECs and DECs, as well as district courts received a moderate number of complaints, mostly concerning allegations of vote-buying, violation of campaign regulations, voter lists and composition of election commissions.

Citizen and International Observers

The election law provides for observation of the election process by international and citizen observers. Observers enjoy broad and comprehensive rights during the entire election process, including the right to attend DEC and PEC sessions and to receive copies of result protocols. The accreditation process for election observers was inclusive. In total, 37 Ukrainian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were granted permission to have official observers; 23 of them, including *OPORA* and the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), registered observers. The CEC registered 2,321 international observers from 20 international organizations and 21 foreign states.

Election Day

In most of the country, election day proceeded calmly, with few disturbances. Only isolated security incidents were reported by IEOM observers during voting hours, but tensions in some districts rose during tabulation. The CEC reported voter turnout at 52.4 per cent. It started posting detailed preliminary election results disaggregated by polling stations on its website at around 23:00.

All but 5 of the 253 openings of polling stations observed were assessed positively, and observers reported very few minor procedural problems, mainly related to the sealing of ballot boxes. One in five polling stations observed opened for voting with slight delays. IEOM observers assessed voting positively in 99 per cent of polling stations observed as were the circumstances in and around polling stations, although campaigning was noted outside 3 per cent and inside 2 per cent of polling stations. There were relatively few cases of overcrowding (5 per cent, often due to inadequate layout) or of large groups waiting outside to vote (3 per cent). Only isolated instances of tension, obstruction or intimidation were observed. Over one half of polling stations visited were not readily accessible to people with disabilities, and the layout of over one quarter was not adequate for disabled voters.

IEOM observers reported that voting procedures were adhered to in the overwhelming majority of polling stations visited and assessed the process positively in 99 per cent of cases. Voter identification procedures were followed with few exceptions. In 15 per cent of polling stations observed, however, small numbers of voters were turned away, mainly because they could not present a valid identification document or could not be found on the voter list of that particular polling station. In 4 per cent, not all voters marked their ballots in secrecy or folded them properly before depositing them in the ballot box. Apart from group voting (3 per cent), only a few isolated cases of more serious procedural violations were observed. In 3 per cent of polling stations observed, the ballot boxes were not properly sealed. Official complaints were filed in 5 per cent of polling stations observed.

Party and candidate proxies or observers were present in an impressive 98 per cent of polling station observed, and citizen observers in 25 per cent during voting. Unauthorized people were present in 6 per cent of polling stations observed, and were seen interfering in 1 per cent. Women chaired 68 per cent of observed PECs and accounted for 72 per cent of EC members in these polling stations.

IEOM observers assessed 10 per cent of the 340 vote counts they observed negatively. A few instances of unauthorized people present, or of interference, were reported. In 16 counts, people other than the PEC members were reported as having participated in the count. Some of the procedural

OSCE/ODIHR EOM observers reported that on 14 October an *OPORA* observer was questioned by the police in Uman (Cherkasy *oblast*) for filming a meeting of DEC 200, which called the police. According to Article 78.9 of the election law, observers are allowed to make audio or video recordings.

problems reported during the count included frequent cases where established reconciliation procedures were not followed and figures were not entered in the results protocols before the opening of the ballot boxes. Some 20 per cent of PECs had problems completing the protocols, and 15 per cent revised figures established earlier. IEOM observers reported 33 cases of pre-signed results protocols. Party and candidate observers or proxies were present at all counts observed, and citizen observers at 29 per cent.

The early stages of the tabulation process were assessed negatively in 47 of 310 observations submitted by IEOM observers from 155 DECs. There were reports of serious tensions at some DECs, most notably DEC 217 in Kyiv, where large numbers of armed members of a volunteer battalion whose commander was a candidate in the district were present around and inside the DEC. Premises and conditions in many DECs were inadequate, at times negatively affecting observation and resulting in overcrowding (37 reports) and tension inside DECs (39 reports). IEOM observers reported from over one half of DECs that not all PEC protocols had been fully completed and that the figures did not reconcile correctly in protocols submitted to two thirds of DECs observed. IEOM observers also reported 40 cases where PEC election material packs may have been tampered with during the transfer to the DEC. Party and candidate observers or proxies were present at all DECs observed, and citizen observers at 80 per cent.

The English version of this statement is the only official document. Unofficial translations are provided in Ukrainian and Russian.

MISSION INFORMATION & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission opened in Kyiv on 19 September, with 21 experts in the capital, and with 80 long-term observers deployed throughout Ukraine.

On election day, some 930 observers from 43 countries were deployed, including 756 long-term and short-term observers deployed by the OSCE/ODIHR, as well as a 91-member delegation from the OSCE PA, a 41-member delegation from the PACE, a 17-member delegation from the EP, and a 27-member delegation from the NATO PA. Voting was observed in over 3,000 polling stations out of a total of 29,977. Counting was observed in 340 polling stations across 173 election districts. The tabulation process was observed in 155 out of 213 DECs.

The observers wish to thank the authorities of Ukraine for the invitations to observe the election, the Central Election Commission for its co-operation and for providing accreditation documents, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other authorities for their assistance and co-operation. The observers also wish to express appreciation to the OSCE Project Co- ordinator in Ukraine, the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine and embassies and international organizations accredited in Ukraine for their co-operation and support.

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