## **Contents**

|   | List   | of Tables and Figures  | 9  |  |
|---|--|--|----|--|
|   | Introduction   |  |    |  |
|   | The Institute of International Election Observation in Ukraine Yevgen Shapoval |  |    |  |
| I | Rep  | orts by Non-Governmental Institutions  |    |  |
|   | 1.1  | The International Republican Institute (IRI)   |    |  |
|   |  | Preliminary Statement on the First Round of the Ukrainian Presidential Election (October 31, 2004)   | 23 |  |
|   |  | Preliminary Statement on the Second Round of the Ukrainian Presidential Election (November 21, 2004)   | 27 |  |
|   |  | Preliminary Statement on the Third Round of the Ukrainian Presidential Election (December 26, 2004)  | 30 |  |
|   | 1.2  | Tel Aviv Institute for the Countries of Eastern Europe and CIS (ICEE)  |    |  |
|   |  | Conclusions of the Official Mission of International Observers on the Presidential Elections in Ukraine 2004 [Excerpts from the Official Report] | 34 |  |
|   |  |  |    |  |

| 1.3  | European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO)   |     |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|---|-----|--|--|--|--|--|
|      | Statement on the First Round of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine (October 31, 2004)  | 41  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Statement on the Second Round of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine (October 31 – November 21, 2004)   | 54  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Statement on the Third Round of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine (December 26, 2004)   |     |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Summary Report on the 2004 Presidential Elections in Ukraine  |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| Repo | orts by Governmental Institutions   |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2.1  | The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)  |     |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Press Release: PACE Delegation Expects 'Corrective Action' in Time for Ukraine Election, Kyiv, 29 September 2004  |     |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Observation of the Presidential Election in Ukraine (31 October 2004): Report by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Bureau of the Assembly   | 87  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | APPENDIX – International Election Observation Mission<br>Press Release: Widespread Campaign<br>Irregularities Observed in Ukrainian Presi-<br>dential Election, Kyiv, 1 November 2004             | 100 |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Observation of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine –<br>Second Round (21 November 2004): Report of the Ad<br>hoc Committee of the Bureau of the Assembly  | 102 |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | APPENDIX – International Election Observation Mission Press Release: Second Round of Ukrainian Election Failed to Address Election Irregularities and Lacked Transparency, Kyiv, 22 November 2004 | 116 |  |  |  |  |  |

|     | Observation of the Presidential Election in Ukraine – Re-run Second Round of the Election (26 December 2004): Report by the Ad hoc Committee of the Bureau of the Assembly |  |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|-----|--|--|
|     | APPE   | ENDIX – International Election Observation Mission<br>Press Release: Repeat Second Round of<br>Election Brings Ukraine Substantially<br>Closer to Meeting International Standards,<br>Kyiv, 27 December 2004 |     |  |  |
| 2.2 | The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR)   |  |     |  |  |
|     | Missi<br>31 O  | Report of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation on on the Presidential Elections in Ukraine on ctober, 21 November and 26 December 2004 saw, 11 May 2005)  | 135 |  |  |
|     | I  | Executive Summary  | 135 |  |  |
|     | П  | Introduction and Acknowledgements  | 140 |  |  |
|     | Ш  | Background   | 141 |  |  |
|     | IV   | Legal Framework  | 143 |  |  |
|     | V  | Election Administration (31 October and 21 November)   | 147 |  |  |
|     | VI   | Participation of Women   | 157 |  |  |
|     | VII  | National Minorities  | 157 |  |  |
|     | VIII   | Election Campaign (30 August – 21 November 2004)   | 158 |  |  |
|     | IX   | Media and Elections  | 165 |  |  |
|     | X  | Disputes, Complaints and Appeals Prior to 21 November  | 171 |  |  |
|     | ΧI   | Civil Society and Domestic Observers   | 174 |  |  |

|      | XII  | 21 November Election Days  | 174 |  |  |
|------|--|--|-----|--|--|
|      | XIII   | Tabulation and Announcement of Results (31 October and 21 November)  | 181 |  |  |
|      | XIV  | Post-Election Events (22 November – 4 December)  | 184 |  |  |
|      | XV   | Repeat Second Round Vote   | 187 |  |  |
|      | XVI  | Recommendations  | 195 |  |  |
|      | Anne   | x: Election Results  | 206 |  |  |
|      | Abou   | t the OSCE/ODIHR   | 208 |  |  |
| 2.3  |  | Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)   |     |  |  |
|      | Announcement of the International Observers of the CIS on the Results of the Observation of the Preparation and Conduct of the Elections of the President of Ukraine on 31 October 2004 [Excerpts] |  |     |  |  |
|      | on the   | euncement of the International Observers of the CIS e Results of the Observation of the Preparation and luct of Repeat Voting during the Elections of the dent of Ukraine on 21 November 2004 [Excerpts]     | 215 |  |  |
|      | on the   | euncement of the International Observers of the CIS e Results of the Observation of the Preparation and luct of the Repeat Voting during the Elections of the dent of Ukraine on 26 December 2004 [Excerpts] | 218 |  |  |
| Cond | clusio   | ns   |     |  |  |
|      | •  | the Election Monitors  pchinsky  | 223 |  |  |