

**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

PRE-ELECTION REPORT

**THE NOVEMBER 1995 PRESIDENTIAL AND
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA

October 30, 1995





NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Fifth Floor, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 328-3136 ■ FAX (202) 939-3166 ■ E-Mail: demos@ndi.org

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. Working with political parties, civic organizations, legislatures and other democratic institutions, NDI has sponsored political development projects in more than 60 countries.

NDI's election support program in the Republic of Georgia, including publication of this report, is funded by the Agency for International Development.

This document has been prepared by the Tbilisi-based staff of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs in order to provide a summary of the issues and principal individuals involved in Georgia's November 5, parliamentary and presidential elections.



Table of Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. Election Framework
 - A. Election Administration
 - B. Ballot Qualification
 - C. Balloting and Counting
 - D. Provisions for Monitors
- III. Current Structure of the Georgian Parliament
- IV. Political Parties, Electoral Blocs, and Presidential Candidates
 - A. Political Parties
 - B. Presidential Candidates
- V. Campaign Background
- VI. Conclusions
- VII. Appendix
 - A. Political Parties and Blocs
 - B. Presidential Candidates
 - C. Fair Elections Society: Statement of Purpose

I. INTRODUCTION

On November 5, 1995 citizens of Georgia will go to the polls to elect a new parliamentary assembly, and for the first time since May 1991, a president. These elections come at an important time for Georgia, as much needed legislation on economic reform and a variety of political and organizational questions remain to be solved.

Amidst boycotts from South Ossetia and parts of Abkhazia, Georgia held its first round of Parliamentary elections as an independent state on October 11, 1992. Forty-seven political parties participated, and 235 Members of Parliament were elected (150 from party lists and 84 from single-member districts). A separate ballot in 1992 conferred a popular mandate on Eduard Shevardnadze to continue his leadership of the Republic in the dual capacity as Chairman of the Parliament and Head of State.

NDI has been conducting programming to assist the democratic transition in the Republic of Georgia since 1992 and has maintained a two-person field office in Tbilisi since September, 1994. From this office, NDI has conducted political party training programs, organized Parliamentary seminars, and hosted conferences for press secretaries and journalists. Accordingly, NDI was well positioned to work in Georgia when Parliamentary and Presidential elections were announced this summer to be held on November 5, 1995.

NDI's pre-election activities have included increased political party consultations, support for domestic election monitoring, and civic education. Recently, a series of party seminars and workshops were conducted in Tbilisi and in regional offices. NDI has also assisted the development of a Georgian organization that will organize domestic monitors for the elections. This group, the Fair Elections Society (FES), was formed in September 1995. The FES, a voluntary, nonpartisan, community-based organization, has conducted voter education and information campaigns and will train and send monitors to electoral precincts to observe election day processes, collect and record election day abuses, and provide independent information on election results, including an election report (See appendix C for FES' statement of purpose)

II. ELECTION FRAMEWORK

On November 5, Georgian voters will go to the polls to elect a new President and a new Parliament. The Presidential election will be by national popular vote. In addition, citizens of Georgia will vote for 235 parliamentary seats, 150 from party lists and 75 from single-member geographic districts. The term of the President will be five years and no more than two successive terms are allowed. The Parliament will be elected for a term of four years. The party list elections will be national, with each party receiving seats in proportion to its share of the national popular vote, over a five percent threshold. Majoritarian elections will be conducted in 75 of Georgia's 84 geographical districts. In the nine districts of Abkhazia, elections will not be held and the mandate of present Parliamentary representatives from Abkhazia will be extended until such time as elections can be conducted in that region. Accordingly, the 250,000 Georgian refugees from Abkhazia, located in temporary housing around the country, will be allowed to

vote in the Presidential and party list elections, but not the single-member district races.

Election Administration

The election law allows political parties to appoint members to the Central Election Commission (CEC), in addition to the three appointed by Parliament. Political parties, local authorities or administrations, registered public associations and groups of voters (50 for districts, 10 for precincts) have the power to nominate members of district and precinct electoral commissions, subject to an administrative approval procedure. In addition to these members, all district commissions will contain three members appointed by the CEC and all precinct commissions three members appointed by the district election commission.

The Central Election Commission has overall authority for the conduct of elections. Its responsibilities include registration of parties and candidates, preparation of ballot papers, allotting government-mandated time and space in the media, adjudication of disputes pertaining to national election matters, acting as an appeals board for disputes arising from districts, and supervising all other aspects of election activity. The CEC may order other government bodies to take actions required for implementation of the elections. The CEC confirms the results of national and district elections, makes final determinations as to whether voter participation and majority requirements were met, and schedules new elections or runoffs as needed.

District commissions have similar authority within their jurisdiction. In addition, they are to establish the location and staffing of polling stations, register majoritarian candidates for the district, adjudicate disputes arising at the district or precinct level, and make an initial determination as to whether voter participation and majority requirements were met in the district-based majoritarian races. They are to review the tabulation of results prepared by precinct commissions. Any complaints about the voting process must be filed with the district commission in the district where the violation is alleged to have occurred by 6 p.m. on the day after elections. The commission has one day to consider complaints and, on the third day, transmit its decisions to the CEC.

The precinct commissions are responsible for administering the voting process on election day. They must prepare voting lists at the polling place, ensure orderly voting and sum up the precinct results. They have the power to adjudicate precinct-based disputes.

Electoral authorities at all levels confront difficulties because of communication deficiencies. The Central Election Commission is currently unable to directly contact precinct commission chairs, having to rely on district commissions to carry out its instructions. In many cases, communication with the districts is also problematic, resulting in delayed transmissions of information. These difficulties pose a challenge to speedy tabulation and reporting of results and may result in lengthy delays.

Ballot Qualification

To qualify to be on the ballot, presidential candidates were required to submit petitions with 50,000 signatures to the Central Election Commission by September 26. Parliamentary candidates from single member districts were required to submit petitions with 1,000 signatures from residents of their districts by the same date. Parties represented in the Parliament as of August 24 automatically qualified for the list ballot; parties not represented in the Parliament were required to obtain 50,000 voter signatures by September 26. Dozens of members of the current Parliament unaffiliated with parties created their own parties before the August 24 cutoff date, allowing them to automatically register these new parties for the proportional ballot. At least one party, the Konstantin Gamsakhurdia Society, succeeded in getting the 50,000 signatures required for registration of parties not represented in the current Parliament.

Each party must have filed a party candidate list with the CEC by October 11, containing at least 100 and no more than 150 names in order of priority plus the number of candidates that the party is sponsoring in majoritarian races. Parties are allowed to have majoritarian candidates on their proportional list; in the event that the majoritarian candidate is elected, his name will be taken off the proportional list and the next candidate on that list will move into his slot.

Balloting and Counting

Balloting procedures are complicated. The law provides that in parliamentary races, voters must circle the "ordinal number" of the candidate and party/bloc for whom they are voting and cross off each of the multitude of candidates and parties/blocs for whom he or she is not voting. On the Presidential ballot, the law states that the names of rejected candidates must be crossed off without marking the one for whom one wishes to vote. Fearing that this "crossing-out" procedure is likely to lead to a high number of spoiled ballots and long lines at the precincts, the CEC has issued instructions to district and precinct officials making it clear that voters need only circle their choice of party/bloc or majoritarian or presidential candidate for the ballot to be considered valid.

Although Georgian voters will face a large list of parties on the proportional ballot, only those obtaining at least five percent of the votes cast will be represented in the new Parliament. The 150 party list seats will be allotted according to the following formula. First, each parties' percentage of the national popular vote will be calculated. The sum of votes for parties clearing the five percent threshold will be totaled and all other votes will be excluded. Then, the number of votes received by each of the parties not clearing the five percent threshold will comprise a total vote to be redistributed among those parties that did reach the threshold and each party will receive a proportional number of seats. For example, Party W receives 25 percent of the national popular vote. Three other parties surpass the five percent threshold, Party X having 10 percent, Party Y having 10 percent and Party Z having five percent, a total of 50 percent of the national popular vote. Party W's 25 percent of the national vote is increased by half of 50 percent of the vote which went to parties clearing the 5 percent threshold. Accordingly, Party W will have 50 percent of the seats in the new Parliament, Parties X and Y will have 20 percent each, and Party

Z will have 10 percent.

The election law contains a number of voting turnout requirements. Fifty percent of the nation's eligible voters must participate in the presidential and party list balloting for those elections to be considered valid. Fifty percent of the voters in each district must participate in the majoritarian balloting for the majoritarian election to be considered valid in that district. A winning majoritarian candidate for Parliament must receive at least one-third of the ballots cast.

The winning presidential candidate must receive an absolute majority of the ballots cast. If less than 50 percent of the voters participate in the first election, a new presidential election will be held within two months. In the event that no presidential candidate receives an absolute majority, a run-off will be held between the top two contenders, and only one-third voter participation will be required in that race. If less than 50 percent of the voters participate in the national party list balloting, new elections will be held, though the law does not state when. In the event that no majoritarian candidate receives more than one-third of the ballots cast in his district, a run-off will be held between the top two candidates on a date to be scheduled by the Central Election Commission.

Provisions for Monitors

The law also grants broad monitoring and observation rights. Article 31 of the Election Law provides:

The right to attend the meetings of electoral commissions and to be in the polling premises shall be granted to the authorized persons of parties and electoral blocs, accredited representatives of candidates, representatives (one per party) of those parties which have not appointed their members in electoral commissions, representatives of public associations and media, and observers from different states and international organizations; and on the day of elections, from the moment of sealing boxes to the very summing up of elections, to representatives of parties and blocs (one per each) and candidates of members of Parliament.

While the last clause could be interpreted restrictively to allow only monitors from parties, blocs and majoritarian candidates in the polling place during ballot-counting, the expectation is that it will be interpreted inclusively to permit observation during ballot counting.

The law provides access to international monitors, but requires additional clarification on how they should be credentialed. International election monitoring efforts are being led by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) through their Office of Democratic Initiatives and Human Rights (ODIHR), and the European Union, both of which have permanent representation in Georgia. Additional monitoring efforts may be sponsored by local embassies, including the Embassy of the United States. The European Union, in addition to providing election day observers, has made a consultant available to the Central Election Commission and launched a media monitoring project. The United Nations will not play a



formal monitoring role in these elections.

Generally, monitors from domestic organizations must register with precinct commissions no later than two days before election day by presenting a certificate issued by the sponsoring organization. Domestic monitors at district election commissions must present a similar certificate two days before the meeting of the district election commission they wish to observe.

The Fair Elections Society is conducting a nationwide domestic election monitoring effort with support from NDI. FES hopes to place up to 1000 monitors across Georgia on election day and repeat the process, as necessary, for the run-offs. In addition to election day monitoring, FES is monitoring the CEC's pre-election work and conducting voter education programs.

III. CURRENT STRUCTURE OF THE GEORGIAN PARLIAMENT

The current Parliament of Georgia is a single chamber body consisting of two hundred and thirty-five members. The Chairman of the Georgian Parliament is Eduard Shevardnadze, who was popularly elected in October of 1992, the same time that parliamentary elections were held. His term, and that of all parliamentarians, was three years. That three year term ended in October 1995.

As of June 1995, there were 22 political parties/blocs in the Parliament. The 22 came together into 14 factions, each having a minimum of ten members. Generally, factions consider themselves as being in the majority or as part of the opposition, but members frequently have voted according to personal interests and concerns. The Parliament included 17 permanent commissions as well as some special and temporary commissions.

Sittings of the Georgian Parliament occur in the autumn and spring, each lasting approximately four months. Within that time frame, sessions are generally conducted in two week cycles. The Parliament meets for one week, and then recesses for week-long commission meetings. Emergency sessions can also be called by one-fourth of the members or at the request of the Chairman but must be limited in their duration and have a pre-determined agenda.

Daily sessions of the Georgian Parliament are led by a Speaker and two Vice-Speakers. Under the new constitution, the Speaker will be elected by the whole Parliament and the two Deputy Speakers by Parliamentarians representing the special territories of Adjara and Abkhazia. The timetable and schedule for sessions of the Parliament are determined by "a Collegium" consisting of the Speaker, Vice Speakers, commission chairs, and leaders of factions. Unofficially, any member can also participate in Collegium meetings.

Criticism of the Parliament is a popular pastime among Georgians. The procedures are televised, often to the detriment of the body's public image. Viewers may see procedures ignored, agendas disregarded, and even occasional outbursts of physical violence. Often, the Parliament has failed to legislate in many important areas, leaving the government to rule by decree. Nonetheless, the Georgian Parliament has performed effectively at critical junctures. Over the last three years,

Parliament passed 130 new laws, including significant legislation on business enterprise structuring, state property privatization, monetary reform, foreign investment, and criminal procedure. The Parliament also performed its essential function of reviewing budgets and international treaties, occasionally forcing the government to make compromises and scramble for votes. Most significantly, the Parliament succeeded this summer in scheduling elections, adopting a constitution, and passing a new electoral law. These accomplishments required extensive negotiation and compromise, both among Parliamentary factions and between the Parliament and the Executive.

According to the new constitution, Parliament will hold its first session 20 days after the completion of the electoral process. For now, the Parliament will remain unicameral. The constitution provides, however, that a Senate will be added once there are appropriate conditions and when self-governing bodies have been created over the whole territory of Georgia. This carefully crafted language satisfied the demands of Parliamentarians who opposed passage of a constitution until the territorial status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia had been resolved. If created, the Senate will likely be chosen either by local government structures or by regionally based balloting; future powers are not yet defined in the constitution.

The new constitution provides for a potentially powerful legislative branch. The President may not dissolve Parliament, and the Parliament may not hold a vote of no confidence in the President or Cabinet. There will be no Prime Minister. The President must sign or veto all laws passed by Parliament, and Parliament may override a veto by a supermajority. Thus, as in the United States, Georgia has adopted a system where both the President and the Parliament have substantial checks and balances on each other's power -- something which is fairly unique in the region.

IV. POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTORAL BLOCS AND PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

For the last three years, most parties in Georgia were not defined by ideology, but rather by their relationship with the Head of State, Eduard Shevardnadze. For the November 5 elections, the spectrum has expanded to include three Communist parties, a Socialist party and parties consisting of supporters of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Differences exist over the relationship Georgia should have with Russia and over the territorial administration of the state, and the structures of government.

Currently, there are forty-seven political parties, seven blocs and six presidential candidates registered for the November 5 elections. All parties and blocs will be listed on one proportional ballot. Presidential candidates will be listed on a second ballot. A third ballot will be provided for single-member districts. The order in which the parties appear on the proportional list has been determined at random, while the presidential candidates will be listed according to who registered first. A description of the seven most influential parties/blocs and the three most prominent presidential candidates follows (a full list of parties and presidential candidates can be found in appendices A and B).

Political Parties

Union of Georgian Traditionalists

Though founded in 1942, the Traditionalist Party became active in the post-Soviet period only in 1992. Its leader, Akaki Asatiani, served as Speaker of the Supreme Soviet under former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and is currently a Member of Parliament. The party supports the restoration of the monarchy, free market economics, land privatization, and considers itself a member of the centrist opposition. Many of its regional activists are former factory managers who served as officials under Gamsakhurdia; its membership also includes Temur Basilia, current Vice-Premier of Finance. Under the leadership of Asatiani, the Traditionalists have a good chance of surpassing the five percent threshold.

Citizens Union of Georgia

The Citizens Union of Georgia (CUG) was formed in 1993 and is an amalgamation of diverse groups headed mainly by former leaders of the Green Party. Eduard Shevardnadze is the leader of the party with Zurab Zhvania serving as General Secretary. The party supports the policies of Mr. Shevardnadze, including economic reform and a federal system of government for Georgia. Recently, the party experienced some defections and splits as members squabbled about their place on the national election list. The party has strong regional support among governors appointed by Mr. Shevardnadze. The party should comfortably pass the five percent national threshold.

National Democratic Party

The National Democratic Party (NDP) was founded in 1917, reestablished itself underground in 1981 under the leadership of George Chanturia, and formally registered in 1992. Chanturia was assassinated in December, 1994 and the party is now led by his wife, Irina Sarishvili-Chanturia, who is a Member of Parliament. The NDP remains the best organized and disciplined of all Georgian political parties and has offices located throughout the country. Prior to recent Georgian's signing of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) treaty in October 1993, the NDP supported the policies of Mr. Shevardnadze. Today it is considered to be part of the centrist opposition. The NDP is a strong proponent of increased ties with the West, and is very cautious about relations with Russia. The party should comfortably pass the five percent party threshold.

United Republican Party

The United Republican Party, formed in 1994, arose from the merger of three smaller parties, the Popular Front, Charter 91 and the Republican Party. Based largely in Tbilisi, the party has had trouble consolidating its leadership and building a national organization. Despite its difficulties, the party controls the largest faction in the current Parliament with many members serving on influential committees. Politically, this party is centrist and coalesces around the issue of limited



executive power. Nonetheless, the party has formed coalitions in the past with some radical groups. The United Republicans have the 52nd position on the ballot; this might make it harder for the party to overcome the five percent threshold.

United Communist Party of Georgia

The United Communist Party of Georgia was registered in September of 1994 by its leader, Panteleimon Giorgadze. Recently, the party entered into a bloc with the Social Democratic Party and received the fourth spot on the proportional ballot. Politically, the party supports a planned economy, discourages private property and seeks increased cooperation with Russia. The party's leader, Mr. Giorgadze, is the father of the former chief of the Georgian Security Service, Igor Giorgadze, who was recently dismissed by Shevardnadze after an assassination attempt on his life on August 29. Panteleimon Giorgadze is a candidate for the office of the President and predicts that the party will surpass the five percent national threshold.

Socialist Party

The Socialist Party of Georgia, formed in March of 1995, is led by Vachtang Rcheulishvili, Vice-Speaker of the Georgian Parliament. The Socialists favor a state-controlled economy with strong social protection and gradual free market reform. The party may appeal to pensioners and those dissatisfied with current reforms yet unwilling to vote for the communists. Rcheulishvili has retained strong ties with Mr. Shevardnadze and members of the Citizens Union of Georgia.

Bloc: Twenty-First Century/Konstantin Gamsakhurdia Society/United Georgia and others

This bloc, after receiving 50,000 signatures, was registered in October of 1995. With the support of followers of the former President, this bloc has the potential to garner substantial votes in Western Georgia and Tbilisi. The bloc is ardently anti-Shevardnadze and contains many of Gamsakhurdia's closest advisors. This bloc will not be the only group of former "Zviadists" on the ballot. One other, called "Zviad's Road, Voice of the Nation", has also been registered. In general, supporters of the former President remain split over participation in these elections with a substantial group, the Round Table, undertaking a passive boycott.

Others

A number of other blocs and parties exist that are closely linked to Shevardnadze. One is called the Bloc Tanadgoma (Solidarity) whose members include the Speaker of the Parliament and recently resigned Prime Minister. Another is the Progress bloc, led by Vice Prime Minister Aftandil Margiani. A third is the Reformers Union, led by Vice Prime Minister Bakur Gulua. Of these, only the Reformers Union has distanced itself from the Citizens Union of Georgia before the pre-election period.

Presidential Candidates

Eduard Shevardnadze

Mr. Shevardnadze served as the First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of Georgia (1972-1985) and as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union (1985-1990), prior to returning to Georgia in 1992. He is the current Head of State and Chairman of the Georgian Parliament. Officially, Mr. Shevardnadze was nominated from the Citizens Union of Georgia party, but he has also received support from numerous other blocs, parties and individuals. On August 29, Mr. Shevardnadze narrowly escaped assassination when a car bomb exploded in the parking lot behind the Parliament. His popularity has since risen and he seems well positioned to win the election.

Jumber Patishvili

Mr. Patiashvili, is the leading opponent to Mr. Shevardnadze. An agronomist by training, he is currently a Member of Parliament. Mr. Patiashvili has been highly critical of current reforms, calling for a freeze on privatization and policy changes in the distribution of private land until "mafia elements" are eliminated. Mr. Patiashvili served as the General Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party in April, 1989 when peaceful protesters were killed in demonstrations opposing continued Soviet rule. Recent polls give Mr. Patiashvili between 10 and 25 percent of the vote.

Pantelemon Giorgadze

A former Major General in the Soviet Army, Mr. Giorgadze is the candidate of the United Communist Party of Georgia. Along with Mr. Patiashvili, Mr. Giorgadze is vying for the support of voters who are dissatisfied with Mr. Shevardnadze and would like to see Communist control re-established. Opponents charge that recent terrorist acts were discussed and planned in Mr. Giorgadze's apartment with the participation of his son, former Chief of the Georgian Intelligence Service. Current polls give Mr. Giorgadze between five and ten percent of the vote.

V. CAMPAIGN BACKGROUND

The electoral campaign season is now in full swing. Through a combination of posters, public gatherings, regional travel, and usage of the media, political contenders are actively vying for public visibility and support. To date, most campaigns have utilized traditional methods of voter contact, with an emphasis on public visibility and television. Some parties and candidates are attempting direct door-to-door contact, but many remain reluctant or feel overwhelmed by the size of their districts. Generally, the campaign has been peaceful, without accusations of systemic fraud or corruption.

In contrast with the 1992 elections, some parties are adopting more national approaches. Specifically, the National Democratic Party, Citizens Union of Georgia and Traditionalists are

attempting to shuttle their leaders around the country, spending more time outside Tbilisi than during the previous election. The CUG recently hosted a series of concerts around the country attended by their General Secretary, Zurab Zhvania. Irina Sarishvili-Chanturia (leader of the NDP) and Akaki Asatiani (leader of the Traditionalists) have both traveled to eastern and western Georgia to host events and meetings.

The election law guarantees equal media time for parties and candidates, both for national print and television media. The law requires that state television provide a minimum of three hours per day to candidates and parties. This time must be allotted evenly among the parties; if one party fails to use its time, that time cannot be transferred to others. State newspapers must print platforms of parties and party lists at no cost, in an impartial fashion. The CEC requires independent television stations to declare the amount of time that will be made available for political advertisements and statements and publicize the rates at which time will be sold. All parties and candidates must be charged the same rates.

It is difficult to assess how much money is being spent by parties and candidates. Pursuant to legislation, the CEC has made a small amount of funds available to parties and blocs. Few have chosen to accept the money. Instead, most parties are seeking private financing and complain regularly about the financial irregularities of other parties. The larger parties are conducting more sophisticated, professional, and expensive campaigns than in 1992.

VI. Conclusion

The 1995 Georgian elections are a major step along the country's road to democratization. The third elections in the country's post-Soviet period, they are critical to the consolidation of its democratic structures, its independence and stabilization. Lack of finances and poor communications pose a greater threat to the conduct of the elections than the prospect of systemic fraud, though the potential for local corruption remains high in certain areas. While these elections cannot be viewed as the last word in Georgia's democratic transition, their fair and efficient conduct will send an important signal to the country's population that the democratic alternative offers the best hope for the future.

APPENDIX A

POLITICAL PARTIES AND BLOCS (in order of appearance on the November 5 ballot)

1. Georgian Social Justice Union
2. Georgian Political Organization, "Lemi"
3. National Independence Party of Georgia
4. Bloc- United Communist Party of Georgia and Social Democrats
5. Democratic Party
6. (Absolute) Georgian Revival Party
7. Abkhazet- My Home
8. Motherland Party
9. Women Protection Union
10. Bloc- Christian Democratic European Choice (Georgian National Party and Georgian Christian Democratic Party)
11. Georgian Progress Party
12. Georgian Social Party
13. Absolute Georgian Peace and Independence Party
14. New Georgia
15. Communist Party of Georgia
16. Georgian Intellectual League
17. Georgian Independent Party
18. Georgian Christian Democratic Party
19. Agrarian Union of Georgia
20. Merab Kostava Society
21. Social Defense Society
22. Bloc- Zviad's Road, Voice of the Nation
23. National Group
24. Georgian Economic and Social Progress League- Bourgeois Democratic Party
25. Liberal Democratic National Party
26. National Democratic Party
27. Stalin Society
28. Georgian Ancestral Union
29. "Democratic Georgia"
30. Political organization, "Mamuli"
31. Georgian political movement "Fatherland, Language, and Faith"
32. God's Children Union
33. Popular Friendship and Justice Party
34. Political organization "Trade Union- Elections"
35. "Motherland's Shield"
36. Conservative Monarchist Party
37. Georgian Agrarian Party

38. Bloc- "Economic Revival-Yellows" (Constitutional Democratic Party, Progress Democratic Party)
39. Ilya Chavchavadze Society
40. Georgian Liberal- Conservative Party
41. Political Union "Tanadgoma"
42. Citizens Political Union "Georgian Women for Elections"
43. United National and Social Equality Party of Georgia
44. State Justice Union
45. Citizens Union of Georgia
46. Bloc- 21st Century, Konstantin Gamsakhurdia Society, United Georgia (National political movement, "Georgia's Heart; Konstantin Gamsakhurdia Society)
47. Political movement "Georgia's Future"
48. Elections Society
49. Bloc- "Progress" (Georgian Democratic Union, Youth Democrats Union)
50. Union of Georgian Traditionalists
51. Bloc- "Reformers Union"
52. United Republican Party
53. Family Revival Union of Georgia
54. Bloc- "For Life" (Georgia's Citizen Movement, "For Life", Georgian Mountaineers Union)

APPENDIX B

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

1. Eduard Shevardnadze, Citizens Union of Georgia
2. Jimber Patiashvili, Bloc "For Life"
3. Akaki Bakradze, writer and opposition figure
4. Panteleimon Giorgadze, United Communist Party of Georgia
5. Roin Liparteliani, Agrarian Party
6. Kartlos Garibashvili, former Chairman of the Democratic Party of Georgia



APPENDIX C

FAIR ELECTIONS SOCIETY STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Organization

The Fair Elections Society was established in order to promote the development of democratic processes, citizen participation in civic life, and promote public scrutiny of governmental activities. The Fair Elections Society is a Georgian citizens group established to observe the elections of November 5, 1995. It is voluntary, non-partisan, and community based.

The Fair Elections Society derives its strength from its volunteers, who undertake the observation effort out of a belief that citizen participation is important to the development of a democratic political process in Georgia.

Objectives

The Fair Elections Society seeks to enhance a fair and legal process for the elections. The activities of the Fair Elections Society will work towards achieving free, orderly and meaningful elections and honesty in government. In pursuing this goal, the Fair Elections Society encourages men and women of competence and integrity to render public service. As an election-based organization, Fair Elections Society's specific objectives include:

- observing the elections process
- providing independent information on election results
- educating and informing voters

Description of Activity

The Fair Elections Society will mount a nation-wide domestic election monitoring program for the parliamentary and presidential elections of November 5, 1995 in Georgia. In the weeks preceding the elections, the Fair Elections Society will develop organizational structures, including a steering committee and a paid staff, to support the observation activities. The Fair Elections Society staff and volunteers will recruit and train citizens to monitor the elections, using internationally accepted materials.

During this process, the Fair Elections Society will inform voters about technical issues, such as how to check their registration. The Fair Elections Society reserves the right to educate citizens about parties and candidates through such events as candidate fora. The Fair Elections Society will provide technical assistance on request to the state bodies administering the elections process. The Fair Elections Society will also support monitoring of the campaign period.

On election day, the Fair Elections Society will deploy monitors to polling centers to observe site preparation, the casting of ballots and vote counting. The Fair Elections Society will also



send observers to regional vote tabulation centers. Monitors will transmit reports to the Fair Elections Society headquarters in Tbilisi, where information from around the country will be collected and analyzed.

Following the elections, the Fair Elections Society will issue a statement on the voting process. The statement will be released at a new conference, and will be made available to the Central Elections Commission, political parties, media, and the international community.