

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**  
**ELECTION COORDINATION GROUP**  
**AD HOC DELEGATIONS FOR OBSERVATION**  
**OF THE**  
**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN GEORGIA**

**2 November 2003**  
**and**  
**23 November 2003**

**PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN GEORGIA**

**4 January 2004**

**RERUN OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN GEORGIA**

**28 March 2004**

**ELECTION OBSERVATION REPORT**

*by*  
*Mr Demetrio VOLCIC,*  
*Chairman of the Delegation*

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**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR  
EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE UNION**

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7 June 2004  
EUR/TB/ES

# ***PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS***

## ***2 November 2003***

### **Introduction**

The President of the European Parliament received a letter from the Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs on 3 July 2003 inviting the Parliament to send a delegation to observe the Parliamentary elections in Georgia taking place on 2 November 2003. On 4 September 2003, following a recommendation from the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr Elmar BROK, the Conference of Presidents authorised a five-member delegation (2x EPP, 1x PES, 1x Greens/EFA and 1x GUE/NGL). Three members - Messrs Demetrio VOLCIC (PES, Italy), Per GAHRTON (Greens/EFA, Sweden) and Miquel MAYOL i RAYNAL (Greens/EFA, Spain) eventually participated.

Mr VOLCIC was elected chair of the delegation at the constituent meeting on 7 October 2003. A second preparatory meeting took place on 16 October, which was addressed by the Georgian Ambassador to the EU, Mr Konstantin ZALDASTANISHVILI. On 21 October the third preparatory meeting took place which was addressed by an official from the Council of Europe. The delegation went to Georgia from 30 October to 4 November 2003. The European Parliament observed the elections within the framework of the "troika" which also comprised members from the parliamentary assemblies of the OSCE and the Council of Europe. This formed the parliamentary element of the International Election Observation Mission (IEOM). The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) coordinated the work of the IEOM.

### **Background**

The Georgian Parliament is elected for a four-year term and the previous election took place in 1999. All three elections since independence have been adjudged by international observers to have fallen short of internationally acceptable standards. The elections were seen as a prelude to the 2005 presidential elections at which time the former president, Mr Shevardnadze, was constitutionally required to step down.

There are 235 seats in the parliament, which are contested in elections held through universal, equal and direct suffrage. The country has a mixed system of electing MPs - from party lists and in single-seat constituencies. 150 members are elected by proportional representation from the lists of candidates presented by the parties and blocs. There is a seven per cent threshold for parties and blocs to obtain the parliamentary seats allocated under proportional representation. The remaining MPs are elected in the country's 85 single-seat constituencies. At least one third of the total number of voters are required to vote in order to validate the elections.

The elections did not take place in any of the constituencies in the breakaway region of Abkhazia, Java and South Ossetia/Tskhinvali districts. MPs elected in Abkhaz constituencies in 1992 are permitted to retain their seats "until Georgian jurisdiction is fully restored in Abkhazia and the necessary conditions are in place for holding elections to the Georgian parliament".

Elections in Georgia are administered by electoral commissions operating at three levels: the Central Election Commission (CEC), 75 District Election Commissions (DECs) and 2,893

Precinct Election Commissions (PECs). Overall responsibility for the preparation and conduct of elections rested with the CEC which was chaired by Nana DEVDARIANI, who was appointed by President Shevardnadze on 31 August 2003 from a list prepared by the OSCE and Council of Europe. Mrs Devdariani headed a new CEC as the previous Commission was adjudged to have been inadequate for the task. The elections were conducted under the Unified Electoral Code (UEC) which had been substantially amended in August 2003.

In the view of the IEOM the preparations for the Parliamentary elections were marred in particular by the inaccuracy of the voter lists, which led to the disenfranchisement of many electors. The issue of voter registration became the most contentious technical matter during the run-up to the elections, with significant political repercussions. The campaign was generally orderly, apart from two serious instances of violence in Kvemo Kartli and Batumi in the autonomous region of Adjara. There were also some instances of intimidation and reports of public employees in particular being pressurised to support pro-government candidates. Allegations of misuse of state administrative resources to the advantage of the pro-presidential bloc were also made. The media, with the exception of that in Adjara, were adjudged to have allowed the electorate a diverse range of political opinions.

The CEC accredited 45 domestic observer organisations, the largest (International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy) deploying some 2,500 observers on election day. The observers conducted a parallel vote tabulation (PVT) for the first time in Georgia. The IEOM deployed some 450 short term observers, including 21 parliamentarians from the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, 21 from the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, in addition to the three European Parliament members. The IEOM observed the count in over 1,200 polling stations, out of a total of 2,893.

A total of 39 parties were registered for the elections, of which twelve stood alone and nine formed coalitions. The main parties/blocs in the election were: "For a New Georgia" bloc (pro-government); Burjanadze-Democrats bloc (including Zurab Zhvania); the Labour Party; the Saakashvili - National Movement bloc; the Union of Georgia's Democratic Revival (essentially an Adjara party); the New Right bloc; Industry Will Save Georgia; Unity/Ertoba. There were no quotas for women in electoral lists and there were no women candidates in 42 of the 75 election districts. However the National Democratic Party was headed by a woman and the Speaker of the Parliament, Nino BURJANADZE, also headed a major electoral list.

### **Summary of discussions during the visit**

Sunday 31 October 2003

The delegation attended a series of briefings organised by the OSCE/ODIHR - see programme

#### **OSCE/ODIHR and UNITED NATIONS**

The main points to emerge from the briefings with OSCE/ODIHR and United Nations speakers were as follows:

- Outline of the staffing of the ODIHR mission, in addition to the short-term observers there were 22 long-term observers deployed in ten regional centres, 13 core staff in Tbilisi. Headed by Julian Peel Yates.
- Outline of the electoral system (see above). There were 465 candidates in the single mandate constituencies. In two constituencies there was a single candidate.
- The visit by former US Secretary of State James Baker in July 2003 had mobilised the international community to take an active interest in the elections. The quality of the elections would have a major influence on how Georgia would be perceived by the international community.
- The Citizens' Union party of President Shevardnadze had fragmented, with the New Right party breaking away in June 2001, the National Movement in November 2001, and the ZHVANIA bloc in November 2002.
- The inaccuracies in the voters' lists had created uncertainty, which had led to many "dead souls" remaining on the lists and young people not being added. The most serious weaknesses were in Tbilisi. There had also been misuse of administrative resources and government attempts to get control of the district electoral commissions. This interference had not been confined to the government and the opposition had also sought to take advantage of its position when it headed a local council.
- Positive elements in the election campaign included the transparency of the CEC and the improved legal framework. The campaign had largely been free of violence and there had been relative freedom of the media. The judiciary had shown itself to be independent and there was an active civil society.
- The most important issues of the electoral campaign were the economy (there was a 50% poverty rate) and the territorial integrity of Georgia.

#### **Central Election Commission (CEC) Chair - Nana DEVDARIANI**

Mrs DEVDARIANI noted that the new CEC had been convened on 4 September 2003, with 15 members - 14 appointed by the political parties. She underlined the shortage of time and funding for her tasks and the problems of working with staff from the former CEC who had mixed loyalties. She was also obliged to implement binding decisions made by the old CEC. She outlined the procedures for the elections, in particular the marking of voters with ink to ensure that they did not vote twice. She noted also that the police could not be present in the polling stations unless specifically requested

#### **"For a New Georgia" bloc**

The representative of "For a New Georgia" bloc (pro-Shevardnadze coalition) stated that the elections needed to be free, fair and transparent. Some NGOs and media outlets (especially the Rustavi 2 TV station) could be partisan in favour of the opposition and the concept of civil society in Georgia was different from that in the West. His bloc's manifesto stood for sustainable transport, environmental protection, poverty reduction and higher standards of education. He warned of foreign funding of opposition parties such as the Burjanadze Democrats.

### **"Industry will save Georgia"**

The representative stated that in many areas the number of voters on the list exceeded the actual population. He warned that western organisations such as the IMF had created huge problems for Georgia and had made reform of the taxation system more difficult. He described the Industrialists as an "opposition party that sometimes agreed with the government". It received much support from those who had lost their jobs as a consequence of industrial restructuring. It had around 500 elected members in local councils.

### **Labour Party**

The representative of the Labour Party stated that it was a "free market party with a social conscience". It supported constitutional change and a bicameral system with a Cabinet of Ministers. It enjoyed high ratings and had 250,000 members. In the 1999 elections it had suffered from electoral violations, which had reduced its vote.

### **National Movement**

The representative of the National Movement spoke of the disturbances in Batumi (Adjara) where the party had sought to hold a rally. This had been the first time in 15 years that a party other than Revival had held a rally in Adjara. He warned that the government was exploiting the IDPs and the national minorities such as the Armenians. The most important part of his party's programme was the fight against corruption. It was also proposing a tax amnesty for two years for small businesses.

### **Burjanadze-Democrats**

The representative of the Burjanadze Democrats (Zurab ZHVANIA) described his party as the "pro-western moderate opposition". He warned of electoral violations and cases of the police being taken in buses to more than one polling station. There was also a risk of violence. He welcomed the new election law as an improvement on the previous one. He stated that his party could work with the National Movement or the New Rights party but that it could not form a coalition with Labour or the Revival Party.

### **New Rights Party**

The representative of the New Rights Party described his group as centre-right and pro-free market. It had greatest support from the young and was hoping for 15% of the vote. He claimed that it was also the only party with a serious representation in the ethnic minority areas.

### **Jumber Patiashvili-Unity Party (Ertoba)**

The party representative stated that the US embassy was not in favour of her party. She noted that many people were unhappy with the system of marking voters' hands with ink because of religious or health reasons. She warned that the authorities could take advantage of unused ballot papers in order to falsify the results. The voters' lists were very inaccurate, with many deceased still on them and many younger people excluded. She also detailed problems that her party had encountered during the campaign and the bureaucratic obstacles that it had faced. She stressed that her party was pro-Georgia but it recognised the importance of economic links with Russia, which was a major energy supplier. Moscow was also the key to the resolution of the problems with the breakaway regions.

Saturday 1 November

**Local NGOs :**

**Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA)**

**International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED)**

**Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD)**

The GYLA representative stated that the 178 observers of her group would be monitoring the Adjara region, Tbilisi and Rustavi. In Adjara particularly there were significant problems with no electoral lists ready as of 8 p.m. the previous evening.

The ISFED representative noted that his organisation had observed all the elections since 1995. It had been accused of being paid by Zurab ZHVANIA. It was carrying out parallel vote tabulation and would be checking the results.

The CIPDD representative pointed out that the ethnic minority voters were more likely to vote for the government, as they remembered the extreme nationalism of former President GAMSAKHURDIA's administration and they associated the National Movement with these tendencies. The minorities did not speak Georgian and did not follow the media. They were afraid of being seen as disloyal if they did not vote for the government.

**International NGOs:**

**International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)**

**National Democratic Institute (NDI)**

**International Republican Institute (IRI)**

The speakers expressed concern that the government bodies responsible for maintaining records did not conduct the exercise in good faith and that there may have been deliberate manipulation of the voter lists. They underlined that Georgia set great store by the good opinion of Europe. They warned that the Adjara authorities had not presented voter lists to the central administration and that 290,000 voters were rumoured to be on the lists in the region, which was a clearly inflated figure. The ethnic Azeri area of Kartli had a bad reputation for ballot stuffing. They underlined the importance of parallel vote counts, which were statistically valid, and the importance of international observers speaking to the local independent observers in the polling stations to ensure that they were not being intimidated. They noted that the state was a major employer outside Tbilisi and that this had given it great powers of patronage.

**Media:**

**Rustavi 2 TV, State TV and Radio, Imedi TV, Radio Liberty**

The representative of state TV argued that the press enjoyed greater freedom of expression of the press than it had in the past. The Imedi or "Hope" speaker stated that his channel had been broadcasting for less than a year and now covered 78% of Georgia. Speakers stated that media legislation was very liberal but that implementation was sometimes a problem. Some speakers argued that it was impossible for the state TV to be unbiased and that it was a "classic example of post-Soviet TV". The representative of state TV stated that it broadcast two hours a day that was divided proportionally among the political parties and that this was guaranteed by law.

Sunday 2 November 2003

## **Polling day - evaluation**

### ➤ **Description and analysis of procedures on polling day: voting procedures, voters' lists, counting, complaints**

The delegation observed the elections in three locations. Mr VOLCIC remained in Tbilisi where he observed the elections in a working class suburb near the airport. Mr GAHRTON travelled to the industrial city of Rustavi and Mr MAYOL I RAYNAL travelled to Bakuriani/Borjomi in a mountainous region.

All members concurred with the overall conclusions of the IEOM, which stated that the elections fell short of a number of OSCE commitments and other international standards for democratic elections. Inaccuracies in the voter lists seriously challenged the fundamental guarantee of universal and equal suffrage and lessened voters' confidence in the State administration. On election day there were reports of large numbers of voters being turned away from Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) due to the omission of their names from the voter registers. The election administration took a number of improvised decisions and these were sometimes in contravention of the law. There were also reports of large numbers of unauthorised persons inside polling stations, including police and local government officials, some of whom interfered in the process.

On the positive side the introduction of the Unified Electoral Code (UEC) had led to an improved legal framework and the pluralistic nature of the election campaign allowed voters a real choice. The presence of domestic civic observers and party representatives helped to maintain transparency in most areas. Many PECs were reported to have coped relatively well under very difficult conditions

The overall impression was that the elections were seriously flawed and badly administered, most notably owing to the problems with irregularities in the voter lists. The press statement of the IEOM is attached - see annex.

### ➤ **Results** (Threshold to enter Parliament - 7%)

20 November 2003

The Central Election Commission's Final Results were as follows:

1. For New Georgia bloc	38 seats - 21.32%
2. Democratic Union of Revival Party	33 seats - 18.84%
3. Saakashvili-National Movement bloc	32 seats - 18.80%
4. Labour Party of Georgia bloc	20 seats - 12.04%
5. Burjanadze- Democrats bloc	15 seats - 8.79%
6. New Rights bloc	12 seats - 7.35%

Parallel Vote Tabulation conducted by election observer NGO "International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy":

1. Saakashvili-National Movement bloc	26.60%
2. For New Georgia bloc	18.92%
3. Labour Party of Georgia bloc	17.30%
4. Burjanadze-Democrats bloc	10.15%
5. Democratic Union of Revival Party	8.13%
6. New Rights bloc	7.95%
7. Industry will Save Georgia bloc	5.20%



**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - SECOND ROUND**  
**23 November 2003**

**Background**

On 16 November 2003 it was announced that the second round of the Parliamentary elections would take place on 23 November 2003. Following a request from Mr VOLCIC to the Conference of Presidents authorised a further ad hoc delegation to observe this round. Mr VOLCIC and Mr MAYOL i RAYNAL participated on this occasion. The second round was for the single seat constituencies in which the candidate with the most votes obtained less than a third of the total votes cast. The opposition had in the interim declared the 2 November 2003 elections to be riddled with fraud and refused to accept the results. Large scale demonstrations took place outside the Parliament building. President SHEVARDNADZE had refused to compromise and a stand off existed with the threat of civil war looming.

22 November 2003

**Zurab CHIABERASHVILI, Executive Director, International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED)**

Mr CHIABERASHVILI outlined the significant flaws in the elections of 2 November 2003 (see above) and stressed that the results were unacceptable. He drew particular attention to the fraudulent activities abroad, notably in Russia. He underlined that there was no public trust in the authorities and doubts were growing that it would be possible to change the government through constitutional means. He welcomed the involvement of most international observers, but was not happy with Russian observers. He considered that Mr Shevardnadze was isolating himself and noted that the President had refused to speak to former Secretary of State James Baker earlier in the week. The Georgian authorities considered that the West had accepted the fraudulent elections in Azerbaijan the previous month and would do the same in Georgia. ISFED would seek to cover 80% of polling stations.

**Zurab ZHVANIA - opposition leader**

Mr ZHVANIA argued that President SHEVARDNADZE had missed many opportunities for a compromise, ignoring a personal letter from President BUSH and bringing in police and other groups of individuals from Adjara. Mr Shevardnadze now also ignored the intelligentsia and western opinion. Mr Zhvania stressed that if the opposition were to give up now there would be no future chance of establishing democracy. In his view the only solution was the resignation of President Shevardnadze, as the opposition had been pushed into a corner. He believed that the police were on the side of the people. He regretted that the New Rights party now appeared to be supporting the government as the authorities had helped them to pass the 7% threshold. Mr ZHVANIA spoke of the birth for the first time of a real civil society in Georgia and noted that many people were participating in demonstrations for the first time.

**Nana DEVDARIANI - Chair of Central Election Commission**

Mrs DEVDARIANI stated that she had been put under considerable pressure to place Mr SAAKASHVILI's party first. She welcomed the fact that for the first time in Georgia's history there had been no changing of protocols and no deals between the parties and also for the first time the opposition had received more votes than the government. In her view the elections were the fairest in the period since independence and there was time to improve things still further before presidential elections in 2005. Mrs DEVDARIANI considered that the opposition was

trying to blackmail the government and that it should be pursuing its complaints through the CEC. Instead, she argued, it would only be satisfied when it had got a majority in the Parliament. She was prepared to investigate all complaints about voters' lists. She argued that Adjara was ready to secede from Georgia and that if this happened it would mean the end of the country. She had therefore been obliged to accept the results from that region.

### **OSCE/ODIHR Briefing**

The delegation was updated on developments since the elections of November 2. It was reported that there had been a considerable amount of manipulation in the tabulation process and that the District Election Commissions in particular had been engines of fraud. Arrangements for the observation of the elections on the following day were outlined.

### 22-23 November 2003

#### **"ROSE REVOLUTION"**

The meeting was subsequently interrupted with the news that demonstrators led by Mr SAAKASHVILI had broken into the opening of the new Parliament. President SHEVARDNADZE had insisted on going ahead with the opening of the new parliament despite demonstrations and protests by the opposition. The inauguration of this new Parliament did not go ahead and the supporters of the National Movement and the Burjanadze-Democrats occupied the building. It became apparent that there would not be a second round of elections on the following day. It was announced that President SHEVARDNADZE had declared a state of emergency. The delegation subsequently observed the demonstrations and was updated at regular intervals on the situation by the EU Ambassador, H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE. At around 8.30pm on 23 November President SHEVARDNADZE resigned. The Speaker of the Parliament, Mrs Nino BURJANADZE, replaced him as interim President. New Presidential elections were subsequently called for 4 January 2004.

### 24 November 2003

#### **Meeting of EU ambassadors and Ambassador Heikki TALVITIE**

Mr Heikki TALVITIE, the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, had already arranged to travel to Georgia. He briefed the EU ambassadors and stressed the need for the interim Georgian authorities to adhere to the constitution and maintain a political dialogue. The constitution stated that elections needed to be held within 45 days. Georgia faced a serious budgetary shortage and there was a need for debt rescheduling. He noted that the interim President was not authorised to dismiss ministers, but that some might resign.

#### **Zurab ZHVANIA**

Mr ZHVANIA outlined developments during the last two days. He stressed that Mr Shevardnadze was not planning to leave Georgia and that he would receive the respect due to a former President. The Supreme Court would annul the proportional element of elections of 2 November 2003 and presidential elections would take place within 45 days. The dates for the rerun of the Parliamentary elections were not clear and would be the subject of discussion. The new government had asked Russian Foreign Minister IVANOV to use his influence on the Adjara government, which had been making noises about declaring independence. The country's banking system was close to collapse and western assistance was needed. The main

priority of the interim government was to move closer towards the EU and to cooperate with NATO. He also mentioned that it might be appropriate for the European Parliament to become involved in the process of democratic transformation.

**Nino BURJANADZE - Interim President**

Mrs BURJANADZE considered that the resignation of Mr Shevardnadze had legitimised the situation and serious consequences had been avoided. It was important to maintain stability in the country and to restore a normal life. Georgia would be loyal to its international commitments and the new government placed a high priority on deepening relationships with its neighbours. The catastrophic budget situation made it essential to have the confidence of foreign investors. She had abolished the state of emergency as she considered that it was no longer necessary. Mrs BURJANADZE stated that the election machinery needed to be changed for the new elections and the composition of the CEC needed to be changed, notably with the replacement of Mrs DEVDARIANI. It was necessary to return to the formula proposed by James Baker and to address the serious irregularities in the voters' lists. All necessary measures should be taken to combat fraud. She regretted that she was not empowered to replace ministers, although she could assign their duties to deputies. She was also unable to do much about the regional governors, some of whom were not acting in the interest of the state.

N.B. Other meetings took place - see programme - which were not attended by the official owing to restrictions on numbers.

Mr VOLCIC issued a press statement (annex) which welcomed the absence of bloodshed during the events of the previous days and called for a peaceful settlement of the problems facing Georgia.

## ***PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS***

***4 January 2004***

### **Background**

On 17 December 2003 the Conference of Presidents authorised a further delegation to observe the Presidential elections which were to take place following the resignation of Mr SHEVARDNADZE. Mr VOLCIC once again chaired the delegation and was accompanied by Mrs Ursula SCHLEICHER (EPP-ED, Germany) and Mr Per GAHRTON.

Although there were six candidates the clear frontrunner was Mikhail SAAKASHVILI who had been one of the leaders of the "Rose Revolution". Opinion polls gave him over 85% of the vote.

### 3 January 2004

**Mr Craig JENNESS**, Head of OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission, outlined the background to the Presidential elections on 4 January 2004. He stressed that the technical problems could be overcome but that there was a need for a clear sign that the political will now existed to tackle the underlying problems. The voters' list was still incomplete and had some inaccuracies as there had been insufficient time to overcome all the shortcomings. The result of the election was a foregone conclusion and the most significant factor was the test of the election administration. He noted that civil society was less evident in the current elections than had been the case in the Parliamentary elections in November. He argued that there was a case for delaying the parliamentary elections to ensure that the administrative machinery was adequate.

Mr Jenness noted that a 50% turnout of registered voters was required and that the winner needed 50% of the votes cast. To date 1.7 million electors had registered. Others would be able to register on polling day. Polling stations would be open in Adjara, however no voters had been registered to date. Marking of voters would take place throughout the country which had been funded by the OSCE. The Patriarch of the Georgian Orthodox Church had declared that he was not opposed to this practice. The ink was to ISO standards and was used throughout the world. The elections would take place in the same polling stations as in the November elections.

**Ambassador Roy REEVE**, Head of the OSCE Permanent Mission to Georgia, noted that the current Georgian leadership had been in favour of holding the presidential and Parliamentary elections at the same time. However they had been persuaded at the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly at Maastricht in early December to hold the Parliamentary elections later and they were now likely to take place in March. He noted that the OSCE Permanent Mission had been more closely involved in the preparations for the elections than on previous occasions. At Maastricht the OSCE member countries had allocated almost EUR 4 million to the Georgia Elections Assistance Programme, of which EUR 2 million was being used for technical assistance for the presidential elections. The European Commission had allocated EUR 2 million from its Rapid Reaction Fund for the elections.

The parliamentarians then heard updates on the elections from the following individuals: **Hans WESSELING**, Deputy Head, OSCE Mission to Georgia; **Sabine FREIZER**, OSCE/ODIHR Political Analyst; **Maria FARIELLO**, OSCE/ODIHR Legal Analyst; **Harald JEPSEN**, OSCE/ODIHR Election Analyst; **Lucia SCOTTON**, OSCE/ODIHR Media Analyst; **Tina**

**KHIDASHELI**, Director, Legal Aid Service, Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA); International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED); **Ghia NODIA**, Chairman, The Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD); **Silvana PIUZINA**, Project Manager, IFES; **Lincoln MITCHELL**, Director, National Democratic Institute (NDI); **Mark LENZI**, Country Director for Georgia, International Republican Institute (IRI).

The main points to emerge were that it had been difficult since November 23 2003 for the parliament elected in 1999 to achieve a quorum and many local officials had resigned. No major political parties, except that of Mr Saakashvili, had presented candidates for the elections. Labour and the Revival Party were boycotting the elections but had left the choice whether to vote to individual members. Mr Saakashvili had not been very visible during the campaign, as he was reportedly concerned about his security. There had been no public financing of the campaign and candidates who were not in receipt of foreign funds were facing financial problems.

The 2001 Electoral Code had been consolidated and subsequently amended, most recently in November 2003. The new Central Election Commission had tried to stay within the legal framework and had generally done good work. There had been considerably fewer complaints about voter registration, although Labour and the New Rights party had questioned whether it was legitimate, however the Court had refused to hear the complaint. A pluralistic media environment existed and the private media was becoming more important. 99% of the paid advertising was for Mr Saakashvili. There was a danger of a single party parliament, as the opposition was fragmented and there needed to be a check on the government.

**Zurab CHIABERASHVILI, Chairman of Central Election Commission (CEC)** stated that the CEC had decided to implement "bottom up" voter registration whereby the obligation lay with citizens to register as voters. In rural areas, however, door to door registration of voters had taken place. By December 27 2003 1.7 million voters had registered (there had been 3.2 million voters registered for the November 2 Parliamentary elections but this figure was inflated by "dead souls". There would also be election day registration, however the volume would be hard to predict. No registration was taking place in Adjara and in the view of the CEC there was no point in making alterations in the election administration in this region, as there had been no other changes in such key areas as the media. There were no exact figures on the number of voters, as the state agencies were not functioning properly. Border checkpoints did not maintain proper data and there were no correct figures on migration.

In preparations for the Parliamentary elections it was important to prevent the overdominance of the Burjanadze-National Democrat Movement in the electoral administration. The majoritarian MPs elected on 2 November 2003 were waiting to take up their seats in the new parliament.

**Hamlet CHIPASHVILI - Tbilisi Representative of the Head of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara** pointed to shortcomings in the constitution and argued that 45 days was an insufficient time to organise elections. He stressed that Revival had support across Georgia. He noted that residents of Adjara could receive all TV broadcasts and newspapers and that Adjara TV had not had an office in Tbilisi since November 2003.

**Kartlos GHARIBASHVILI, Political Union "Lawyers"** Mr Gharibashvili pointed to the "malfunctioning" of the political system and argued for a federal decentralised system. He considered that the current parliament of Georgia had no legitimacy and considered that there were irregularities in the media.

**Levan ROBKIDZE, Head of Campaign for Teimuraz Shashiashvili, Initiative Group** pointed to fraud and irregularities in the elections.

**Zurab KELEKSASHVILI, Bloc "Mdzleveli"** argued that the Shevardnadze government had been removed in an unconstitutional manner by a coup and that there was a danger of civil war.

**Nino BURJANADZE, Interim President of Georgia** pointed to the problems of the Adjara region and was pessimistic about free elections taking place; however there was ongoing contact with Mr ABASHIDZE. She promised that all those who hampered free and fair elections would be punished, nevertheless at present the administration appeared to be operating effectively. She considered that the Parliamentary elections should take place on 7 March 2004 as the groundwork would have been done in the preparations for the presidential elections. She stressed the need for constitutional change and for the creation of the post of Prime Minister and a cabinet of ministers. She did not want the new parliament to be dominated by a single bloc, however she considered that it would take over a year for an effective opposition to emerge. It was important to ensure that there was a functioning parliament in place as a power vacuum was dangerous. There was little popular support for the Labour Party, the New Rights Party or the Industrialists, as people were unhappy that these parties had not supported the changes of 23 November 2003.

**Mikhail SAAKASHVILI, United National Movement/ Burjanadze-Democrats**

Mr SAAKASHVILI noted that the continuation and questionable legitimacy of the 1999 parliament caused problems and that some opposition parties had removed their members from the election committees. This parliament could not implement serious reforms and there was an urgent need for new elections. He underlined that there had been chronic mismanagement of Georgia, which was in reality a group of interest groups rather than a state. It was important to pay salaries and pensions and to improve tax collection. For the first time in many years there had been collection of taxes from Adjara and pensions had been paid on time. He argued that former president Shevardnadze had brought back the old apparatchiks and had prevented the "young reformers" from implementing real change. In the past the KGB had exercised some form of control but this no longer existed. He stressed that the core values of Georgia were European.

N.B. The official could not be present at all meetings as they were taking place simultaneously.

4 January 2004

**Election Day**

Mr VOLCIC observed the elections in Tbilisi, Mrs SCHLEICHER was in Mtsketa, some 20 kilometres from Tbilisi and Mr GAHRTON in Sagarejo, one hour drive from Tbilisi.

5 January 2004

The IEOM issued a statement for the press (annex) which stated that the Presidential elections demonstrated notable progress over previous elections in the country. However they were only a

partial test of Georgia's electoral system and the real test would be during the rerun of the Parliamentary elections.

The final results of Presidential elections were:

Mikhail Saakashvili - 96,27%

Temur Shashiashvili - 1,85%

Roin Liparteliani - 0,26%

Zaza Sikharulidze - 0,24%

86% of registered electors voted on the day.

**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - RERUN**  
**28 March 2004**

**Background**

It was announced that the partial rerun of the Parliamentary elections would take place on 28 March 2004. On 12 February 2004 the Conference of Presidents authorised a further delegation to observe the Parliamentary elections. The elections would only cover the 150 seats elected by proportional representation based on countrywide party lists. The 2 November 2003 results in the 75 single mandate ("first past the post") constituencies were not cancelled, as they had not been challenged in the Supreme Court. In addition the ten members representing constituencies in Abkhazia were also to retain their seats. There was much debate whether any party, other than the National Movement-Democrats, would cross the 7% threshold for seats in Parliament. In addition the situation in Adjara was causing concern as there had been tension between the Tbilisi government and the authorities in Batumi where the Adjara leader Aslan Abashidze had, until recently, retained a firm grip on all the reins of power.

26 March 2004

**Eduard SHEVARDNADZE, Former President of Georgia**

Mr Shevardnadze stated that the building of democracy in Georgia was a process that was continuing. He was cautiously optimistic about the prospects for the new government, although he would have preferred that they had come to power in a legal manner. He had decided that the only means of avoiding bloodshed was for him to resign. He noted that, although the Constitution did not cover the resignation of the President, it was the right of any individual to resign. He mentioned that he had received a letter from President Bush who stated that "the crown of (your) deeds was the manner of your resignation".

He underlined that it had taken three years to draft the current constitution and, although it was not ideal, it was satisfactory for the current situation. He recognised nevertheless that a two-chamber parliament was probably preferable. He cautioned about having only one party in parliament, stating that it was even preferable to have the situation that had prevailed in previous years when there were 26 parties. In his view the fairest election had taken place in 1992

He considered that the current tense situation in Adjara was a result of mistakes by both sides. He noted that he had been to Batumi twelve times and had been greeted by crowds of some 25-30,000 people, but that Mr Abashidze had never come to Tbilisi. He stressed that the people of Adjara were distinct, with some Muslim and Turkish traditions, however they were also the "sons and daughters of the same country". He was well aware of the democratic shortfall in the region but cautioned that patience was necessary. There was now a serious opposition to Mr Abashidze in the region, he noted.

Mr Shevardnadze referred to the situation in Georgia in the early 1990s when the country was beset by civil war and he pointed to the achievements of building a state within ten years. He considered the country to be "almost the last Christian space in the region and an outpost of Europe" from where "the first Europeans came". Because of these ties and its strategic importance, the EU could not be indifferent to this crucial country, he stressed. Georgia needed to be on good terms with all its neighbours and it should balance conflicting interests.



**Christian Democratic Union of Georgia (CDUG)**

**Mr Vazha LORDKIPANIDZE, Party Chairman and Mr Paata SHESHELIDZE,  
Head of International Affairs**

Mr Lordkipanidze outlined his party's programme, which included support for a market economy and the development of democracy based on Christian Democrat values. Since 1993 his party had been a member of Christian Democrat International. It supported low taxation, improved administration and free trade. It also wanted to decentralise the budget and promote private pension. In his view the current government had no economic programme.

He noted that his party had been part of the pro-Shevardnadze forces in the 2 November Parliamentary elections. This policy, he said, had been encouraged by Messrs Zhvania and Saakashvili as they thought the Christian Democrats could reduce tensions between the government and opposition. He recognised that there had been violations in the conduct of the Parliamentary elections but considered that they should have been dealt with in a constitutional manner. In his opinion bloodshed had been only avoided by chance.

He expected that the forthcoming elections would simply confirm the position for the current government. His party would not be participating as it did not agree with the 7% threshold and he questioned the impartiality of the Central Election Commission. However three to four of its members had been elected in single member constituencies. He warned that the government was starting to carry out illegal arrests of its political opponents.

He considered that the western countries had turned a blind eye to the situation in Adjara and Russia was simply promoting its own interests in that region. He noted that the Christian Democrats had long been opponents of Mr Abashidze and their own party "Our Adjara" was one of the most popular parties in the region and had suffered repression from the Batumi authorities. Mr Lordkipanidze underlined the need for caution in Adjara as aggressive actions could provoke a conflict.

**Zurab ZHVANIA, Prime Minister of Georgia**

Mr Zhvania stated that there had been a significant improvement in voters' lists. He would be going to Adjara to observe the elections and would travel with only minimum security. President Saakashvili enjoyed huge popularity in Adjara, he claimed. He argued that there should be a special law on the constitution of Adjara and that the "liberation" of this region would facilitate the resolution of many problems. The elections would also take place in Georgian populated villages in South Ossetia. A Special State Minister had been appointed to deal with the breakaway regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. He was broadly optimistic about the Russian role in reaching a settlement in these areas as the relationship between Presidents Putin and Saakashvili was improving and better Russia-Georgia relations would also be to the advantage of the USA.

He considered that the opposition groups had missed their chance to consolidate and they had done little campaigning and were largely discredited. However he wanted the opposition to be represented in Parliament. He stated that a constitutional change was necessary to reduce the 7% threshold for Parliamentary representation and noted that the issue had only been raised recently.

Mr Zhvania stated that the situation had changed dramatically with the departure after 30 years of former President Shevardnadze. Action was being taken against criminal gangs that had been

terrorising the Svaneti region. The economic situation was also improving but more attention needed to be paid to the regions as things were over-centralised in Tbilisi. It was important to encourage investment with a more liberal tax code and transparency in legislation. Priority fields were the energy sector, agriculture, food processing, infrastructure and tourism. There were also plans to build an east-west motorway with Italian money.

**Mr Mikhail SAAKASHVILI, President of Georgia**

Mr Saakashvili noted that campaigning had only started in the last two weeks. He thought it reasonable to expect several parties would cross the threshold. It was not possible to introduce constitutional changes at the moment. He rejected the accusation that he had stated that he wanted no opposition. He noted that there would also be some opposition members in the new parliament with the presence of those who had already been elected in the single member constituencies. He argued that his own party was already a coalition and that he wanted to have an opposition as otherwise there would be tendency for it to split.

His main concern was Adjara, which was putting barriers in the way of the entry of politicians who were opposed to Mr Abashidze. However Prime Minister Zhvania would be going to the region on election day. He argued that Mr Shevardnadze had made the mistake of not accepting second place in the Parliamentary elections and Mr Abashidze risked making the same mistake and could also lose everything.

Saturday, 27 March 2004

**Ambassador Roy REEVE, Head of OSCE Mission to Georgia**

Mr Reeve stated that the OSCE had needed to rethink its priorities in a rapidly changing political climate. The new government was open to ideas, however it lacked experience, especially in law enforcement, and the anti-corruption campaign had probably gone too far on some occasions. He cited the prime TV showing of high profile arrests as an aspect that could be criticised. He noted that the government had had no difficulty in passing major constitutional changes that had bolstered presidential power and he questioned their arguments that there had been insufficient time to amend the 7% threshold. The government clearly wanted to make an impact quickly and self-imposed deadlines had led to some mistakes, he stressed.

He noted that the international community had provided EUR 6 million to support the election process - EUR 2 million from the UNDP and EUR 4 million from the OSCE. There was a danger of a conflict of interest, as the OSCE through its ODIHR branch was acting as election observers and through the permanent office as supporters of the process. He hoped that this would not prevent any legitimate criticism by ODIHR of the election process. On this occasion election literature would also be available in Azeri and Armenian. The OSCE had also paid the salaries of the officials on election day and had provided the funding for voter marking. In these and other activities it had enjoyed the full support of the Georgian government.

**Lance CLARK, UNDP Resident Representative**

Mr Clark stressed the importance of the rapid vote tabulation facility. He noted that the Ambassadorial Working Group, which initially had only three members, now had 20. In his view the international community could make a real difference. He had concerns about Adjara and was doubtful that the elections there would be free or fair. The sanctions imposed on the region by Tbilisi had not been very "smart" and he hoped that on any future occasion they would

be more sophisticated. He pointed to concern that the government's anti-corruption actions had been excessive in some places. He underlined the diversity of the country and noted that ethnic heterogeneity could be either a source of great success or disaster.

**Ambassador Michael WYGANT, Head of OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission**

Mr Wygant noted that there were now observers throughout Adjara. The country was building on the progress it had made since the 4 January Presidential elections. Not all ODIHR's recommendations to the Georgian authorities had been accepted. President Saakashvili had offered to reduce the number of government appointees on DEC's and PEC's from five to three, however this had come too late for some commissions to be able to make the change. He considered that the Unified Election Code provided an adequate foundation for the elections. There had been improvements in the voting lists, except in Adjara. Campaigning had been peaceful and free with a high degree of media freedom, with the exception once again of Adjara. He considered that the position of national minorities had improved. However there was a lack of separation between party structures and state commissions. In his view there had been insufficient political debates on State TV. Finally he had concerns over the 7% threshold and noted that there would be fewer domestic observers on this occasion.

**Stefan KRAUSE, OSCE/ODIHR Political Analyst**

Mr Krause gave an outline of events since the "Rose Revolution". He noted that the Georgian political parties had weak structures and organisation and that personalities were more important than ideology and this had led to fragmentation. The Citizens' Union had de facto ceased to exist and the "For a New Georgia" grouping had disintegrated. The National Movement and the United Democrats would merge after the elections. The constitutional amendments of 6 February 2004 had resulted in the creation of the post of prime minister and the strengthening of the powers of the executive at the expense of the parliament. As part of the anti-corruption drive there had been an amnesty to those businessmen who disclosed their undeclared income and pledged to pay taxes.

Mr Krause gave details of the 19 candidate lists that were made up of 14 parties and five blocs. There were a total of 27 parties contesting the election with 2,700 candidates competing for 150 seats. 31.4% of candidates were women and 3% came from national minorities. The campaign had been low key and the opposition parties were unsure what strategy to adopt as they had limited finances.

**Lucia SCOTTON, OSCE/ODIHR Media Analyst**

Ms Scotton spoke of a generally high degree of media freedom and noted that some 200 newspapers were registered. The biggest constraints on media freedom were in Adjara. TV was the most influential media and three channels had a national coverage. Ten newspapers had a national circulation. She noted that 68% of the state media time was devoted to the pro-government forces.

**Paul O'GRADY, OSCE/ODIHR Election Analyst**

Mr O'Grady noted that 1,800,000 had registered to vote before the presidential elections of 4 January 2004 and 390,000 had registered on the election day itself. In February 2004 the Central Election Commission had entered 2.1 million names onto the central database and had printed new lists. Between 8 and 21 March the voter lists had been displayed

**Graham ELSON, OSCE/ODIHR Deputy Head of Mission**

Mr Elson informed observers that they should aim to visit ten to twelve polling stations on election day. They should be present at the start of voting and should spend an average of 30 minutes at each polling station.

**Zurab CHIABERASHVILI, Chairman of Central Election Commission**

Mr Chiaberashvili stated that by early March 2,141,000 voters had been registered (excluding Adjara). Between March 8 and 21 a further 124,000 had been registered, including 103,000 in Adjara. There were 3,181,000 printed voting forms. He gave details of training sessions of election administrators. He welcomed the statement from the Orthodox Patriarchate that voter marking did not contravene any religious taboos. He hoped that there would be some improvement since the Presidential elections. There was a need for further improvements in such areas as the rule of law.

**Giorgi ARVELADZE, National Movement-Democrats**

Mr Arveladze presented an optimistic scenario for the elections with more accurate voter lists, reduced fraud and an opportunity for candidates to campaign freely. He stressed that the fight against corruption needed to be pursued by legal means and that those who had stolen from the state budget should pay the money back. He rejected any accusations that his party were American "puppets" and stressed that they were strongly in favour of European integration. He noted that many independent TV channels had been very critical of the government.

**Davit GAMKRELIDZE, New Rights Party**

Mr Gamkrelidze argued that the 7% threshold was too high and would result in many voters being disenfranchised. He argued that many people were nervous about the intentions of the new government. He warned that there was a danger of deliberate fraud in the election and that a low turnout was likely. His party was centre right and stood for a market economy, the rule of law and human rights. He stressed the importance of a proper liberalisation of the tax code. In his view the government's declarations and actions were not the same and promises of improvements were not being kept.

**Gela DANELIA, Labour Party**

The Labour Party representative supported the integration of Georgia into the EU with the possibility of associated membership. His party supported the military neutrality of the country with no foreign military bases. He warned that there was likely to be massive fraud and that he could not exclude the possibility of a further revolution if this did take place.

Sunday, 28 March 2004

**ELECTION DAY****Monitoring of voting in different areas**

Mr Volcic observed the election in Tbilisi/Mtskheta. Mr Bremmer was in Gori and Mr Mayol i Raynal was in Adjara, Mr Gahrton was also in Adjara accompanying Prime Minister Zhvania. During the day a series of meetings of the Heads of Delegations took place to discuss the joint

statement - attached. As predicted there was overwhelming support for the government party and the main question was whether any other party would cross the 7% threshold.

Monday, 29 March 2004

**Mrs Nino BURJANADZE, Speaker of Parliament**

Mrs Burjanadze expressed her pleasure at the reports that the elections had passed off peacefully. She expressed her thanks to the international community for its support which had enabled the elections to take place. She was ready to continue this cooperation and she recognised that further changes to the Election Code were needed. She had concerns about the possibility of a one party parliament but argued that the opposition parties had made a serious mistake during the revolution by equivocating. They had compounded this error by failing to unite for the Parliamentary elections. She noted that the situation had been very dangerous and that there had been a possibility of bloodshed.

**Election results**

On 18 April 2004 the Central Election Commission approved the final vote tally:

National Movement - 66.24%  
New Rights/Industrialists - 7.96%  
Labour Party - 6.01%  
Political Movement Freedom (Tavisupleba) - 4.39%  
Revival Union - 3.89%  
NDP - Traditionalists - 2.55%  
Unity - 2.47%

As a consequence only the National Movement and the Rightist Opposition crossed the 7% threshold and were represented in the Parliament. The National Movement will occupy 135 seats and the opposition 15 of the 150 seats that were being contested.

18 MPs out of the 15 elected in the single mandate constituencies are member of the National Movement. It will therefore have 153 seats in the new parliament. 8 are from the New Rights/Industrialists (4 each). 4 are from the Revival Union. 19 members were endorsed by former President Shevardnadze and 20 were non-partisan, independent candidates.

1,498,012 voters cast their ballot out of 2,343,870 who were registered.

## NOTE

The administrator who has drafted the report verifies that it:

- ❑ has been agreed upon by the Leader (and if possible by all participants) (Art. 21, last § of the *CoP Implementing Provisions Governing the Work of Delegations*);
- ❑ has been deposited at the secretariat of the Election Coordination Group (which will have it translated into English (if necessary also into French and German) and added on a website);
- ❑ has been forwarded to the EP President (Art. 21, last § of the *CoP Implementing Provisions Governing the Work of Delegations*) with an accompanying letter by the Leader of the delegation;
- ❑ has been presented to the relevant parliamentary committee (AFET/DEVE) and/or interparliamentary delegation (analogy to Art. 14, § 2 + 3 of the *CoP Implementing Provisions Governing the Work of Delegations*); the account could be distributed as a "communication to the Members."



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## Georgian parliamentary election demonstrates continued progress

**Tbilisi, 29 March, 2004** – The 28 March Parliamentary election in Georgia demonstrated commendable progress in relation to previous elections. The Georgian authorities have seized the opportunity in the last few months to bring Georgia's election process in closer alignment with European standards for democratic elections. However, the continued intimidation and physical abuse against opposition supporters and journalists in Adjara, casts a shadow over the overall progress in the election process, concludes the International Election Observation Mission in a statement of preliminary findings and conclusions. Some 440 international observers monitored the polls.

“The contrast with the November 2003 parliamentary elections is very substantial. I am encouraged by the move towards greater democratization. I look forward on my return to witness the process deepened,” said Bruce George, Special Co-ordinator of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office leading the Short-Term Observation Mission.

Matyas Eorsi, Head of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly's Delegation added that the Georgian paradox revealed promising elections with disconcerting effects. “This poll was better organized and more democratic than previous ones. Yet it almost resulted in a one-party parliament, which does reflect the will of the people, but cannot reflect the wide diversity of views indispensable for meaningful debates on Georgia's future. The government has now received the political support it needed to introduce necessary reforms for the benefit of the whole of Georgia.”

“With the exception of Adjara, the media was able to express itself freely. However, the State TV news focussed overwhelmingly on the authorities and the parties supporting them and failed to provide sufficient airtime for political debate. It is in the government's interest to conduct a dialogue with the opposition,” said Demetrio Volcic, Head of the Delegation of the European Parliament.

“No effort was made by the authorities of Adjara to create conditions during the campaign for conduct of a democratic election, as sometimes violent intimidation of supporters of the opposition, election officials and journalists demonstrated very clearly,” concluded Michael Wygant, who is heading the Long-Term Observation Mission of the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).

Commendable efforts were made to improve the voters lists. Although same day voter registration was allowed this time, it should not be repeated in future elections. The continuing lack of a clear separation between state administration and political party structures, as well as the inability to ensure balanced composition of election commissions at all levels, should be addressed by the authorities.

Election day was calm and peaceful. The election administration operated with overall efficiency. In Adjara, apparently there were less systematic irregularities, although isolated incidents have been reported. Once again, voter irregularities were particularly noticeable in Marneuli, Gardabani and Tkibuli, where observers reported cases of multiple voting and ballot stuffing, as well as suspiciously high turn out figures.

Georgia's election process will only be fully tested in a more competitive environment, once a genuine level of political pluralism is re-established.

For further information, please contact:

- Urdur Gunnarsdottir, Spokesperson, OSCE/ODIHR, +48 603 683 122 / +995 99 425 182
- Jan Jooren, Press Counsellor, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, +45 4041 1641
- Angus Macdonald, Press officer, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, +33 630 496 820
- Tim Boden, Co-ordinator for European Parliament Secretariat, +32 475 35 1948



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## *PRESS RELEASE*

# **Presidential election brings Georgia closer to meeting international standards**

TBILISI, 5 January 2004 – The 4 January presidential election in Georgia demonstrated notable progress over previous elections in the country but was only a partial test of Georgia's electoral system and commitment to a democratic process. Those were the conclusions of the International Election Observation Mission which presented its preliminary findings and conclusions today. Approximately 450 international observers from 38 countries monitored the election.

“The authorities showed the political will to conduct democratic elections, making a welcome contrast to the deeply flawed 2 November 2003 parliamentary elections,” said Bruce George, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE and the Special Co-ordinator for the short-term observers, appointed by the OSCE Chairman-in-Office. “Considerable progress has been made over a short period of time. I look forward to returning for the parliamentary elections to witness further steps towards achieving international standards.”

Matyas Eorsi, who heads the Delegation from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe said: “These elections brought back hope. The new leadership now has the opportunity, and more importantly the responsibility, to nourish it. Time is short. The forthcoming parliamentary elections will be the true test for the new authorities of their willingness and ability to conduct genuinely democratic elections.”

“Election officials at all levels should be recognized for their diligent efforts under difficult and challenging conditions. This election has brought Georgia closer to meeting international standards for democratic elections and closer to Europe,” added Demetrio Volcic, Head of the Delegation of the European Parliament.

“We noted clear improvements, particularly in the conduct of voting, new voters lists, the legal framework and overall election administration,” concluded Craig Jenness, Head of the Election Observation Mission of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. “The authorities and the Central Election Commission demonstrated that they were serious about their obligations but there were nevertheless clear concerns. Particularly regarding political imbalance in election administration and failure of some election officials to maintain distance from participants. This was not a truly competitive environment, further progress is needed.”

The International Election Observation Mission's concerns in this election regarded issues such as the continued lack of a clear separation between party and State structures and the political imbalance in the composition of the election administration, in favor of the current authorities. With the exception of Kvemo Kartli, the irregularities reported were on a lesser scale than in the November parliamentary election. The IEOM noted less scrutiny by domestic observers in all aspects of the process. The lack of commitment by the authorities of Adjara region to guarantee sufficient conditions for the conduct of a meaningful democratic election was also criticized.

For further information, please contact:

- Urdur Gunnarsdottir, Spokesperson, OSCE/ODIHR, +995 99 427 489 or +48 603 683 122
- Jan Jooren, Press Counsellor, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, +45 4041 1641
- Angus Macdonald, Press officer, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, +33 630 496 820
- Tim Boden, Co-ordinator for European Parliament Secretariat, +32 475 35 1948



# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## AD HOC DELEGATION TO GEORGIA

### PRESS STATEMENT

#### **European Parliament delegation witnesses historic events in Georgia**

TBILISI, 24 November 2003 - Demetrio VOLCIC (PES, Italy), the chair of the European Parliament ad hoc delegation to observe the parliamentary elections in Georgia, underlined the need for a peaceful settlement of the political difficulties currently facing Georgia. Speaking from Tbilisi, Mr Volcic welcomed the absence of any bloodshed to date and the non-violent manner in which President SHEVARDNADZE had resigned. He looked forward to this atmosphere continuing in the forthcoming period when the elections would be rerun. During his time in Georgia Mr Volcic met with leading politicians including Zurab ZHVANIA and interim President Nino BURJANADZE. He met in addition with the EU Special Representative to the South Caucasus, Mr Heikki TALVITIE. He also witnessed many of the street demonstrations and applauded the largely good natured and peaceful turn of events.

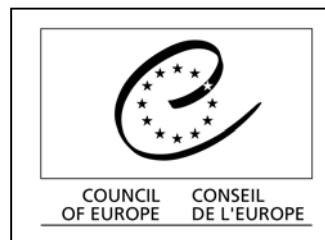
Mr Volcic led the ad hoc delegation as part of an International Election Observation Mission, which observed the parliamentary elections on 2 November 2003. The Mission considered that the elections fell short of a number of international standards. The second round were due to take place on 23 November but this was cancelled. The other members of the delegation were Mr Per GAHRTON (Greens/EFA) and Mr Miquel MAYOL i RAYNAL (Greens/EFA, Spain).

Mr Volcic will be presenting a report on the delegation at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament in Brussels on Wednesday 26 November in the afternoon. Mr TALVITIE will address the same Committee on Tuesday 2 December at 10h00 a.m. in Brussels.

*For further information contact:*

*Tim BODEN, Interparliamentary Relations – Europe, Tel. +32-2-284 34 59,*

*e-mail: [tboden@europarl.eu.int](mailto:tboden@europarl.eu.int)*



## Georgian parliamentary elections marred by confusion over voter lists

**Tbilisi, 3 November 2003** - The 2 November Parliamentary elections in Georgia fell short of a number of international standards. Delays and confusion over voter lists contributed to a lack of public confidence in the governmental and parliamentary authorities' capacity to manage an effective and transparent election process, concluded the International Election Observation Mission in a statement issued today. Although the election provided voters with a wide choice of candidates, unrealistic timelines and improvised, last minute decisions threatened to undermine the otherwise improved work of the Central Election Commission. Some 450 international observers from 43 countries monitored the polls in one of the larger and longer election observation missions deployed.

“These elections have regrettably been insufficient to enhance the credibility of either the electoral or the democratic process,” said Bruce George, Special Co-ordinator of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office leading the Short-Term Observation Mission.

“We believe that the people of this country are entitled to a better run election system and protection of the right to vote, as sadly was not apparent yesterday. Urgent attention must be paid to training presiding election officials and address shortcomings in the system,” added Tom Cox, Head of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly's Delegation.

“Some last minute decisions by the Central Election Commission were inappropriate and evident of a haphazard approach. The use of different voter lists reduced confidence in the integrity of the data and lacked transparency,” said Demetrio Volcic, Head of the Delegation of the European Parliament.

“The irregularities and delays in the voting process on polling day reflect a lack of collective political will and administrative capacity for the conduct of the elections. The counting, tabulation and appeals process will now be crucial to building public confidence,” concluded Julian Peel Yates, who is heading the Long-Term Observation Mission of the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODMR).

Deployment of security forces in four districts and numbers of unauthorized persons in polling stations added to a notion of interference in the election process. More positively, transparency was maintained in most areas and many Precinct Election Commissions worked hard to overcome difficulties and attempted to follow correct voting and counting procedures.

The International Observation Mission furthermore recognised improvements including the new Unified Electoral Code which provides an adequate framework for holding democratic elections if implemented impartially, and the increased transparency of the work of the Central Election Commission.

For further information, please contact:

- Urdur Gunnarsdottir, Spokesperson, OSCE/ODIHR, +48 603 683 122
- Jan Jooren, Press Counsellor, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, +45 4041 1641
- Francesc Ferrer, Press officer, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, +33 630 496 822
- Tim Boden, Co-ordinator for European Parliament Secretariat, +32 475 35 1948

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

## AD HOC DELEGATION TO GEORGIA

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

25 - 30 March 2004

#### Members of the Delegation

##### Members:

Mr Demetrio VOLCIC, <i>Chairman</i>	PSE	Italy	Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
Mr Cees BREMMER	PPE-DE	Netherlands	Constitutional Affairs
Mr Per GAHRTON	Verts/ALE	Sweden	Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
Mr Miquel MAYOL i RAYNAL	Verts/ALE	Spain	Economic and Monetary Affairs

##### Secretariat of the Delegation:

Mr Tim BODEN (United Kingdom), Administrator responsible for the delegation  
Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER (Germany), Assistant/Secretary

##### Interpreter (3):

Ms Nana CHKOIDZE (Georgian/English)  
Ms Mary GOGOLADZE (Georgian/English)  
Ms Maka BEROZASHVILI (Georgian/English)

##### Abbreviations :

PPE-DE	European People's Party/European Democrats	GUE/NGL	European United Left/Nordic Green Left
PSE	Party of European Socialists	UEN	Union for Europe of the Nations
ELDR	Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party	NI	Non-attached
Verts/ALE	Greens/European Free Alliance	EDD	Europe of Democracies and Diversities

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24 March 2004

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# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

## AD HOC DELEGATION TO GEORGIA

### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

2 - 6 January 2004

#### Members of the Delegation

##### Members:

Mr Demetrio VOLCIC, <i>Chairman</i>	PSE	Italy	Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
Ms Ursula SCHLEICHER	PPE-DE	Germany	Constitutional Affairs
Mr Per GAHRTON	Verts/ALE	Sweden	Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy

##### Secretariat of the Delegation:

Mr Tim BODEN (United Kingdom), Administrator responsible for the delegation  
Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER (Germany), Assistant/Secretary

##### Interpreters:

Ms Nana CHKOIDZE (Georgian/English)  
Ms Mary GOGOLADZE (Georgian/English)

##### Abbreviations :

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18 December 2003

TB/ES

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

### AD HOC DELEGATION TO GEORGIA

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

30 October - 4 November 2003

and 21 - 25 November 2003

#### Members of the Delegation

##### Members:

Mr Demetrio VOLCIC, Chairman	PSE	Italy	Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
Mr Per GAHRTON <i>(first delegation ONLY)</i>	Verts/ALE	Sweden	Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
Mr Miquel MAYOL i RAYNAL	Verts/ALE	Spain	Economic and Monetary Affairs

##### Secretariat of the Delegation:

Mr Tim BODEN (United Kingdom), Administrator responsible for the delegation

Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER (Germany), Assistant/Secretary *(first delegation ONLY)*

##### Interpreter (2):

Ms Mary GOGOLADZE (Georgia)

Ms Maka BEROZASHVILI (Georgia) *(first delegation ONLY)*

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26 November 2003

TB/ES

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## Ad hoc Delegation to Georgia

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

25 - 30 March 2004

#### FINAL PROGRAMME

Coordination:

**Mr Tim BODEN**  
Brussels, ATR 02K056  
Tel: (32 2) 284 34 59

**Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER**  
Brussels, ATR 02K048  
Tel. (32 2) 284 39 31

Fax: (32 2) 284 68 30

**Mobile during the mission:**  
+32-475-35 19 48  
+995-99-772850 (local: 899-772850)

#### Thursday, 25 March 2004

18h15    Arrival of members/staff of the European Parliament delegation at Tbilisi Airport  
and transfer to *(arranged by the European Commission)*

**Hotel MARRIOTT**  
Rustaveli Avenue 13  
Tbilisi 380008  
Tel. (+995 32) 779200  
Fax (+995 32) 779210  
*(arranged by the EC Delegation)*

**Credit cards: VISA, American Express, Mastercard**

## **Thursday, 25 March 2004**

- 19h00 Meeting of the Secretariat of the EP, Council of Europe, OSCE and OSCE/ODIHR and the European Commission  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*
- 20h00 Meeting of the EP ad hoc delegation  
*Venue: Wine cellar restaurant, Tbilisi*

## **Friday, 26 March 2004**

- 9h00 Departure from hotel for  
  
Visit of Georgian cultural heritage (Mtskheta - Old Tbilisi)
- 12h00 Departure from hotel to Adjara (Mr Mayol i Raynal)
- 12h00 Meeting with **Mr Eduard SHEVARDNAZE**, former President of Georgia
- 13h00 Lunch with **H.E. Mr Fabrizio ROMANO**, Ambassador of Italy to Georgia (Mr Volcic only)
- 14h00 Meeting with the Christian Democratic Union of Georgia (CDUG) - **Mr Vazha LORDKIPANIDZE**, Party Chairman and **Mr Paata SHESHELIDZE**, Head of International Affairs (Mr Bremmer and Secretariat only)  
*Venue: Office of the CDUG*
- 16h15 Meeting with **Mr Zurab ZHVANIA**, Prime Minister of Georgia  
*Venue: State Chancellory*
- 17h30 Meeting with representatives of the NGO "Youth House" (Mr Bremmer only)  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*
- 19h00 Meeting with **Mr Mikhail SAAKASHVILI**, President of Georgia (Mr Volcic + Mr Boden only)  
*Venue: State Chancellory*
- 19h45 Departure from hotel for
- 20h00 Briefing Dinner hosted by **H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE**, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia - also present **H. E. Mr Harry MOLENAAR**, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Georgia, representing the Presidency-in-Office of the Council of the European Union  
*Venue: Residence of the Head of the EC Delegation*

## **Saturday, 27 March 2004**

*Joint briefing/meetings organised by the OSCE/ODIHR  
Venue: Hotel Marriott, Ballroom*

## Saturday, 27 March 2004

- 9:00**      **WELCOME ADDRESSES AND INTRODUCTION TO THE 2004 GEORGIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**  
Bruce George, OSCE PA President  
Mátyás Eörsi, PACE Head of Delegation  
Demetrio Volcic, Chairman of the European Parliament ad hoc delegation  
Ambassador Michael Wygant, Head of OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission
- The OSCE Mission to Georgia and the 28 March Elections**  
Ambassador Roy Reeve, Head of OSCE Mission to Georgia
- The Role of the International Community and the Ambassadorial Working Group (AWG)**  
Lance Clark, UNDP Resident Representative
- 10:00**      **OSCE/ODIHR EOM**  
**Election Contestants:** Stefan Krause, OSCE/ODIHR Political Analyst  
**Media Monitoring:** Lucia Scotton, OSCE/ODIHR Media Analyst  
**Election Administration:** Paul O’Grady, OSCE/ODIHR Election Analyst  
**Election Observation Methodology:** Graham Elson, OSCE/ODIHR Deputy Head of Mission  
**Security Briefing:** Emil Pyrich, OSCE/ODIHR Security Officer  
**Situation in Adjara**
- 12:30**      **PARLIAMENT**  
Eldar Shengelaia , Deputy Speaker of Parliament
- 13:15**      **CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION**  
Zurab Chiaberashvili, Chairman of Central Election Commission
- 13:45      LUNCH BREAK
- 14:30**      **REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES**  
**14:30**      **National Movement-Democrats:** Maia Nadiradze (Number 1 on the list), Giorgi Arveladze (Number 3 on the list)  
**15:00**      **Rightist Opposition** (New Rights, Industry will Save Georgia): Davit Gamkrelidze , Pikria Chikhradze, Zura Tkemaladze, Tea Kenchadze  
**16:00**      **Labour Party:** Gela Danelia, Head of Information Department, Kakha Loria
- 17:00**      **INTERNATIONAL NGO ROUNDTABLE**  
**International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES):** Silvana Puizina, Project Manager  
**National Democratic Institute (NDI):** Lincoln A. Mitchell, Director  
**International Republican Institute (IRI):** Mark Lenzi, Director



## Saturday, 27 March 2004

- 17:45**            **NATIONAL NGO ROUNDTABLE**  
**Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA):** Tina Khidasheli, Director,  
Legal Aid Service  
**International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED):** Merab  
Meshveliani, Executive Director  
**Fair Elections Foundation:** Zaza Daraselia, Executive Director and Lasha  
Tughushi  
**The Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD):**  
Ghia Nodia, Chairman  
**Liberty Institute:** Giorgi Meladze, Project Director
- 18:30**            **MEDIA ROUNDTABLE**  
**Rustavi 2 TV:** Giorgi Kalandadze, Eka Kvesitadze  
**State TV and Radio:** Tako Pkhakadze  
**Imedi TV:** Giorgi Targamadze, Director of the Social and Political Programme  
**Radio Liberty:** Ia Antadze  
**Civil Georgia:** Giorgi Sepashvili  
**Rezonansi:** Lasha Tughushi, Editor in Chief
- 19:30**            **FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES**  
Parliamentary Secretariats
- 19:45**            **DEPLOYMENT PLAN AND MEETING WITH DRIVERS AND INTERPRETERS**  
OSCE/ODIHR Long-term Observers (LTOs)

## Sunday, 28 March 2004

### **ELECTION DAY**

- a.m.
- Monitoring of voting in different areas  
Team 1 and 2: TBILISI/MTSKHETA - Mr Volcic, Mr Boden, Ms Schmutterer  
Team 3: GORI - Mr Bremmer  
Team 4: ADJARA - Mr Mayol i Raynal, Mr Gahrton
- 12h00    Meeting of Heads of Delegation of OSCE PA, PACE, EP and OSCE/ODIHR /  
- 14h00    Discussion of the draft statement (Mr Volcic and Mr Boden only)  
*Venue: OSCE/ODIHR office*
- p.m.
- Continuation of monitoring the election process in polling stations
- 18h00    Continuation of discussions on the draft statement (Mr Volcic and Mr Boden only)  
*Venue: OSCE/ODIHR office*
- 19h45    Observation of the closing of the polling station
- 21h00    Press conference/reception with **Mrs Nino BURJANADZE**, Speaker of Parliament  
*Venue: Ministry for Foreign Affairs*
- 21h45    Debriefing and assessment of elections with the European Commission Delegation  
*Venue: Restaurant "Cabernet", Tbilisi*

## **Monday, 29 March 2004**

- 9h00      Debriefing and assessment of elections of EP delegation  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*
- 10h30     Final discussion on the draft statement (Mr Volcic and Mr Boden only)  
*Venue: OSCE/ODIHR Office*
- 13h45     Departure for  
14h00     Meeting with **Mrs Nino BURJANADZE**, Speaker of Parliament
- 15h30     Departure for  
16h00     Joint Press Conference  
*Venue: Hotel Sheraton*
- 17h30     Return of Mr Mayol i Raynal to Tbilisi
- 20h30     Meeting with Georgian civil society

## **Tuesday, 30 March 2004**

- 4h15      Departure from hotel for  
5h45      Flight to Vienna (OS0654) - Mr Bremmer/Mr Gahrton/Mr Mayol i Raynal
- Visit of cultural heritage
- 14h30     Departure for  
16h20     Flight to Frankfurt (A9621) - Mr Volcic, Mr Boden, Ms Schmitterer

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## Ad hoc Delegation to Georgia

### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

2-6 January 2004

#### FINAL PROGRAMME

Coordination:

**Mr Tim BODEN**  
Brussels, ATR 02K056  
Tel: (32 2) 284 34 59

**Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER**  
Brussels, ATR 02K048  
Tel. (32 2) 284 39 31

**Fax: (32 2) 284 68 30**

**Mobile during the mission:**

**+32- 496-599470 (Tim Boden)**  
**+32-475-351948 (Elke Schmutterer)**

**Wednesday, 31 December 2003/**

**Friday, 2 January 2004**

***PLEASE NOTE THAT THERE ARE NO FLIGHTS ON 1 JANUARY 2004.***

Individual arrival of members of the European Parliament delegation at Tbilisi Airport and transfer to *(arranged by the European Commission)*

**Hotel MARRIOTT**  
**Rustaveli Avenue 13**  
**Tbilisi 380008**  
**Tel. (+995 32) 779200**  
**Fax (+995 32) 779210**  
***(arranged by the EC Delegation)***

**Credit cards: VISA, American Express, Mastercard**

23 January 2004  
TB/ES

## Wednesday, 31 December 2003

19h30- 20h30 Preparatory meeting with the Secretariat of the OSCE/ODIHR and the European Commission  
(Secretariat ONLY)  
*Venue: MARRIOTT Hotel*

## Thursday, 1 January 2004

Public holiday

## Friday, 2 January 2004

a.m.

Final preparation of the programme of the ad hoc delegation (Secretariat ONLY)

15h00 Secretariat meeting with OSCE/ODIHR  
*Venue: OSCE/ODIHR Office, Tbilisi*

16h30 - 18h30 Secretariat meeting with EC Delegation  
*Venue: European Commission Delegation Tbilisi*

20h30 Briefing dinner with the European Commission and EU Ambassadors, hosted by  
**H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE**, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia  
*Venue: MARRIOTT Hotel*

## Saturday, 3 January 2004

Meetings/Briefings (*arranged by the OSCE/ODIHR*)  
*Venue: Marriott Hotel Ballroom*

**09.00-09.15** *Welcome Address*

**Mr Bruce George**, Special Coordinator to lead the OSCE Short Term Observers,  
President of the OSCE PA  
**Mr Mátyás Eörsi**, Head of PACE delegation  
**Mr Demetrio Volcic**, Head of EP delegation

**09.15-09.30** *Welcome Address and Introduction to the 2004 Presidential Elections*

**Mr Craig Jenness**, Head of OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission

**09.30-09.4** *The OSCE Mission to Georgia and the 4 January Elections*

**Mr Roy Reeve**, Head of OSCE Mission to Georgia

**09.45-10.45** *Key Issues and the Media ahead of the Elections*

1) **Ms Sabine Freizer**, OSCE/ODIHR Political Analyst  
2) **Ms Maria Fariello**, OSCE/ODIHR Legal Analyst  
3) **Mr Harald Jepsen**, OSCE/ODIHR Election Analyst  
4) **Ms Lucia Scotton**, OSCE/ODIHR Media Analyst  
*Questions and Answer Session*

**10.45-11.00** *Coffee Break*

**11.00-12.00** *Elections Round Table*

## **Saturday, 3 January 2004**

- 11.00-11.30 National Organisations  
**Ms Tina Khidasheli**, Director, Legal Aid Service, Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA);  
International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED);  
**Ms Ghia Nodia**, Chairman, The Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD)
- 11.30-12.00 International Organisations  
**Ms Silvana Piuzina**, Project Manager, IFES  
**Mr Lincoln Mitchell**, Director, National Democratic Institute (NDI)  
**Mr Mark Lenzi**, Country Director for Georgia, International Republican Institute (IRI).
- 12.00-12.45 Meeting with **Mr Zurab Chiaberashvili**, Chairman of the CEC,
- 12.45-14.10 *Lunch break*
- 13.45-14.10 **Mr Hamlet Chipashvili**, Representative, Autonomous Republic of Adjara

### *Meetings with the Presidential Candidates*

- 14.10-14.30 **Mr Kartlos Gharibashvili**, Political Union “Lawyers”
- 14.30-14.50 **Mr Levan Robakidze**, Head of Campaign for Teimuraz Shashiashvili, Initiative Group
- 14.50-15.10 **Mr Zurab Keleksashvili**, Bloc “Mdzleveli”
- 15.10-15.30 *Election Forms*  
**Mr Graham Elson**, Deputy Head of OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission
- 15.30-16.00 *Coffee Break*
- 16.00 Meeting of Heads of Delegations with **Mrs Nino Burjanadze**, Interim President of Georgia – (*Mr Volcic and Mrs Schleicher*)
- 16.00-16.20 **Mr Roin Liparteliani**, Bloc “Davit Agmashenebeli”
- 16.20-16.40 **Mr Zaza Sikharulidze**, Initiative Group
- 16.40-16.50 *Finances and Logistics*  
**Ms Michaela Kuefner**, OSCE/ODIHR Parliamentary Liaison
- 16.50-17.05 *Security Guidelines*  
**Mr Emil Pyrich**, OSCE/ODIHR Security Officer
- 17.05-17.15 *Deployment Plan*  
OSCE/ODIHR Long-Term Observers (LTOs)
- 17.15-17.30 *Meet drivers and interpreters*

## **Saturday, 3 January 2004**

- 19.00 Mr Mikhail Saakashvili, United National Movement/ Burjanadze-Democrats
- 20h15 **Dinner hosted by Mr Demetrio VOLCIC, Chairman of the EP Ad hoc delegation (INVITATION ONLY)**  
*Venue: Old House restaurant in central Tbilisi, Samapiro 3, tel. 9234 97*

## **Sunday, 4 January 2004**

- Observation of the Presidential Elections
- Team 1: TBILISI (Mr Volcic, Mr Boden + interpreter: Nana)  
Departure: 7h30
- Team 2: MTSKHETA (Mrs Schleicher, Ms Schmutterer + interpreter: Sopio)  
Departure: 8h30
- Team 3: SAGAREJO (Mr Gahrton + interpreter: Mary)  
Departure: 7h00
- 17h00 Elaboration of the joint statement (Heads of Delegations ONLY)  
*Venue: OSCE/ODIHR Office, Tbilisi*
- 21h00 Press Conference with **Mr Mikhail Saakashvili**  
*Venue: Sheraton Hotel, Tbilisi*

## **Monday, 5 January 2004**

- Assessment of elections**
- 8h30 Meeting of EP Delegation (Discussion on the draft joint statement)  
*Venue: Marriott Hotel*
- 10h30 Meeting of Heads of Delegations (Final discussion on the draft joint statement)  
*Venue: OSCE/ODIHR Office, Tbilisi*
- 16h00 Joint Press Conference (OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE, PACE, EP)  
*Venue: Sheraton Hotel, Ball Room*
- 20h00 Final assessment of the elections/Dinner with the European Commission Delegation  
*Venue: Restaurant Kopala*

## **Tuesday, 6 January 2004**

- 4h00 Departure from hotel for (Mr GAHRTON)
- 5h40 Flight to Vienna (OS0654)
- 9h30 Visit of Georgian cultural heritage
- 14h45 Departure from hotel for  
(Mr VOLCIC, Mrs SCHLEICHER, Mr BODEN, Ms SCHMUTTERER)
- 16h20 Flight to Frankfurt (A9 621)

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## **Ad hoc Delegation to Georgia**

### **PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

**21 - 24 November 2003**

#### **FINAL PROGRAMME**

Coordination:

**Mr Tim BODEN**  
Brussels, ATR 02K056  
Tel: (32 2) 284 34 59

**Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER**  
Brussels, ATR 02K048  
Tel. (32 2) 284 39 31

**Fax: (32 2) 284 68 30**

**Mobile during the mission:**  
**+32-496-599469**

#### **Friday, 21 November 2003**

Individual arrival of members of the European Parliament delegation at Tbilisi Airport  
and transfer to *(arranged by the European Commission)*

**Hotel MARRIOTT**  
**Rustaveli Avenue 13**  
**Tbilisi 380008**  
**Tel. (+995 32) 779200**  
**Fax (+995 32) 779210**  
*(arranged by the EC Delegation)*

**Credit cards: VISA, American Express, Mastercard**

25 November 2003  
TB/ES

## **Friday, 21 November 2003**

20h00 Briefing with the European Commission  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*

## **Saturday, 22 November 2003**

9h45 Departure from the hotel for  
10h00 Meeting with **Mr Zurab CHIABERASHVILI**, Executive Director, International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED)  
*Venue: Hotel SHERATON*

10h45 Departure for  
11h00 Meeting with **Mr Zurab ZHVANIA**, Burjanadze-Democrats bloc  
*Venue: Vashlikdvvari, Gelovani 4a*

11h45 Departure for  
12h00 Meeting with **Mrs Nana DEVDARIANI**, Chairperson of the Central Election Commission  
*Venue: Central Election Commission, Rustaveli Avenue*

13h00 Lunch (own arrangements)

14h00 Observation of demonstrations and public meetings

15h45 Departure for  
16h00 - OSCE/ODIHR briefing  
18h00 *Venue: ODIHR office, Kipshidze II, Vake*

20h00 Informal dinner

21h00 Observation of demonstrations and public meetings

## **Sunday, 23 November 2003**

10h00 Briefing session with staff from the European Commission  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*

12h00 Update on EU Ambassadors' meeting by **H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE**, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*

14h00 - Observation of the demonstrations and public meetings  
16h30

17h00 Meeting of EP, OSCE, OSCE/ODIHR  
*Venue: ODIHR office Kipshidze II, Vake*

## **Sunday, 23 November 2003**



20h00 Dinner hosted by **H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE**, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia  
*Venue: Cabaret Restaurant*

### **Monday, 24 November 2003**

9h00 Working breakfast hosted by **H.E. Mr Fabrizio ROMANO**, Italian Ambassador to Georgia, representing the Italian Presidency-in-Office of the Council of the European Union, and **Mr Heikki TALVITIE**, Special Representative for the South Caucasus region  
*Venue: Italian Embassy*

***The EP delegation was attending the following meetings together with Mr Heikki TALVITIE, Special Representative for the South Caucasus region.***

10h20 Meeting with **Mr Richard MILES**, US Ambassador to Georgia  
*Venue: US Embassy*

11h30 Meeting with **Mr David GAMKRELIDZE**, New Right Party  
*Venue: Bevrety 3*

12h30 Meeting with **Mr NATELASHVILI**, Labour Party  
*Venue: Javakishvili 88*

13h15 Meeting with **Mr Zurab ZHVANIA**, Democrats  
*Venue: Vashlidjvari*

14h00 Meeting with **Mr LORDKIPANIDZE**, Governmental Bloc  
*Venue: G. Tsereteli 3*

16h00 Meeting with **Mr Irakli MENAGARISHVILI**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia  
*Venue: Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

18h00 Meeting with **Mrs Nino BURJANADZE**, Interim President of Georgia  
*Venue: National Assembly of Georgia*

19h30 Press Conference  
*Venue: Italian Embassy*

20h30 Dinner hosted by **Mr Demetrio VOLCIC**, Chairman of the EP Ad hoc delegation  
*Venue: Restaurant "Old House"*

### **Tuesday, 25 November 2003**

4h15 Departure from hotel to the airport

5h40 Flight to Vienna (OS0654) - Mr VOLCIC, Mr BODEN

14h30 Departure from hotel to

16h20 Flight to Frankfurt (A9 621) - Mr MAYOL i RAYNAL

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



## Ad hoc Delegation to Georgia

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

30 October - 4 November 2003

#### FINAL PROGRAMME

Coordination:

**Mr Tim BODEN**  
Brussels, ATR 02K056  
Tel: (32 2) 284 34 59

**Ms Elke SCHMUTTERER**  
Brussels, ATR 02K048  
Tel. (32 2) 284 39 31

**Fax: (32 2) 284 68 30**

**Mobile during the mission:**  
**+32-475-35 19 48**

#### Thursday, 30 October 2003

17h45 Arrival of members of the European Parliament delegation at Tbilisi Airport  
(Flight A9682 - AIRZENA)

and transfer to (*arranged by the European Commission*)

**Hotel MARRIOTT**  
Rustaveli Avenue 13  
Tbilisi 380008  
Tel. (+995 32) 779200  
Fax (+995 32) 779210  
(*arranged by the EC Delegation*)

**Credit cards: VISA, American Express, Mastercard**

8 November 2003  
TB/ES

## **Thursday, 30 October 2003**

- 19h00 Meeting of the Secretariat of the EP, Council of Europe, OSCE and OSCE/ODIHR  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*
- 20h30 Briefing Dinner hosted by **H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE**, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia with EU Ambassadors  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*
- 22h30 Preparatory meeting with **H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE**, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia (*Chairman ONLY*)  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*

## **Friday, 31 October 2003**

- 8h00 Breakfast meeting of the Heads of the Delegation from OSCE, OSCE/ODIHR, CoE and EP  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*

### ***Briefing/Meetings organised by the OSCE/ODIHR*** ***Venue: Hotel Marriott, King Giorgi and King Miriam Rooms***

- 09.00-09.15** ***Welcome Address***  
***Mr Bruce George***, Special Coordinator of the OSCE CiO, Head of OSCE PA delegation  
***Mr Thomas COX***, Head of the PACE delegation  
***Mr Demetrio Volcic***, Head of the EP delegation
- 09.15-09.45** ***Welcome Address and Introduction to the 2003 Georgian Parliamentary Elections***  
Julian Peel Yates, Head of OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission
- 09.45-09.55** ***The OSCE Mission to Georgia and the 2 November 2003 Elections***  
Hans Wesseling, Deputy Head, OSCE Mission to Georgia
- 09.55-10.05** ***The role of the international community and the Ambassadorial Working Group (AWG)***  
Lance Clark, UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator, UNDP Resident Representative in Georgia
- 10.05-10.20** ***Questions and Answers***
- 10.20-10.50 ***Break***
- 10.50-11.05** ***Media***  
Andrea Malnati, OSCE/ODIHR Media Analyst
- 11.05-11.20** ***The Central Election Commission and the Election Administration***  
Harald Jepsen, OSCE/ODIHR Election Analyst
- 11.20-11.25** ***Election Observation: The OSCE/ODIHR Methodology***  
Paul O'Grady, OSCE/ODIHR Deputy Head of Mission
- 11.25-11.45** ***Questions and Answers Session***

## Friday, 31 October 2003

- 11.45-12.45      *The Role of the Central Election Commission (CEC) in the forthcoming Elections*  
Nana Devdariani, Chairwoman of the CEC
- 12.45-14.30      *Lunch (own arrangements)*
- 14.30-18.15      *Meetings with Representatives of the Main Political Parties*
- 14.30-14.55      Representatives of the "For New Georgia Bloc"
- 14.55-15.20      Representatives of the "Union of Democratic Revival"
- 15.20-15.45      Representatives of the "Industry Will Save Georgia"
- 15.45-16.10      Representatives of the "Labour Party"
- 16.10-16.35      *Break*
- 16.35-17.00      Representatives of the "Saakashvili-National Movement"
- 17.00-17.25      Representatives of the "Burjanadze-Democrats"
- 17.25-17.50      Representatives of the "New Rights"
- 17.50-18.15      Representatives of the "Jumber Patiashvili-Unity" (Ertoba)
- 18h50      Departure from the hotel for
- 19h00      Reception hosted by *H.E. Mr Harry MOLENAAR*, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Georgia  
*Venue: Hotel SHERATON*

## Saturday, 1 November 2003

*Briefing/Meetings organised by the OSCE/ODIHR*  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott, King Giorgi and King Miriam Rooms*

- 9.00-09.45      **2 November 2003 Parliamentary Elections: The Role of Local NGOs: Roundtable**
- Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA);
  - International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED);
  - The Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD).
- 09.45-10.30      **2 November 2003 Parliamentary Elections: The Role of International NGO: Roundtable**
- International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES);
  - National Democratic Institute (NDI);
  - International Republican Institute (IRI).

## **Saturday, 1 November 2003**

10.30-10.45      *Break*

**10.45-11.45      Media: Roundtable**  
- Rustavi 2 TV;  
- State TV and Radio;  
- Imedi TV;  
- Radio Liberty.

11.45-12.00      *Break*

**12.00-12.15      Security Guidelines**  
Emil Pyrich, OSCE/ODIHR Security Officer

**12.15-12.30      Finance and Administrative Issues**  
(*Secretariat ONLY*)

**12.30-13.00      Deployment Plan**  
OSCE/ODIHR Long-term Observers (LTOs)

**13.00              Meeting with drivers and interpreters**

*Lunch (own arrangements)*

15h00      Departure Mr MAYOL I RAYNAL (team 3) to Bakuriani/Borjomi  
(*Accommodation: Hotel "VERE PALACE", Bakuriani*)

15h30      Visit of cultural heritage (Mtsketa, Jvari)

18h30      Meeting with **Mr Vasili TCHKOIDZE**, Centre for European Integration Studies  
(CEIS) - (*Chairman ONLY*)  
*Venue: Hotel Marriott*

19h30      Departure from the hotel for

20h00      Dinner hosted by **Mr Demetrio VOLCIC**, Chairman of the EP Ad hoc delegation  
*Venue: Restaurant "Tsiskvili", Beliashvili Str.*

## **Sunday, 2 November 2003**

Monitoring of voting in different areas:

Team 1: Tbilisi

Mr VOLCIC, Mr BODEN, Ms SCHMUTTERER + EP interpreter

Team 2: Rustavi

Mr GAHRTON + OSCE/ODIHR interpreter

Team 3: Bakuriani/Borjomi

Mr MAYOL I RAYNAL + EP interpreter

### **Sunday, 2 November 2003**

- 6h30 Departure Mr GAHRTON (team 2) to Rustavi
- 7h30 Departure Mr VOLCIC (team1)
- Observation of the opening and voting in different polling stations
- 15h00 Exchange of views with *H.E. Mr Torben HOLTZE*, Head of the EC Delegation in Georgia (*Chairman ONLY*)  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*
- 17h00 First discussions on the Joint Statement (*Heads of Delegations ONLY*)  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*
- Observation of the closing of the polling station
- 22h15 Exchange of views of EP Delegation and EU Ambassador on the election observation  
*Venue: Restaurant "Profile", Kiacheli Str. 8*

### **Monday, 3 November 2003**

- 4h45 Departure from the hotel (Mr GAHRTON)  
6h00 Flight TK1387 to Istanbul
- 9h00 Follow-up of the discussions on the Joint Statement (*Heads of Delegation ONLY*)  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*
- 10h00 Briefing with the EU Ambassador  
*Venue: Hotel MARRIOTT*
- 11h00 Final discussions on the Joint Statement (*Heads of Delegation ONLY*)
- 14h00 Return of Mr MAYOL I RAYNAL from Bakuriani/Borjomi
- Exchange of views of the EP Delegation
- 16h30 Departure from the hotel for
- 17h00 Joint Press Conference  
*Venue: Hotel SHERATON*

### **Tuesday, 4 November 2003**

- 4h15 Departure from the hotel for (Ms SCHMUTTERER)  
5h40 Flight OS0654 to Vienna
- 9h30 Visit to Gori
- 14h30 Departure from the hotel for (Mr VOLCIC, Mr MAYOL I RAYNAL, Mr BODEN)  
16h20 Flight A9621 to Frankfurt