



**PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

**REPORT ON**

**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN**

**REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA**

**5 NOVEMBER 1995**



## 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

These were the second multi-party parliamentary elections held in Georgia since independence. Although final vote counts and results were delayed for a number of days, with some questions regarding the sanctity of counting procedures, and though not all regions of Georgia were visited, the Delegation considers that the elections were generally well run on election day, and were not seriously marred by other pre-election conditions.

Presidential elections were also held in conjunction with the parliamentary elections.

- a) The parliamentary and presidential elections generally proceeded without violence or major mishap. This is exceptional given the republic's recent civil war, and on-going ethnic turmoil.
- b) Participation during the pre-election period was considered by Delegation members to be quite active, with 54 parties and blocs participating on the party-list ballot, and six candidates contesting for the Presidency. The political campaign was also considered both active and competitive, with apparently broad public discussion.
- c) The arrest and detention of some opposition members, while not entirely silencing that point of view, did reduce opposition voices in the pre-election period. However, those who chose not to participate in the elections did so, as far as could be determined by the Delegation, of their own free will and were not systematically excluded from the process.
- d) A significant number of complaints were heard regarding excessive news coverage of the Head of State to suggest that an inequitable situation existed. Other presidential and parliamentary candidates were also inhibited from receiving almost any news coverage by a strict interpretation of the electoral law.
- e) Promises of state financing for political campaigns was unrealistic and did not occur. State funding provisions in the electoral law created false expectations among some parties and candidates.
- f) Although some confusion and technical difficulties were witnessed in some polling stations, proper procedures were observed by the Delegation to be more the rule than the exception. Adherence to the one-man one-vote principle was generally observed, as was the sanctity of the secret ballot.
- g) A number of procedures were instituted in the electoral law to increase public confidence in the overall process, including the adoption of special procedures for refugees to vote and participate, the inclusion of domestic and international observers, the membership of party representatives on election commissions, laxer interpretations of ballot marking procedures, etc.

The Delegation also wishes to emphasize that a multiple number of parties and points of view were represented in the election, and there appeared to be a definite choice between candidates. The Delegation's statement was published on 6 November [Annex 3].

## 2. DELEGATION

The Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE monitored the elections in Georgia at the invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of Georgia. The President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly had appointed the following Delegation:

Erik SOLHEIM . . . . .	Norway, Head of Delegation
Vaclav CRULICH . . . . .	Czech Republic
Rudlof OPATRIL . . . . .	Czech Republic
Vaclav EXNER . . . . .	Czech Republic
Hans RAIDEL . . . . .	Germany
Viktor ZLACHEVSKIJ . . . . .	Moldova
Tone TINGSGÅRD . . . . .	Sweden

The Delegation was accompanied by the following two members of the International Secretariat:

Eric RUDENSHIÖLD . . . . .	Programme Director
Stig KJELDSSEN . . . . .	Assistant

## 3. PROGRAMME

The observer programme for the OSCE Delegation of parliamentarians was prepared together with the Georgian Central Election Commission and the Tbilisi Public Relations Center [Annex 2]. When arranging the programme, the Secretariat also cooperated with field representatives of the National Democratic Institute For International Affairs and the OSCE ODIHR. The Delegation attended some briefings jointly with the Delegation of the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and various other international organizations.

## 4. PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND OBSERVATIONS

These were the second, multi-party, post-communist elections held in Georgia after the country gained independence. Georgia's post-independence period has been marred by civil war and ethnic strife, with some regions of the republic seeking to secede. Politics in the republic remains heavily factionalized. Some groups remain loyal to the late President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and regard current political processes (including the elections) to be illegitimate. Some fractions of these supporters boycotted the elections, while others chose to participate.

An unsuccessful assassination attempt in August 1995 on then Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze was followed by a crackdown on some opposition leaders and groups reportedly involved. These included the Mkhedrioni "militia" which helped overthrow the Gamsakhurdia regime and bring Shevardnadze to power. The assassination attempt came on the eve of Shevardnadze's signing the country's new Constitution into law, creating a strong Presidential system of government, and a new election law. However, despite a predisposition towards outbreaks of violence in the political process, which apparently has even included the use of torture by police, some improvements in the overall pre-election political situation have been achieved.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Two Helsinki Watch reports (one published in late 1994, the other in early 1995) cite instances where dozens of prisoners had been beaten and tortured by officials.

Georgia's numerous political parties, 27 of whom were represented in the 1992 Parliament, completed the difficult registration process and conducted a vigorous and peaceful election campaign. A wide range of opinions and debate were evident, especially in door-to-door campaigning and the posting of placards. Numerous party ideas and concerns were also adopted into the political process resulting in increased safeguards during voter registration, and the inclusion of numerous election monitors and party proxies.

Political parties had to produce signatures lists of no less than 50,000 voters to be granted the right to participate in the elections. However, parties represented in the Parliament when elections were called, and Parliamentarians elected in 1992, had the right by law to participate without providing the supporting signatures. Parties also had the right under the election law to unite into electoral blocs. By 6 October, the last day for registration of electoral blocs, a total of 47 parties and eight blocs had been registered with the CEC for the 5 November elections. Fifty-four parties and blocs were represented on the final ballot.

*The standards used to examine party and candidate registration forms appear to have been uniform and conducted without prejudice.* Although some party and candidate registrations were denied by the Central Election Commission, the appeals procedure seemed to function without problems. The Supreme Court agreed to hear 32 of the 38 appeals registered, and decided in favor of the plaintiff in 17 instances.

### **The Electoral System**

Georgia's election law calls for a legislative body consisting of 235 deputies elected for four-year terms. Of these, 150 are elected from multi-mandate electoral districts on the basis of proportional representation, while the remaining 85 members are elected in single-mandate electoral districts by a majority electoral system.

No elections were to be held in Abkhazia or South Ossetia on November 5th, due to the continued conflict in the region over questions regarding territorial rights, representation in the Parliament and issues in the new Constitution. The 10 parliamentarians elected to the 1992 Parliament from Abkhazia were to continue to serve in that capacity, until these issues are resolved and elections scheduled. Therefore, the 85-member total to be elected in single-mandate electoral districts was also to be reduced to 75 for the 5 November elections.

However, refugees from both South Ossetia and Abkhazia were allowed to cast presidential and party list ballots in the district where they temporarily reside. The refugees were not allowed to cast single-mandate (majoritarian) ballots to elect local candidates, as they are not considered permanent residents in their districts.

Despite the intended ban on elections in the regions, local electoral districts were created in Georgian villages of the Southern Ossetia region by the District Electoral Commission in Gori. Voting was peacefully conducted in these villages by local electoral officials. OSCE PA observers in the region noted that local commission officials in these villages had been preparing for elections since they had initially been called. While voting did not take place in Ossetian villages or in the regional capital of Tskhinvali, ethnic Georgians were allowed to cross over the Tskhinvali city armed checkpoints and vote as refugees in neighboring electoral districts. In the polling stations visited by OSCE PA observers, 24 Tskhinvali-Georgian voters had so registered and voted.

### Nomination and Registration of Candidates

Candidates, to be eligible for election by the majority system, either had to be nominated by participating parties, or produce no fewer than 1000 signatures of supporting voters. Parliamentarians elected in 1992 had the right by law to participate without providing the supporting signatures. Candidates for President from parties and initiative groups needed to submit a list of 50,000 voter signatures.

### Resolution of Complaints and Disputes

Protests were heard by the Central Election Commission (CEC) and could then be appealed to the Supreme Court. As of 4 November, 38 appeals had been registered with the Supreme Court:

11 from political organizations --	7 decided in favor of plaintiffs 3 appeals denied 1 case denied review by Court
27 from candidates --	10 decided in favor of candidates 12 appeals denied 5 cases denied review by Court

None of the parties, candidates or groups met by the Delegation registered any grievances regarding the appeals procedure. *The relatively low number of complaints and comparatively high level of satisfaction with the appellate procedure seems due in large part to each party having had representation on the Central Election Commission. Although this doubtless increased the difficulty in achieving agreement between so many different points of view, there was also a corresponding increase in transparency and legitimacy in the overall political process.*

On the other hand, state enforcement of laws surrounding the election did seem forceful at times. The Delegation witnessed an illegal (unsanctioned), but peaceful, demonstration held by members of opposition groups loyal to Gamsakhurdia outside the Parliament building. The protest was forcefully broken up by security forces and the demonstrators detained. Several instances were related to the Delegation where individuals and political rallies were harassed by security forces. The Delegation also heard of arrests of individuals asking voters to support the election boycott. Even though this event has to be seen in light of recent Georgian history (with civil war between factions), the act of inviting voters to boycott must be looked upon as a democratic right which should be recognised by all. Stable legal procedures need to be implemented and enforced where freedoms of assembly and expression are secured.

### Defining Constituencies and Voter Registration

The republic was divided into 85 electoral districts, although as previously mentioned 10 districts in the Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions did not participate in the elections. Of the 75 participating electoral districts, 2,608 electoral precincts were established of between 20 and 3,000 voters. *Voter lists were to have been updated by local election commission officials, however, this process was complicated by large numbers of displaced persons, refugees, and emigrants.* Voters who could prove that they have changed their residence (and could provide sufficient documentation), were allowed to register on election day.

### Campaigning and the Role of the Media

The electoral law states that the CEC was to determine the amount of money to be given to each independent candidate (set to be 2000 Lari or approximately \$1500 US). Campaign funding for each

party candidate could also not exceed that amount. However, no state financing was provided. *State funding provisions in the electoral law created false expectations among some parties and candidates.*

The electoral programs of parties and electoral blocs appeared to have been published in the national and local media, as provided for in the electoral law. However, most parties and candidates complained about access to broadcast media [see Media Section 5.2 below].

### The Presidential Election

The Presidential election was governed by a separate election law, adopted 1 September 1995, although there appeared to be no major discrepancies between procedures with the Election Law of Georgia. The election was based on direct majority suffrage.

*Though the six candidates for office were guaranteed by law equal access to the media, a sufficient number of complaints were heard by the Delegation to believe that Head of State Shevardnadze received an inordinate amount of coverage, particularly on television [see Media section below].*

### Voting Procedures

Voting took place on Sunday, 5 November 1995, between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m. Ballot boxes were to have been set up in a way that voters would have to pass through rooms or cabins to ensure secret voting. Mobile ballot boxes for the elderly or hospitalized were provided by law upon the request of voters unable to come to polling sites. The portable ballot boxes were required by law to be accompanied by at least two members of the precinct electoral commission.

Precinct electoral commissions were to only hand out ballot papers to voters who submit proper identification, however, this was not always the practice observed in rural areas. *Particularly in small villages, Delegation members observed ballots being handed to individuals who were known and addressed by local precinct officials. In less than 10% of polling stations, some instances of proxy voting were observed, as were family members voting together in the same cabinet. However, this also seemed to be far more the exception than the rule.*

Armed persons were not to be admitted to voting places. However, police officers executing their duties were allowed by law to be on the premises of polling stations with the consent of the chairman of the precinct electoral commissions. *Although some other international monitors inferred sinister implications from this practice, the OSCE PA Delegation generally witnessed at most one token police officer in some polling stations in what was regarded as an effort to maintain order. None of the voters or local observers interviewed seemed concerned or disturbed by the presence of the police. The Delegation considered this practice from the Soviet era to generally be benign. However, some instances of police interference in voting processes were witnessed in the Ajaria region by other international observer groups.*

Voters received three ballot papers, one for the Presidential election and two for the parliamentary election. The parliamentary election ballot for mandates distributed through the proportional system included the 54 names of the parties and electoral blocs participating in the elections. The second parliamentary ballot, for mandates distributed through the majoritarian system, included details about the candidates (name, date of birth, profession, position and party membership, etc.) in the given electoral district. Some majoritarian ballots included up to 50 candidates.

Voters according to the Presidential election law needed to mark the ballot by leaving untouched the name of the candidate they were voting for. In the other election law, voters needed to circle the name of the candidate or party they were voting for, *and* to cross out all other names. This procedure was,

however, modified by the Central Election Commission upon the advice of international observers to allow ballots to be marked either way, or to allow ballots where the intention of the voter could be determined.

### **Validity of Elections and the Election of Deputies**

According to the transitional provisions for the 1995 Georgian parliamentary elections, elections by party lists are considered held if the total voter turnout is at least 50%. Elections in single-mandate electoral districts are also considered valid if the total voter turnout in the districts is at least 50%. However, in future elections a minimum voter turnout of 33% will be required of both nationwide and electoral district elections.

In order for parties to be represented in Parliament, they needed to win at least five per cent of the total votes cast. To ascertain the number of mandates won by those parties, the number of votes they received is multiplied by 146 and divided by the number of votes cast for party lists that received more than five per cent of the total votes cast.<sup>2</sup> The number of mandates each party receives is the integer (whole) number that results from this formula. The remaining mandates are then distributed by assigning one to each of those party lists which received the most (total) votes. Candidates on party lists are elected in the order they appear on their party list.

In a given single-mandate electoral district a candidate is elected if he/she receives the majority and at least one third of the cast votes. If no one is elected, the top two candidates proceed to a second round. In that round candidates are not required to receive one-third of the cast votes.

### **Presidential Results**

Eduard Shevardnadze was elected by 74% of participating voters (51% of all eligible voters); 2,139,369 voters participated in the elections out of 3,106,557 total eligible voters, yielding a 69% overall voter turnout.

Candidate	Number of Voters	Overall Percentage
Roin Liparteliani	7,948	.37%
Akaki Bakradze	31,350	1.47%
Jumber Patiashvili	414,303	19.37%
Panteleimon Giorgadze	10,697	0.50%
Eduard Shevardnadze	1,589,909	74.32%
Kartlos Gharibashvili	10,023	0.47%

### **Election Results**

A total of 3,121,075 voters were eligible to participate, with 2,127,946 actually participating (69% of all eligible voters). Of the 85 single-mandate districts, elections were actually held in 77 electoral districts, not held in one district (under 50% voter turnout) and postponed in all others (Southern

---

<sup>2</sup> The figure 146 may be expanded up to 150 as prescribed in the Transitional Provisions Article 2 of the Election Law of Georgia.

Ossetia region and Abkhazia). Of the 77 single-mandate districts which did hold elections, 40 required a second round of voting, and two precincts had their results declared invalid (requiring new elections to be held). Three parties, representing a collective 39% of the overall vote, passed the 5% threshold for elections by the proportional system. They will divide the 150 seats according to the formula provided in the "Validity of Elections..." section above.

### *Results of the Proportional System Elections for Parliament*

<u>Party Name</u>	<u>Total Number Votes</u>	<u>% Overall</u>
Union of Georgian Citizens . . . . .	504,586 . . . . .	23.71
National-Democratic Party . . . . .	169,218 . . . . .	7.97
All Georgian Revival Union . . . . .	145,626 . . . . .	6.84
Block -- "United Communist Party & Social Democrats" . . . . .	95,506 . . . . .	4.49
Union of Georgian Traditionalists . . . . .	89,752 . . . . .	4.22
Block -- 21st Century-K. Gamsakhurdia Society-United Georgia . . . . .	88,405 . . . . .	4.15
Socialist Party of Georgia . . . . .	80,747 . . . . .	3.79
Block -- Union of Georgian Reformers & National Agreement . . . . .	61,424 . . . . .	2.89
Merab Costava Society . . . . .	49,829 . . . . .	2.34
Stalin Communist Party . . . . .	46,174 . . . . .	2.17
Political Union <i>Tanadgoma</i> . . . . .	45,747 . . . . .	2.15
"Abkhazia My Home" . . . . .	44,191 . . . . .	2.08
Communist Party of Georgia . . . . .	44,117 . . . . .	2.07
All Georgian Union Party of Peace and Freedom (Afghans) . . . . .	43,017 . . . . .	2.02
National-Independence Party of Georgia . . . . .	39,788 . . . . .	1.87
Democratic Party . . . . .	37,643 . . . . .	1.77
United Republican Party of Georgia . . . . .	35,051 . . . . .	1.65
Block -- For Life . . . . .	32,534 . . . . .	1.53
Block -- Progress . . . . .	29,189 . . . . .	1.37
Bloc -- Way of Zviadi & Voice of Nation . . . . .	25,213 . . . . .	1.18
Social Justice Union of Georgia . . . . .	22,190 . . . . .	1.04
Union of Women's Protection . . . . .	20,384 . . . . .	0.96
State Legal Unity . . . . .	19,675 . . . . .	0.92
Party of Social Protection of Citizens . . . . .	15,898 . . . . .	0.75
Ilia Chavchavadze Society . . . . .	15,510 . . . . .	0.73
Political Movement Future of Georgia . . . . .	15,316 . . . . .	0.72
"New Georgia" . . . . .	14,030 . . . . .	0.66
Union of God's Children . . . . .	13,661 . . . . .	0.64
Political Union of Citizens "Georgian Women for Elections" . . . . .	12,865 . . . . .	0.60
<i>Lemi</i> Political Organization . . . . .	8,722 . . . . .	0.41
Block -- "Christian Democracy & European Choice" . . . . .	8,607 . . . . .	0.40
Motherland Party . . . . .	8,561 . . . . .	0.40
Georgian Party of Liberty . . . . .	8,188 . . . . .	0.38
Agrarian Union of Georgia . . . . .	7,420 . . . . .	0.35
Family Revival Union of Georgia . . . . .	7,141 . . . . .	0.34
Liberal-Conservative Party of Georgia . . . . .	7,123 . . . . .	0.33
"Trade Unions for Elections" . . . . .	6,969 . . . . .	0.33
Block -- Economical Revival-Yellows . . . . .	6,564 . . . . .	0.31
Party of Peoples' Friendship and Justice . . . . .	6,412 . . . . .	0.30
Agrarian Party of Georgia . . . . .	6,095 . . . . .	0.29
Party of National Integrity and Social Equality of Georgia . . . . .	5,999 . . . . .	0.28
Christian-Democratic Party of Georgia . . . . .	5,854 . . . . .	0.28
<i>Mamuli</i> . . . . .	5,729 . . . . .	0.27
Progressive Party of Georgia . . . . .	5,673 . . . . .	0.27
League of Econ and Soc'l Progress of Georgia Bourgeois-Democ. Party . . . . .	5,611 . . . . .	0.26
Liberal-Democratic National Party . . . . .	5,515 . . . . .	0.26
All Georgian Clan's Union . . . . .	4,791 . . . . .	0.23
Georgian League of Intellectuals . . . . .	4,746 . . . . .	0.22
<i>National Das</i> . . . . .	4,523 . . . . .	0.21
"Motherland, Language, Faith" Movement . . . . .	4,339 . . . . .	0.20
Elections Society . . . . .	3,825 . . . . .	0.18
Party of State-National Integrity of Georgia . . . . .	3,807 . . . . .	0.18
Conservative Party of Georgia (Monarchists) . . . . .	3,743 . . . . .	0.18

## 5. ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

In the observations, as well as in the recommendations, this report concentrates on the Parliamentary elections. Much of what is said, though, also concerns the Presidential elections.

### 5.1. LEGAL AND PRACTICAL CONDITIONS

#### The Electoral Law

- a) The election law set limits on campaign financing for candidates and political parties, but no money was forthcoming from the Government. There also seemed to be a number of controls in place for ascertaining where private campaign contributions came from, although the Delegation was unable to observe these accounting measures in action.*
- b) Due to having two separate laws governing the Presidential/Parliamentary elections, some discrepancies exist, as in how to mark the ballot.*
- c) The five per cent threshold for the proportional election, in combination with so many parties and blocs on the ballot, allowed only three parties to divide the majority of the parliamentary seats. Political parties and blocs which collected some 60% of the votes were eliminated from representation in the new Parliament.*

### 5.2. THE MEDIA

- a) Each of the 53 parties and blocs appeared to have received an equal amount of national television and radio broadcast time, as did the six presidential candidates.*
- b) A sufficient number of complaints were heard by Delegation members regarding excessive news and editorial coverage of the Head of State to suggest that an inequitable situation existed. Although much of this coverage was devoted to the Head of State's official activities, there did appear to be a wide discrepancy in broadcast time as compared to other presidential candidates.*
- c) Journalists and voters alike complained that the Central Election Commission's strict interpretation of the election law precluded any form of editorial coverage of either the parliamentary or the presidential political campaign. Any news coverage regarding the candidates or their campaigns was considered part of the overall campaign time allotment.*
- d) Although space was provided for candidates and their platforms in the printed press, there are only two presses in Georgia, both in Tbilisi, and only one in regular use. Despite these limitations, there did appear to Delegation members that there was a wide variety of opinions expressed in the various print media vehicles.*
- e) The severe decline in the conditions of Georgia's infrastructure has had serious implications regarding mass media coverage of the political campaigns: Poor road conditions, paper price/availability and fuel price/availability has made it difficult to circulate newspapers outside of Tbilisi. The signal from the state television channel reportedly no longer reaches all corners of Georgia.*

*f) There were reports received by the Delegation regarding the broadcasting of local political news coverage in the region of Ajaria over the signal of the state television channel and blocking the national coverage of parties and candidates.*

*g) The grouping of parliamentary campaign commercials together in three-hour blocks during evening prime time (together with one hour devoted to the presidential campaign), however, was considered boring by many voters who were questioned by the Delegation. In fact, many voters said they did not watch the television in the evenings, because the candidates were not good speakers, and there was too much information given at one time.*

The Delegation concludes that information was available through the print and broadcast media, albeit at times limited in its scope and appeal to voters. It was regrettable, however, that the press was hindered from providing any editorial coverage of the candidates and their campaigns.

### **5.3. OBSERVATIONS AT POLLING STATIONS**

On election day the OSCE Parliamentary Delegation divided into four groups which visited nearly 50 polling stations, covering numerous regions of the Republic of Georgia (Annex 1). Delegation observers arrived at the polling stations prior to commencement and observed opening procedures. Members of the Delegation were also present at the closing of polling stations, and observed both the closing procedures and the counting of votes.

A number of special procedures were implemented by the Central Election Commission (CEC) in order to build confidence in the electoral process:

*In addition to having members of all political parties and blocs on the CEC, the addition of control sheets signed by each member of local committees to each voting urn also helped assure voters and observers that the urns could not be switched. Each local commission had an individual, "secret" stamp only available on the day of the elections, for marking and validating ballots. Large numbers of domestic monitors were allowed to observe the process, and to check that voters only carried three ballots from the booth to the urn. The procedures for marking ballots were simplified and liberalized by the CEC late in the overall process, but local commissions were also empowered to vote regarding ballots not marked clearly. All party monitors were required to receive from local precinct officials a copy of the final, handwritten protocols at the close of the vote count.*

The Delegation found that proper procedures were generally followed:

*In a clear majority of the polling stations the conditions and practical arrangements were satisfactory and in accordance with the law: Good order was maintained, the ballot boxes were sealed, and in most cases properly guarded. Adherence to the one-man one-vote principle was generally observed, as was the sanctity of the secret ballot.*

*When asked, voters expressed satisfaction with the level of information regarding voting procedures that they had received at the polling stations.*

The Delegation did, however, observe some minor irregularities and breaches of proper procedures:

*a) In some cases election posters and leaflets were observed on the premises of the polling stations.*

- b) *In very few polling stations voters were observed collecting, marking or depositing two or more sets of ballots for the parliamentary and presidential elections. This was rare and did not appear to place the overall fairness of the elections in question.*
- c) *In some polling stations two or more voters were observed entering the voting booth together. In these cases the persons seemed to be members of the same family.*
- d) *A couple of polling stations were overcrowded, resulting in confusion and difficulties adhering to the proper voting procedures. In some of these busy polling stations voters were also witnessed marking their ballots outside the booths.*
- e) *In some cases ballots were observed being handed out without the required presentation of any identification, however, this seemed to take place in small, rural areas where voters were known to commission officials and addressed by name.*
- f) *In one case, a polling station closed 30 minutes late.*

Most irregularities, however, seemed not to have been intentional. In general, a lack of experience, training and organization of local election commissions was apparently to blame.

#### **5.4. COUNTING OF VOTES**

Members of the Delegation observed closing and vote counting procedures. No major irregularities were observed.

#### **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

Georgia exhibited some remarkable democratic progress during its recent multi-party parliamentary elections. The vast majority of polling stations were run efficiently and special care was taken to build confidence throughout the electoral process. Throughout the political campaign, popular participation was generally spirited and peaceful. However, in order to improve future elections, the following recommendations are suggested by the Delegation:

The pre-election period is an integral component of an election. **1) *It is vital that news and information be provided from independent news sources.*** Allowing editorial coverage of the campaign and candidates will increase interest in the overall election. **2) *Equal standards for media coverage must be applied to all parties and candidates.*** One uniform standard of law and its interpretation should apply to candidates for office, including the Head of State. **3) *Promises of state financing for campaigns should not be promised or codified if it is not likely that they will materialize.***

**4) *The government and the Central Election Commission must provide up-to-date voter lists,*** for use in the registration of candidates and the identification of voters. Although this process is complicated given the refugee situation in Georgia, it is vital that lists be kept current and voters registered before the elections. **5) *Equal standards and practices must be followed in all regions of Georgia, in order to build and maintain public confidence in the elections and elected leaders.*** Although the OSCE Parliamentary Delegation did not visit all regions of Georgia, enough complaints were heard, particularly regarding the region of Ajaria, that Delegation members are greatly concerned that proper procedures need to be enforced in this region in the future.

Given the fact that only three parties, representing less than 40% of the electorate's vote passed the five per cent threshold in the parliamentary elections, **6) special care should be given to the continued use of this type of threshold in future elections, if a truly representative legislative body is to be elected.** 7) *Legal procedures guaranteeing the rights of expression for all individuals and groups need to be guaranteed and implemented.*



Erik Solheim  
Head of Delegation

Annex 1

## ELECTION DAY DEPLOYMENT

On Sunday, November 5, the Delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was divided into the following groups, covering many of the regions of the Republic of Georgia:

**Group 1.** . . . . *Tbilisi, Igoeti, Gori, Karaleti, Tkviavi, Tirdznisi, Zchinvali, Odzisi, Achalgori, Muchrani*

Erik SOLHEIM . . . . . Norway, Head of Delegation  
Eric RUDENSHIOLD. . . . . International Secretariat

**Group 2.** . . . . *Tbilisi, Kareli, Gori, Gomi, Chasuri, Surami, Kvischeti*

Hans RAIDEL . . . . . Germany  
Stig KJELDSÉN. . . . . International Secretariat

**Group 3.** . . . . *Tbilisi, Rustavi*

Viktor ZLACHEVSKIJ . . . . . Moldova  
Tone TINGSGÅRD . . . . . Sweden

**Group 4.** . . . . *Bordzomi, Achalciche, Achalkalaki, Chertvisi*

Vaclav CRULICH. . . . . Czech Republic  
Vaclav EXNER . . . . . Czech Republic  
Rudlof OPATRIL . . . . . Czech Republic

Annex 2

**ELECTION MONITORING PROGRAMME  
DELEGATION OF THE OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY  
REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA (NOVEMBER 1 - 6, 1995)**

**Wednesday, November 1**

Arrival of the Delegation to Tbilisi, Georgia

**Thursday, November 2**

- 10:00 - 12:00 Meeting with representative of *the Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development*, Ghia Nodia, Chairman of the Board and with representative of the *Fair Elections* domestic observer group.
- 12:15 - 14:15 Meeting with all International Observers hosted by OSCE ODIHR with representatives of *the National Democratic Institute* (NDI) and *the International Foundation for Electoral Systems* (IFES.)
- 14:30 - 15:15 Meeting with representative of *Citizens Union*, Zurab Tskitishvili.
- 15:15 - 16:00 Meeting with representatives of *United Republican Party*, David Berdzenishvili, Vakhtang Khmaladze, Besarion Pachuashvili and Iriane Khaindzava
- 16:15 - 17:00 Meeting with representative of *Traditionalists Union*, Joni Khetsuriani
- 17:00 - 17:45 Meeting with representatives of *Movement for Life*, George Korganashvili, Emzar Chikuidze and Elgudja Uhdilashvili

**Friday, November 3**

- 10:45 - 11:45 Meeting with representatives of the Mass Media,  
*Radio Free Europe*, - Tamuna Shalishidze  
Newspaper *The Georgian Times* - Sandzo Bzegadze  
Newspaper *7 Days* - Gela Guzgehidze  
Newspaper *Caucasioni* - Sosaz Subeliani  
*Public Relations Center of Tbilisi* (NGO) - Marika

Darchija

- 13:40 - 14:30 Meeting with representative of *Georgian Socialist Party*, Teimuraz Gamtsemlidze
- 16:00 - 16:45 Meeting with representatives of *Electoral bloc 21st Century*, Bidzina Ghivegobiani and Irakli Kerichoshvili

- 18:45 - 20:45 Meeting with persons boycotting the elections,  
Former members of Parliament, Nick Kilasonia, Robert Petriashvili,  
Lia Anguladze, Valchtang Menargia, Guram Isakadze,  
Abkhazia Helsinki Union, Avtandil Davitaia  
Human Rights Union, Zura Tsulaia  
Helsinki Union of Georgia, Lia Beruashvili, Anna  
Chavchavadze and Nona Doehvizi  
Tamar Ebzalidze, Editor of the newspaper *Free Georgia*  
George Mrevlishvili, University Professor

**Saturday, November 4**

- 09:30 - 10:30 Meeting with the Speaker of the Georgian Parliament,  
Vakhtang Gogvadze
- 12:00 - 12:50 Meeting with the Chairman of the Supreme Court,  
Mindia Ugrekhelidze
- 15:00 - 16:00 Meeting with representatives of *National Democratic  
Party*, George Gogniashvili, Mamuna Giorgadze and Irina Sarishvili-  
Chanturia
- 16:00 - 16:45 Meeting with representatives of *Women of Georgia*,  
Nana Deudariani and Manana Bokuchava

**Sunday, November 5**

- 07:00 Delegation deploys to open polling station and monitor elections
- 22:00 - 24:00 Meeting of the Delegation

**Monday, November 6**

- 08:50 - 10:00 OSCE PA Press Conference
- Departure

## Annex 3

**OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

Press Release 6-11-95

Parliamentary Elections in Georgia

A delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly observed the parliamentary and presidential elections in Georgia on 5 November 1995, at the invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of Georgia. The delegation was led by Erik Solheim, Member of the Parliament of Norway, and included seven parliamentarians from five countries and two members of the International Secretariat. Countries represented in the delegation include: the Czech Republic, Germany, Moldova, Norway and Sweden.

During their visit to Georgia, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation met with representatives from: registered political parties, candidates for office, Members of the outgoing Georgian Parliament, the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, representatives of the government, the Speaker of the Georgian Parliament, the Chairman of the Supreme Court, representatives of the "Fair Elections" domestic observer organization, persons boycotting the elections, representatives of the mass media, and representatives of local and international non-governmental organizations.

On election day, members of the Delegation visited many regions of Georgia, including parts of Southern Ossetia and Kakheta; the city of Tbilisi, numerous other cities and towns; rural areas; and more than 50 polling stations, including their opening and closings.

The delegation congratulates the Republic of Georgia for holding multi-party and multi-candidate elections and recognizes this effort as an important and vital step towards democratic development. The government is to be commended for allowing large numbers of domestic monitors to be an integral part of the election process. Inviting international election observers is also an important step in opening up the electoral process.

During its series of meetings with political parties and individuals in Georgia, and on the day of elections, few specific complaints or violations were brought to the attention of our group. Of the concerns that were brought to our attention, particularly those concerning voting procedures, almost none were witnessed. Although a final vote count cannot be determined for a number of days, and not all regions of Georgia were visited, the delegation considers that the elections were generally well run on election day, and were not seriously marred by other pre-election conditions. There were, however, some issues which the delegation wished to address for future elections:

1) Level Playing Field--

The arrest and detention of some opposition members, while not entirely silencing that point of view, did reduce opposition voices in the pre-election period. However, generally those who chose not to participate in the elections did so, as far as could be determined by the delegation, of their own free will and were not systematically excluded from the process.

2) Election Law and Implementation--

Promises of state financing for political campaigns was unrealistic and created false expectations among parties and candidates.

3) Voter Information, Media Access & Coverage--

A significant number of complaints were heard regarding excessive news coverage of the Head of State to suggest that an inequitable situation existed. Other presidential and parliamentary candidates were inhibited by an interpretation of the electoral law from receiving almost any news coverage.

However, the delegation wishes to note that although some procedural and technical violations were witnessed in polling stations, proper procedures were observed to be more the rule than the exception. Adherence to the one-man one-vote principle was generally observed, as was the sanctity of the secret ballot. The delegation also wishes to emphasize that a multiple number of parties and points of view were represented in the election, and there appeared to be a definite choice between candidates. In addition, the delegation strongly encourages the citizenry of Georgia to participate in the second round of voting that will undoubtedly be necessary to seat the new parliament.

The final report of the delegation will be presented to the Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Stockholm, Sweden, scheduled for July 2-6, 1996. Further information can be obtained from Mr. Eric Rudenshiold, Program Director of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly: Raadhustraede 1, 1466-Copenhagen K, Tel +45 3332 9400, Fax +45 3332 5505