

# Elections to the Parliament of Georgia

21 May 2008

**Report with regard to the complex  
program of the monitoring of  
electoral process within the  
framework of the program  
"Equal opportunities for fair  
elections"**

Tbilisi-2008



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Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" (PMMG) – civil movement which has been created in year 1999 uniting citizens of Georgia representing different ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups residing in Georgia.

PMMG – is umbrella organization which provides resource support and cooperates with the representatives of the more than 18 diaspora and 56 grass-root NGOs working in the field protection of rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups residing in Georgia.

Activities of the Movement cover the whole territory of Georgia with the special focus on the capital and 5 regions, where the widest cultural diversity is observed – Kvemo-Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Shida-Kartli, Kakheti and Adjara. PMMG permanent representations function in these regions.

In the long-termed perspective Movement seeks to establish tolerance and diversity as natural conditions of the democratic society in Georgia.

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ISBN

## Word of the project coordinator

This report describes activities undertaken by the Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" with regard to the electoral monitoring, voters' education and mobilization during the Parliamentary Elections 2008 in Georgia.

All our initiatives were aimed to provide comprehensive support to the effective and full realization of right of vote for the ethnic minority populated regions of Georgia by means of the community mobilization for the participation in elections as well as in the monitoring of the pre-election period, Elections Day and during post-election period, in line with development of community response on possible violations.

All elections held in the regions with ethnic minorities since the country's independence were characterized by low activity of participants, high

percentage of violation of electoral procedures and forgery of votes. Lack of knowledge of the state language and Georgian electoral law further decreases the activity level of ethnic minorities living in Georgia in the elections. We should underline that during last Extraordinary Presidential Elections, elections results received in these regions have been put under doubt and plenty of violations have been registered, first of all caused by the lack of the information, knowledge and skills of the community members. Lack of understanding of electoral procedure has often served as a reason for total or partial failure of the elections at the polling stations in the regions densely populated by ethnic minorities. Due to the reasons mentioned above, the citizens are unable to make deliberate choice. There is also high level of voters' reluctance to participate in the elections. Despite of a fact that the

Government of Georgia has taken certain efforts to raise the level of pre-election education among ethnic minorities, further work in the given direction (which will correspond to the informational needs of the local population) is still necessary. Being deprived of the information local population becomes easily subjected to the manipulations during the elections.

Thus we addressed key areas of concern, such as:

- Mobilization of local communities for the monitoring of the elections administration;
- Raising professionalism among the media representatives in coverage of elections, as the media is an important element in ensuring democratic elections;
- Ensuring adequate awareness raising and delivery of the relevant information to the ethnic minority groups during the electoral process;
- Public monitoring of the electoral process and keeping track on violations.

Before starting of the programme we once again looked back to our previous experience, discussed its advantages and disadvantages, in particular effectiveness of the pre-election and elections day monitoring implemented by PMMG during the Presidential Elections 2008. The working group considered every detail, and developed special, creative approach towards each case which would qualitatively improve the monitoring process.

We hope that information provided below will help to understand situation with regard to the political participation of minorities to the widest circles of the Georgian community, international and civil society organizations, as well as to the policy makers, providing an asset for the deepening of the civil integration of the ethnic minorities in Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

**ALEXANDRA KALATOZISHVILI,**  
coordinator of the integrated  
elections programme

## Short description of the project and program of the 11 NGOs "Equal opportunities for fair elections"

Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" has organised a multidimensional program financed by the European Commission Delegation to Georgia and Armenia, Eurasia Foundation, USAID, CORDAID, International Foundation for Election Systems and Women Fund in Georgia, along with our own contribution. This programme has been constructed with the objective of observing the conduct of elections and to promote informational awareness among the electorate. The work is carried out within framework of a number of projects, having been financed by different donors, but the primary approach consists of the following components;

- ➔ Voters education and mobilization (including producing and disseminating printed publications, creation and broadcasting of 2 social clips at the central and local TV-broadcasting entities, conducting

local consultations, establishing informational centres in regions)

- ➔ Observation of elections in Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti and selected areas of Kakheti and Shida Kartli

The goal of the given project is to create preconditions for the successful realization of citizens' right for equal participation in the elections and observance of the democratic principles of the electoral process in regions hosting compact settlements of ethnic minorities by means of awareness raising and providing informational and methodological support to the local communities, political parties, mass-media professionals during the Parliamentary elections -2008 in Georgia.

To this end, the project specific objectives include:

- ➔ Enabling local community members to act as observers during the elections.
- ➔ Promoting electoral awareness, as well as a higher level of proficiency in coverage of the elections and capacities for the on-the-spot responses to violations of the electoral rights by the media professionals of the target regions and Tbilisi-based media.
- ➔ Providing public and media response to the violations of the electoral procedures and raising awareness of instances of discrimination towards ethnic minority representatives.

# PMMG activities and initiatives

## A. Pre-election period

### Creation of the Coalition

With the objective of optimising the effectiveness of our human and other resources, a coalition of NGOs was created, consisting of 11 NGOs (both based in Tbilisi and in regions):

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1. Democratic Union "Mtredi" (Kvemo Kartli region)
2. Samtskhe-Javakheti Regional Association "Tolerant" (Samtskhe-Javakheti region)
3. Foundation "Multi-Ethnic Resource Centre on Civic Education Development" (Tbilisi)
4. Interethnic Initiatives for Civil Society Development (Kvemo Kartli region)
5. Union "Regional Civic Initiatives for Democracy Development in Samtskhe-Javakheti region" (Samtskhe-Javakheti region)
6. Article 42 of the Constitution (Tbilisi)
7. Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (Tbilisi)
8. Association "Vejini" (Kakheti region)
9. Civil Unity on Human Rights Protection "Tolerance" (Kvemo Kartli region)
10. Centre for Support to Reforms and Democratic Development (Samtskhe-Javakheti region)
11. Women's Information Center (Tbilisi)

This coalition participated in the PMMG's monitoring programme in respect of the upcoming elections, in the areas of Georgia where ethnic minorities live compactly. This step has helped to expand the geographical coverage of our monitoring activities. This allowed us, without requiring an application for additional financial support, to involve our own observers in the region Shida Kartli and to open two new media centres in Samtskhe (Akhaltzikhe) and in Shida Kartli (Gori).

### Activities of the media-centers

In the project regions community information centers were established. Given centers employed communication officers and enabled to conduct two tasks: pre-election monitoring (including monitoring of press [please see Annex IV for more information], field monitoring of local situation, monitoring of the correctness of voters lists and monitoring of the level of preparation of pre-election administration to the forth-coming elections) and informational campaign aimed at both informing of the local population about the political situation and developments (on the equal basis covering actions and programs

of all political subjects participating in the elections) and informing of the political parties, capital-based NGOs and international organizations about the pre-election situation in the target regions by means of issuing of the regular press-releases and their dissemination by Internet (mailing-list includes more than 600 addresses).

Informational campaign also included dissemination of the already prepared and published informational materials for voters and creation of the social advertising in the languages understandable for minorities and broadcasting of these advertisements at the local television.

Media centers have been also organizing dissemination of the printed products created within the framework of the project:

➤ *Booklet "Useful voter' guide"* which renders detailed information to the ethnic minority representatives in their native languages on each phase of electoral procedures. In order to make the booklet useful and helpful not only in the period of the elections and thus keep it always necessary, it was decided to include into the booklet other useful



information as well, in particular contacts of the State structures, higher educational establishments, foreign Embassies in Georgia and human rights organizations.

- ➔ *Brochure "Voting for Action"* was now dedicated to the description of the political parties programs.
- ➔ *Brochure "Frigged Elections: Countermeasures and Responsibilities"* contained description of the main techniques of the falsifications and usage of the administrative resource and will teach how to counteract to such violations of the electoral rights. Given publication has been translated to English and printed for international experts.
- ➔ *Working T-kit* for observers and mobile groups with templates in accordance with each type of the violations of the electoral procedures and rights, maps of the regions, lists of the election stations and districts, as well as other useful materials.

Proceeding from our previous experience, we decided to replace envisaged publication of the posters (which proved to be not so effective) dedicated to the most wide spread

violations with issuing of a T-shirt using the method of so called "walking education". Each of our observers wore the T-shirt on the Elections Day which clearly showed basic cases of violations which might happen at the precinct.

Legal consultant was working with the media-centres providing consultations on pre-election violations of the law. On the Elections Day lawyer was working on the office hot-line. During the day more than 250 calls have been registered and consultations provided. Lawyer also prepared advanced complaints to the CEC and DEC. Now lawyer is working of the legal suits submitted by the organisation to the court.

On the Election's Day media-centres were hosting observers and mobile groups, coordinating their efforts and submitting condensed information on violations and progress of the elections. Due to the operative efforts of the media centres, it was possible to arrange immediate response on the violations at the level of DEC, CEC Chairman and to arrange visit of the project team both from regional

coordinating points and Tbilisi to the most critical regions and PCs.

Media-centre in Akhalkalaki also supported process of the filming of documentary prepared by the independent British journalist about electoral proceedings in Georgia (please see more information below).

### Informational campaign

Informational campaign included not only dissemination of the mentioned above publications and permanent work with community members and mass-media through media-centers and local project supporters but also creation of the social advertising clips. Two clips have been prepared, one was informing about necessity and importance of voting and the second one was describing the most typical violations (based on the experience learnt during the Presidential Elections) which might happen at the PC.

Clips have been prepared in Russian language with subtitles in Georgian language, and broadcasted by the following TV companies:

- ➔ Kvemo Kartli TV Company (broadcasting in all target districts where PMMG observed elections)
- ➔ TV Company "Imperia" (Akhaltzikhe)
- ➔ TV Company "Parvana" (Ninotsminda)
- ➔ TV Company "ATV-12" (Akhalkalaki)
- ➔ TV Company "Mze" (Tbilisi)

### Research on the readiness of voters

Given research has been carried out by the project team in order to measure to which extent voters in the minority regions are familiar with the programs of the political parties, about their voters rights and electoral procedures.

Research has been conducted in Marneuli, Bolnisi, Dmanisi, Gardabani, Akhalkalaki and Ninotsminda districts using semi-structured questionnaires.

Interrogation showed that level of information is extremely low among population of the targeted regions.

Detailed results of the research are attached in the ANNEX V

### Press-conferences and announcements in pre-election period

In the pre-election period in order to attract attention of the society towards PMMG's activity and initiatives, a number of announcements and press-conferences were organized by PMMG. In particular:

*1 May 2008* – PMMG distributed the first edition of the Newsletter concerning violations fixed by the organization in the minority regions in the pre-election period.

*2 May 2008* – Press-conference dedicated to the creation of NGO Coalition in order to coordinate their monitoring activity in the regions of minorities compact settlement.

*8 May 2008* – PMMG addressed political parties and blocs participating in the Parliamentary elections with the request of sharing information concerning violations recorded in the pre-election period, as well as on Election Day. PMMG considered important that information is shared and verified in a timely and effective manner.

*9 May 2008* – PMMG distributed information about its will to submit a letter to the Central Election Commission in order support the registration of election observers for Georgian accredited embassies abroad where there is a high number of minority emigrants from Georgia.

*13 May 2008* – PMMG declared it will be conducting a survey to determine the pre-election readiness of population in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions, which are compactly settled by ethnic Armenians and Azeris. Except this it was also announced that Dmitry Potekhin, an expert on involving citizens into the process of election monitoring and educating observers, will be coming to Georgia.

*16 May 2008* – Press-conference on the announcement of the results of abovementioned survey and feedback by Mr.Potekhin.

*17 May 2008* – PMMG distributed the second edition of the Newsletter concerning violations fixed by the organization in the minority regions in pre-election period.

*18 May 2008* – PMMG shared its findings about ethnic minorities' chances on passing to the Parliament by proportional lists. As a basis was taken number and order of minorities on the lists represented by political parties, as well as the voters' poll carried out 11-12 May by the coalition of non-governmental organizations "For Transparent Elections" (please see ANNEX VI).

*19 May 2008* – Press-conference dedicated to visit of British Journalist–film maker Lora Coventry to Georgia. The British journalist was the first to make a documentary about the conduct of elections in the regions of Georgia settled by minorities.

### **Pre-election monitoring**

With regard to the pre-election monitoring and observation on the Election Day "Multinational Georgia" characterizes the work of the CEC members as cooperation-oriented, in particular since "Multinational Georgia" draw attention of the district and precinct election commissions to the fact that proportionally large number of people was transferred from general voter list to its supplement without making proper remarks in the general list (e.g. precinct #49 in Gardabani region).

CEC also paid immediate attention to the situation in the village Sartichala, Gardabani region, where the rumours were spread among teachers (who, generally, form the precinct election commissions) on eligibility of one and the same person voting instead his/her family members.

Dates	Type of violation	Description	Region	Comparing to the Presidential elections*	CEC Reaction on PMMG complaints
Throughout period	Distribution of food assistance and vouchers from public funds accompanied by agitation	Distribution of food assistance, vouchers accompanied by direct agitation on the part of the political forces.	Kvemo-Kartli (Gardabani district: villages Sartichala, Mughalho; Marneuli district), Samtskhe-Javakheti (Akhalkalaki, Ninotsminda districts)	Less	Yes
Throughout period	Attempts to blackmail and win over the population	Local population is intimidated by those distributing food and other kind of assistance (fuel, etc.) accompanied by remarks like „Vote for ruling party, otherwise you won't get such assistance in future“.	Kvemo-Kartli (Gardabani district: villages Sartichala, Mughalho; Marneuli district), Samtskhe-Javakheti (Akhalkalaki, Ninotsminda districts)	Similar	-
Throughout period	Deception of voters	There is evidence of the intentional deception of voters (collection of the ID numbers by phone, false interviews under the guise of sociological surveys carried out by representatives of the electoral commissions and social services of the municipalities).	Kvemo-Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Kakheti and Tbilisi	Less	-
Throughout period	Inaccuracy of the voters lists	Certain cases of considerable presence of absent and deceased people in the lists are fixed in the regions targeted by PMMG monitoring.	City of Rustavi, Marneuli district, Gardabani district, Tbilisi	Less	Yes
Throughout period	Capacity of the electoral administration	Problems related to the level of preparation of the members of the electoral commissions with regard to their knowledge of electoral law, voters rights and procedures (registration, corrections to the voters lists, etc.).	Targeted regions	Less	-

Throughout period	Pressure on school directors and public servants	School directors have been asked to obtain supporters through teachers and pupils; public servants are asked to vote for the candidates from the ruling party in order not to lose their positions.	Samtskhe-Javakheti (Akhalkalaki and Ninotsminda districts)	More	Yes
23 April 2008	Pressure and intimidation of observers	One of the most active observers of PMMG was arrested in Marneuli district due to his active public work in the region. This case has served as a deterring factor for some of the other local observers who are now afraid to be involved in the monitoring of upcoming elections (more information please see in attached press-release).	Kvemo Kartli region (Marneuli district, village Sadakhlo)	More	No
28 April 2008	Attempts of intimidation of the nominated candidates from the opposition	Roof of the office of Karina Barsegian - the nominated candidate in Ninotsminda from the Block „United Opposition (National Council, New Rights)“ was set alight.	Samtskhe-Javakheti (Ninotsminda)	Similar	-
Throughout period	Limitation of the voters' opportunity for checking themselves in the voters lists	Voters' lists are not available at all PCs and DCs; they are placed on the hardly accessible places or are available only in Georgian language	Marneuli, Grdabani and Dmanisi districts	Less	-
Throughout period	Inadequate information level of the local voters concerning voting procedures	Despite of the efforts made by CEC and NGOs, local population still experiences deficit of the information which corresponds to their. This particularly relates to the rural places.	Akhalkalaki district	Less	-

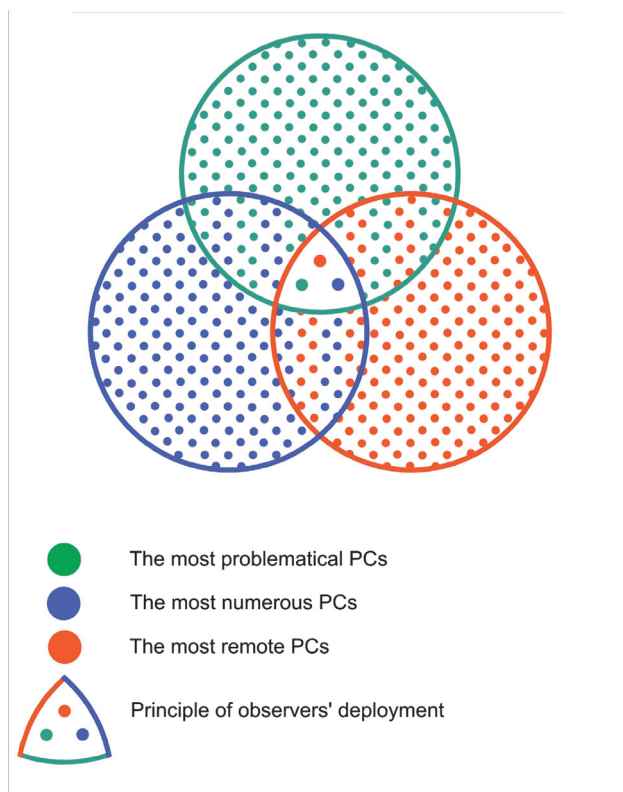


Throughout period	Pressure and intimidation of the observers and commission members from the opposition	<p>One of the PMMG local activists in Marneuli district Sabir Mekhtiev who was arrested due to his public activity on the protection of electoral rights of citizens is still under arrest.</p> <p>Journalist, editor of one of the local newspapers (who preferred to remain unknown) was invited by the Republican Party to hold the position of the precinct commission member. Soon after that the journalist started to receive permanent intimidating calls. He left Georgia for Azerbaijan and in the phone conversation with one of the PMMG activists noted: „I don't want to be the next Sabir» (he ment the case of Sabir Mekhtiev)</p> <p>Member of the election commission from Republican Party Rafael G. during the meetings of the commission pointed on the violations and inaccuracy of the commission's work. The head of the commission told him: „Either you shut up, or we ourselves will make you silent” (additional information may be available at the request keeping confidentiality)</p>	Kvemo Kartli region (Marneuli district, Sadakhlo village)	More	No
			Kvemo Kartli region (Gardabani district)	More	-
			Kvemo Kartli region (Marneuli district)	More	-

\* In order to study the trends of violation of the electoral law, we decided to compare in the pre-election monitoring period frequency of the typical violations fixed by us during the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 2008.

## Technical preparations to the elections monitoring

Based on the previous experience, approach to the given elections was improved. In particular, PMMG used multidimensional methods while creating the monitoring structure.



While defining PCs for the observation the following factors have been taken into account:

- ➔ Remoteness of the PC;
- ➔ Concentration of the ethnic minorities within the borders of the PC;
- ➔ Those where gross violations have been fixed during the Presidential Elections.

Project team selected PCs according to mentioned criteria and then defined those who were characterized at least by two of the three peculiarities.

After that the following measures have been undertaken:

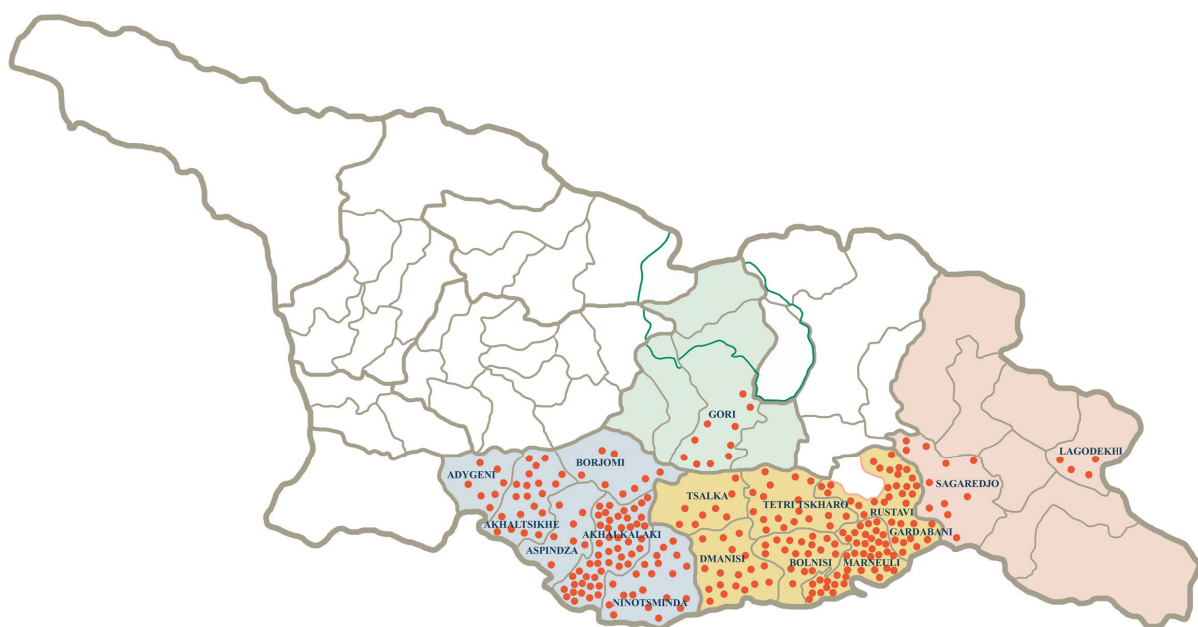
- ➔ Selected PCs and DCs were counted;
- ➔ Selected DCs were divided into 16 zones (Kakheti – 2; Shida Kartli – 1; Kvemo Kartli – 7; Samtskhe-Javakheti - 6) in accordance with the geographical principle (some of the zones did not correspond to the district borders);
- ➔ Zones (including selected PCs within the each district) have been divided into 22 sectors (Kvemo Kartli – 11; Samtskhe-Javakheti - 11) where mobile groups operated (in accordance with the logistics and access principle);
- ➔ Proceeding from the limited financial resources and time envisaged for the mobile groups 24 sub-sectors were defined (Kakheti – 2; Shida Kartli – 4; Kvemo Kartli – 10; Samtskhe-Javakheti - 8).



## Mobilization of observers

Mobilization of the observers was held on the basis of the following principles and criteria:

- ➔ Number of observers was defined in accordance with the number of selected PCs, DCs and composed sectors for mobile groups;
  - ➔ After that a competition was announced, as a result of which in total there were deployed 310+1 (arrested Sabir Mekhtiev) permanent observers and members of the mobile groups (of 700 commers) at 247 PCs and 17 DCs (please see a sample of the observers' deployment in Annex I). Special contracts were put with
- ➔ each of the observers (please see ANNEX III).
  - ➔ Observers have been selected taking into account following criteria:
  - ➔ The most active observers during the Presidential Elections (120 of 310+1 [arrested Sabir Mekhtiev] selected);
  - ➔ Active members of the ethnic minority communities (ensuring ethnic diversity) and public activists from the partner NGOs;
  - ➔ Geographical-territorial principle: proceeding from the premeditated structure and developed schemes, we knew exact number of observers to be deployed at the selected zones beforehand. Therefore



during direct deployment of the observers we used the principle of geographical-territorial mix. In accordance with our formula around 80% of the observation corps in certain DC should have had to be from the other district in order to avoid any kind of relations (friendly, neighbourly, etc.) with local population and commission members;

- ➔ Knowledge of Georgian, Russian, English, Armenian, Azeri languages (at least good knowledge of Georgian and Russian languages, and on a speaking level anyone of the rest 3 languages) has also been taken into account, as well as requests of the observers themselves (taking into account their family and professional conditions).

Each observer had detailed scheme of deployment of other observers within his/her own sector, their contacts, as well as contacts of the district and regional coordinators, lawyer and representatives of the project team.

### Principle of the mobile groups operation

The following criteria and principles were taken into account while

composition of the mobile groups (46 cars):

- ➔ Each mobile group included local person competent in the locality and public activist from the capital or another district (due to the abovementioned reason of avoiding any kind of personal contacts with local population and election commission members);
- ➔ Each mobile group operated in accordance with the special route within the certain sectors and sub-sectors (visiting all precincts within them).
- ➔ In case of the emergency need mobile groups were visiting PC where violation had been identified. All observers and members of the mobile groups have been presented at the PCs and DEC's until receiving of the final protocol. By the end of voting day members of the mobile groups had to choose the nearest PC where PMMG did not have permanent observers and stay there in order to watch ballot counting and receive final protocol.

A special person in the PMMG headquarter was responsible for mobile

cars composition and operation, as well as for conduction of explanation works with the mobile groups' drivers concerning the routes and schedule. Mobile groups were also responsible for delivery of the observers to the precincts. For this purpose special routes have been created in order to ensure that all observers are at their places of deployment at 7.00 a.m. (please see a sample of the observers' delivery to the precincts in Annex II)

#### **Principle of the DC observers' selection and work:**

- ➔ The most active and experienced observers
- ➔ There was mostly 1 observer deployed at each DC, but exception was made in Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki and Marneuli where there were 2 observers operating in each DC.

#### **Principle of the coordination**

There were 3 persons in PMMG headquarter who divided responsibility on the regions (1 for Kvemo Kartli, 1 for Samtskhe-Javakheti and 1 for Kakheti and Shida Kartli) and together with project coordinator sorted information and passed it on to the group of lawyers.

Coordination included two stages:

- ➔ Division of the coordination in accordance with zones (geographical principle)
- ➔ Division of the coordination in accordance with topics

#### **Voters and observers education**

During the pre-election period trainings for the mobilized observers have been carried out under support of the European Commission Delegation to Georgia. Trainings have been carried out in:

- ➔ Tbilisi (for three groups of observers) on 10th and 13th of May
- ➔ Gardabani on 11th of May
- ➔ Tetri Tskaro on 12th of May
- ➔ Tsalka on 13th May
- ➔ Marneuli, Bolnisi and Gori on 14th of May
- ➔ Akhaltsikhe (including Aspindza and Adygeni) on 15th of May
- ➔ Akhalkalaki, Gurjaani and Ninotsminda on 16th of May

Intensive training has been varied out for the observers deployed in the DEC's. It has taken place on 17th of May in Tbilisi and involved inter-regional team of the observers.

Training contained condensed information for the observers including:

- ➔ Procedures of the Elections Day;
- ➔ Observers' rights
- ➔ Practical techniques of the observation and prevention of the elections' fraud;
- ➔ Techniques of the informing of local population and awareness rising

on the issue of electoral rights and participation.

Observers were divided into 3 groups: permanent observers assigned to the PCs; DC observers and regional coordinators; and mobile groups observers. Social meetings and explanatory discussions were held with each of the group.

## B. Elections Day

### Identified violations

Observers fulfilled their mission through reacting to more than 135 violations of the law at 42 precincts (on 37 of which respective complaints were drawn up and violations immediately stopped at 5 precincts by appealing to the Commission chairman) and filing 60 complaints (reflecting information on all noted violations), 40 of which were considered admissible for consideration by the precinct election commissions, 16 – by district election commissions and 4 were considered inadmissible. Based on the joint complaints filed by the observers of „Multinational Georgia“,

other observer organizations and mass-media the results of voting at 11 precincts were ruled invalid, more than 20 complaints were allowed and further breaches of law stopped, including multiple voting (so called „carrousel voting“), repeated voter inking, proxy voting; also other voting procedures foreseen by the law were complied with (particularly, in Gardabani, Marneuli (precincts #20, #35, #31, #26, #25, #24), Gori (precincts #54, #89, #3, #48), Akhalkalaki (#20, #68, #47, #49), Ninotsminda district).

In some districts (e.g. Lagodekhi, Rustavi and Akhalkalaki) the

representatives of the election administrations obstructed filling of complaints.

*More detailed information will be provided in the final report, which will be available at the organisation's web-page and distributed to the international organizations, non-governmental organizations, political parties and mass-media.*

It should be noted, that the observers of „Multinational Georgia“ and the representatives of other non-governmental organizations faced inadequate attitudes and pressure obstructing their work, particularly in Sagarejo, Akhaltsikhe, Borjomi, Bolnisi and Gardabani (including pressure, intimidation and direct violence).

**Typical violations noted by our observers at 42 precincts:**

- ➔ Voter inking not applied (at 42 precincts);
- ➔ Inadequate regulation of access of voters to the polling stations (at 42 precincts);
- ➔ Multiple voting (at 7 precincts);
- ➔ Proxy voting (at 4 precincts);
- ➔ Ballot box stuffing (at 3 precincts)

- ➔ Pressure over the voters (at 42 precincts), including threatening and direct physical violence (at 3 precincts);
- ➔ Stopping the voting process without undertaking respective procedures (at 2 precincts).

### **Observers abroad**

In the pre-election period PMMG conducted Board meeting on which the decision was made to assign special observers at the precincts to be opened on the Elections Day in the Embassies of Georgia in the countries where number of ethnic minority emigrants from Georgia is rather high. The observers from PMMG attended four Georgian embassies, in particular in the Russian Federation (Moscow), Republic of Armenia (Yerevan), State of Israel (Tel Aviv) and Latvia (Riga) in order to monitor the conduct of Parliamentary elections 2008. This component was a part of Campaign of monitoring the elections carried out by PMMG.

Due to obscure reasons PMMG observer was not allowed to enter Embassy of Georgia in the Azerbaijani Republic (Baku). Other observers identified the same type of violations,

including ballot stuffing, as those discovered at the PCs inside of Georgia. Given activity also promoted mobilization of the Georgian diaspora abroad.

### **Filming of the documentary by the group of the British journalists**

By special invitation PMMG was joined by an independent documentary film maker from the UK Ms.Lora Coventry, who was the first to make a documentary about the conduct of elections in the regions of Georgia settled by minorities. She is a representative of a new initiative group British Journalists in Support of Democracy in the Caucasus, which includes journalists working for Cornwall based Atlantic FM radio station, the British Press Association and the BBC, as well as aspiring student journalists. The interest of this next generation of journalists and film-makers in election observation in Georgia was credit to the important role played by monitors in promoting citizens' rights to equal participation in fair elections. As well as accompanying PMMG election observers during the forthcoming Parliamentary elections, the journalist was visiting community informational and media centres,

which the organization established in the regions Kvemo Kartli, Samstkhe-Javakheti, Kakheti and Shida Kartli. She saw with her own eyes how the promotion of civic awareness among national minorities and increasing their access to information was realizing citizens' rights for equal participation in the election. This 'field mission' provided Ms. Coventry with the chance to capture it on camera for a documentary which will shortly be screened in Tbilisi and in the UK.

### **Ukrainian specialist in Georgia**

By special invitation of PMMG Mr. Dmitro Potekhin, Chairman of the Analytical Center „European Strategy Group“, an expert on involving citizens into the process of election monitoring and educating observers, the founder and coordinator of the citizens initiative on mobilization and education of electors „I Know!“ visited Georgia. Ukrainian colleague shared his experience regarding the issues related to the citizen's engagement in observing the electoral process and voters' education, the process of parallel votes' tabulation (PVT) and the development of operative reaction system to the possible electoral violations.

Call center created in the PMMG office allowed for 8-10 operators simultaneously receive and process information from the PC observers, mobile groups and regional coordinators.

On-line data-base <http://e-vote-count.info> was organized in a way allowing to process information at the three levels: from PCs, from DEC and CEC. System also allows reviewing relevant protocols and comparing them. Information is located according to the regional principle and also provides indices relevant to the whole 5 regions, each DEC and each PC from which information has been received. On-line data base functions in three languages – Georgian, English and Russian.

Dmitro Potekhin also supported project team in creation of recommendations for the follow-up activities on voters' education and mobilization, which will be implemented by PMMG in the nearest future in the regions with the compact settlement of the ethnic minorities.

## Press-conferences on the Elections Day

Press-conference on the Elections Day has been carried out at the PMMG office each four hours in order to inform public about the developments with regard to the electoral process in the regions. First one (10 a.m.) was dedicated to the opening of the PCs and launch of voting, including all problems which took place at the several PCs in the targeted regions.

Second press-conference (2 p.m.) was dedicated to the violations identifies during the process of voting and first information about the indices of voters' attending.

Third and fourth press-conferences (6 p.m. and 8 p.m.) at the end of the day where respectively summing up information about violations taking place and first outcomes of the PVT. During the press-conference operative information received from the observers through PMMG call-center was used as well as informational highlights processed by the regional media-centers has been used.

## List of the major violations identified by the observers of the Public Movement Multinational Georgia on 21.05.08

### KAKHETI

Number of the PC/DEC	Region and sector	Name of the observer	Type of the violation	Comments
Violations at 12.00				
45	Keshalo	Available on request	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ PC is not ready for the start of the voting (slammed doors)</li> <li>➤ Observers are not allowed to enter PC</li> <li>➤ Work of the observers are hampered</li> </ul>	Provided response of the Sagaredjo DEC and CEC
48	Tulari	Available on request	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Lack of the order at the PC, absence of the commission members' badges</li> <li>➤ Number of ballots is less than number of voterS</li> </ul>	Provided response of the Sagaredjo DEC
DEC	Lagodekhi	Available on request	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Beating of the observer from one of the NGOs</li> <li>➤ Refusal to register complaint of the PMMG observer on the such kind of conduct in the premise of the DEC</li> </ul>	Complaint to CEC
Violations at 17.00				
18	Kabali	Available on request	Lack of the order at the PC including beating of the observer from the Informational-Documentation Center for Human Rights	Complaint
48	Tulari	Available on request	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Seal on the ballot box is damaged</li> <li>➤ Chairman of the Commission provides agitation and do not pay attention top the requests of the observers to stop violations of the law</li> <li>➤ Absence of the marking of voters</li> <li>➤ Absence of the registration journal</li> </ul>	Complaint
37	Kvemo-Lambalo	Available on request	PC is not prepared for the voting	Complaint
Violations at 19.00				
48	Tulari	Available on request	Observers have been allocated in the bus and transferred to Zemo-Lambalo because of the alleged closing of the polling station, which appeared an attempt of deception. After observers have been taken away, PC continued its work	Complaint



## SAMTSKHE-JAVAKHETI

Number of the PC/DEC	Region and sector	Name of the observer	Type of the violation	Comments
Violations at 12.00-17.00				
20	Khvebisi	Available on request	Stuffing of ballots	Complaint
68	Akhalkalaki	Available on request	Number of ballots is less than number of voters	
67	Akhalkalaki	Available on request	Ballots only in Georgian language which creates obstacles during the voting process	Complaint
49	Kumurdo	Available on request	PC has been opened with significant delay under absence of the Commission Chairman Ballots only in Georgian language which creates obstacles during the voting process	Complaint
62	Khando	Available on request	PC has been opened with significant delay Ballots only in Georgian language which creates obstacles during the voting process Absence of the marking of voters	Complaint
	Deliska	Available on request	Absence of the marking of voters	Complaint
Violations at 19.00				
4	Akhaltzikhe	Available on request	Group of people draw in the PC premise, violent clash took place, several members of the commission and observers have been forced out from the premise. Stuffing of the ballots took place	Joint complaint of the PMMG observers and „Akhali Taoba” representatives  Results of the voting have been recognized invalid
DEC	Akhalkalaki	Available on request	Refusal to accept complaint	Complaint

### KVEMO-KARTLI

Number of the PC/DEC	Region and sector	Name of the observer	Type of the violation	Comments
Violations at 12.00				
34	Nakhiduri	Available on request	Number o ballots is less than number of voters, 2 members of the PC is absent PC has been opened with significant delay	Complaint
49	Muganlo	Available on request	Number of ballots is les than number of voters 196 voters transferred to the attachment to the voters list without making of the special remark in unified voters list	Complaint
52	Dashtapa	Available on request	Observer is no let to enter PC	Complaint
58-59	Gardabani	Available on request	Absence of the marking of voters and repeated voting	Complaint
Violations at 17.00				
34	Kapnakhchi	Available on request	Absence of marking of voters Falsification of the signatures of voters Attempts to increase indices of the OC attending	Complaint
34	Nakhiduri	Available on request	Absence of marking of voters Voting by the underage voters Repeated voting by the same persons Threats to the observers	Complaints
58-59	Karadjalari	Available on request	Organized repeated voting („Karusel“) Absence of marking of voters Voting instead of other persons	
37-38	Keshalo	Available on request	Several persons in one voters cabin Absence of marking of voters Repeated voting by the same persons	PC has been closed
56	Araplo	Available on request	PC is closed in relation to the absence of the seal on the ballot package	Complaint
49	Muganlo	Available on request	Agitation at the PC Organized repeated voting („Karusel“) Intimidation of observers	Complaint
50	Sartichala	Available on request	Shifting of the 118 voters to the attachment to the unifies list without special remark in the unified list Identified attempt of the illegal argument between member of the electoral commission from the United National Movement and one of the oppositional parties in order to stuff ballots in the mobile ballot box	Complaints
34	Nakhiduri	Available on request	Member of the Commission beat one of the observers	Complaint

## Violations during the vote counting

Number of the PC/DEC	Region and sector	Name of the observer	Type of the violation	Comments
20, 35, 31, 26, 25, 24,	Marneuli	-	Protocols without necessary requisites and introducing of changes into the protocols without observing of the necessary procedure	Complaints

## SHIDA-KARTLI

Number of the PC/DEC	Region and sector	Name of the observer	Type of the violation	Comments
54	Mevdjris-Khevi	Available on request	Number of ballots is less than number of voters	Complaint
89	Dzerti	Available on request	Number of ballots is less than number of voters Repeated voting	Complaint
				Complaint
3	Gori	Available on request	Number of ballots is less than number of voters	Complaint
48	Karaleti	Available on request	Intimidation of observers	Complaint

## Cases of the intimidation of PMMG observers and hampering of their work

### 1 DIRECT INTIMIDATION

#### *Kakheti*

#45 Keshalo

Continuous threats and intimidation of the observer assigned to the PC.

# 48 Tulari

Threats to the observers. Observers have been allocated in the bus and transferred to Zemo-Lambalo because of the alleged closing of the polling station, which appeared an attempt of deception. After observers have been taken away, PC continued its work

#### *Samtskhe-Javakheti*

# 4 Akhaltsikhe

Group of people draw in the PC premise, violent clash took place, several members of the commission and observers have been forced out from the premise.

#### *Shida-Kartli*

#48 Karaleti

Threats of beating, attempts of pulling-out of mobile phone, attempts to force out from the pC premise.

#### *Kvemo-Kartli*

#49 Muganlo

Threats of the physical violence took place, because observer had identified fact, how Head of the local police was given illegal instructions to the PC Chairman being in the PC premise with the government-issued weapon.

# 34 Nakhiduri

Threats of the physical violence to the observers. Attempts to force out from the PC.

### 2 HAMPERING OF THE ACCESS TO THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

➤ Ninotsminda DEC

➤ Kvemo-Kartli region  
– #52 Dashtapa

➤ Kakheti region

– #45 Keshalo

➤ Azerbaijan, Baku

## ILLEGAL REFUSAL TO ACCEPT COMPLAINTS

Almost in the all PCs where PMMG observers have been deployed members of the commissions refused to accept complaints, however in the most cases influence on DEC, CEC or involvement of the mobile groups allowed to submit complaints. Only in the following cases it was impossible:

- ➔ Akhalkalaki DEC (3 complaints)
- ➔ Lagodekhi DEC (2 complaints)
- ➔ Gori DEC (3 complaints)
- ➔ Kakheti region
  - #45 Keshalo, # 48 Tulari, #18 Kabali
- ➔ Marneuli region
  - #50 Sartichala
  - #49 Muganlo

## C. Post-election activity

### Parallel vote counting

Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" (PMMG) issued results of parallel vote count, according to which the ruling party is leading in the Sagaredjo (94.72 %), Lagodekhi (83.46 %), Gardabani (75.70 %), Marneuli (84.40 %), Bolnisi (85.63 %), Dmanisi (83.21 %), Tsalka (71.34 %), Tetri Tskaro (63.65 %), Gori (77.54 %), Borjomi (74.40 %), Akhalkalaki (91.04 %), Ninotsminda (90.26 %) districts, while the Nine-

party opposition bloc leads the polls in the Ahaltsikhe (41.53%) district.

In the proportional, party-list contest (in 4 targeted regions according to the results from the covered PCs):

National Movement	83.46 %
Nine-party opposition bloc	6.14 %
Giorgi Targmadze - Christian-Democrats	3.19 %
Labor Party	3.06 %

Results of the parallel vote counting totally correspond to the results of the

preliminary investigation of voters' readiness carried out by the PMMG before elections. In accordance with the given assessment majority of the respondents have been aware with brand and activities of the United National Movement and to the certain extent with United Opposition. Other parties almost were not paying attention to the regions with compact settlement of the ethnic minorities. PMMG was the organization to translate programs of the political parties in the minority languages and distribute in the regions in order to secure minority voting. Even in this case not all political parties provided their programs for translation and dissemination. In composition with the informational isolation and low level of legal literacy and civil activism given fact caused such dynamics of voting in the minority regions.

Number and extent of the violations identified by the PMMG observers and number of the PCs results of voting in which has been recognized invalid shows high vulnerability of the population of targeted regions for the election fraud. Nevertheless significant efforts have been made for the capacity building of the representatives of

electoral administration, Elections Day showed necessity in continuous work on raising of their capacities and deep understanding of the electoral process. The same work is required to be done with local voters.

### **Checking of the correctness of voters lists**

As far as CEC failed to provide public with draft voters lists before Elections, PMMG as other civil society organizations, has been deprived of the possibility to conduct pre-election check of the voters' lists. In course of the pre-election monitoring however pilot investigation of the voters lists in Samtskhe-Javakheti (Akhalkalaki district) and Kvemo-Kartli (Gardabani district) regions has been conducted revealing problems related to the presence in the lists of dead persons and labor migrants (without appropriate remarks) along with reluctance of the population to check their names in the voters lists and in certain PC absence of possibility to check (absence of the lists at the appropriate place, absence of the lists in comprehensible language).

After the Elections, project team together with the specialists from

the Chair of Sociology of the Ivan Javakhishvili State University developed concept for the check of the voters' lists. Research employs quantitative methods and prescribes polling of citizens in selected districts (3 districts per region) of the targeted regions.

Also additional random check of the voters lists allocated at the CEC website has been conducted.

The following research questions have been put on the agenda of the research:

- a. Whether all those who have right of vote have been incorporated into the voters lists;
- b. Whether information allocated in the Unified voters list corresponds to the real data of the voters (article 9, p. 2 of the Unified Electoral Code of Georgia)
- c. Whether those who do not have right of vote have been allowed to what or those who have right to vote received possibility to vote several times.
- d. Whether informing about procedures of check of voters lists have been sufficient?

The following results have been revealed:

General amount of irregularities of the different kinds amounts 6,4%, including:

- ➔ wrong and incomplete data (last names, first names);
- ➔ non-existent addresses;
- ➔ absent persons;
- ➔ absence of the voters in the list.

Certain decrease in the number of irregularities in our view is connected to the active work of the Civil Registration Office and CEC. However as far as Georgia and especially our target regions are subjected to the constant migration, it is very necessary to develop joint procedures on assessment of the migration of population in relation to the update of the voters' lists. In our view special awareness rising among local population is necessary on the issue, in order to make local population more open in reporting of absence of their relatives and themselves in Georgia.

It is also very important to ensure that constitutional right for vote is not confined by any means by absence of voters in the voters' lists

and lack of knowledge of whether state language or administrative procedures for preliminary checking. We think that more work on informing is also necessary for population and representatives of the local electoral administration with regard to this issues.

### **Thematic publications in printing media**

In order to attract public and media attention to the problems described in the given report and situation in the minority regions with regard to the legal and political awareness of citizens, as well as to combat informational isolation of the given regions, project team secured publication of the elections monitoring outcomes in the following newspapers:

*03 July 2008* – newspaper "Resonance" (p.6)

*04 July 2008* – newspaper „Georgia Today“ (p.10)

*2<sup>nd</sup> week of July* – newspaper "24 Hours"

*2<sup>nd</sup> week of July* – newspaper "Svobodnaya Gruzia" (Independent Georgia)

Given newspapers have been selected according to their popularity and diversity of the languages of publication.

### **Presentation of the results and certificates awarding**

On 25th June 2008 a presentation of the results from monitoring activities implemented by PMMG in the period of Parliamentary Elections 2008 was held. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the non-governmental organizations working on human rights protection and specially focusing of the elections monitoring; international organizations and missions accredited in Georgia; PMMG donor organizations supported elections related programmes implemented by the organization; ethnic community leaders and media representatives.

The major place during the ceremony was dedicated to the announcement of the results of PMMG's work, as well as to the awarding of certificates to the most active observers. During the ceremony floor was given to the Ambassador of the Delegation of the European Commission to Georgia and Armenia Mr. Per Gran Eklund



who underlined importance of the PMMG work in the field of elections' monitoring and wished success to the organization in its' future work based on gained experience and expertise.

Ceremony was aimed at encouraging of the local observers in their civil activism and putting public attention on the participation of the ethnic minorities in the electoral process in Georgia.

## Lessons learnt

We hope that in future consolidated efforts of the civil society, all constructive political forces and electoral administration will lead to the raising of minorities interest towards the processes taking place in the country and correspondingly to the increasing of their participation level that is crucially important for the development of integration processes within our society and strengthening of the State's image on international arena.

We also estimate as necessary allocation of efforts of the regular voters and civil education of the minority voters (information about mainstream political process, electoral procedures, possibilities to participate in electoral administration, checking of the voters lists) during the periods between elections in line with joint work over the introduction of certain

amendments to the Electoral Code of the country, with regard to the:

- ➔ additional guarantees for observers in case of intimidation and hampering of their work, which has been very frequent during the last Elections;
- ➔ transparency of the voting process and access of the public to the records of video cameras at PCs;
- ➔ various tools for the electoral process control, guarantees of the involving of the vulnerable groups in the electoral process.

It is also very important to conduct measures aimed at the general promotion of the ethnic minority participation in the electoral process, which implies compliance with the international obligations undertaken by Georgia in face of Council of Europe, NATO and OSCE. First of all it is necessary to adopt profile law on protection of ethnic minorities, which

will also serve as a step forward for implementation of the CoE Framework Convention on protection of National Minorities. More work is necessary with the political parties and local communities on brokering partnerships between them.

One of the most important preconditions for the successful work in the field is appropriate coordination with mass media, which can be achieved among other factors through intercultural education of mass media representatives enabling them to react appropriately on the issues connected

to the ethnic minorities' problems in Georgia, including political and electoral participation.

One more task is also continuous education of the representatives of the electoral administration, nevertheless that during last elections significant efforts have been made by the CEC in order to improve skills and capacities of the electoral administration including those representing ethnic minorities. However further work in the field should be conducted, civil society should be dynamically involved in this process.

# ANNEX I.

## Sample of the observers deployment scheme

### ZONE II: GARDABNI DISTRICT (21)

#### Sector 1

DC #	Place	Number of precincts	Precinct #	Number of observers	Observers' names	Place of observers' residence	Phone
21	Gardabani	9	1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9	9	Zaira Iskandarova (1) Levan Gugushvili (2) Sadagat Mamedova (3) Sevil Karimova (4) Khatiba Iskandarova (5) Solmaz Nasrulaeva (6) Ruzana Ulikhanian (7) Sevil Alieva (8) Rafik Ragimov (9)	Gardabani Bolnisi Gardabani Gardabani Gardabani Bolnisi Gardabani Rustavi	Available at the request
21	Kesalo	3	52; 53; 54	3	Shorena Khutsishvili (52) Ulvia Musaeva (53) Kakhaber Nagladze (54)	Rustavi Gardabani Rustavi	
21	Nazarlo	3	40; 41; 42	3	Bakhar Neimatova (40) Gunai Tagieva (41) Manushak Sartikiants (42)	Gardabani Gardabani Gardabani	
21	Kalinino	1	26	1	Azer Bakhishev	Gardabani	
21	Birliki	1	27	1	Sarkhan Agakishiev	Gardabani	
21	Jandara	2	55; 56	2	Ramin Guseinov (55) Faraj Bakhishev (56)	Jandara Gardabani	
21	Tazanked	1	25	1	Eduard Mirzoian	Tbilisi	
21	Vakhtangisi	2	21; 22	2	Goderdzi Toloraia (21) Nikoloz Bajanov (22)	Gardabani Gardabani	

## Mobile group

Route	Number of precincts	Precinct #	Composition	Observers' names	Place of observers' residence	Phone
Gardabani	22	1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9	2 pers.	Kanan Musaev Rasmia Mamedova	Gardabani Tbilisi	Available at the request
Kesalo		52; 53; 54				
Nazarlo		40; 41; 42				
Kalinino		26				
Birliki		27				
Jandara		55; 56				
Tazanked		25				
Vakhtangisi		21; 22				

Sub-sector 2

DC #	Place	Number of precincts	Precinct #	Number of observers	Observers' names	Place of observers' residence	Phone
21	Mughanlo	2	49; 50	2	Yuri Smoev (49) Gia Khvedelidze (50)	Tbilisi	Available at the request

Trip is controlled from Tbilisi.

Sub-sector 2

DC #	Place	Number of precincts	Precinct #	Number of observers	Observers' names	Place of observers' residence	Phone
21	Karajalari	2	58; 59	2	Alexander Okropiridze (58) Eteri Kobaivanova (59)	Rustavi Tbilisi	Available at the request
21	Agtakla	2	10; 12	2	Galina Shalamberidze (10) Maia Dalakishvili (12)	Tbilisi Tbilisi	
21	Karatakla	2	60; 61	2	Eteri Odikadze (60) Salome Odikadze (61)	Tbilisi Tbilisi	

## DC

Number of observers	Observers' names	Place of observers' residence	Phone
1	Bakhtiar Zeinalov	Gardabani	Available at the request

## ANNEX II.

### Sample of the observers delivery scheme

#### NINOTSMINDA DISTRICT

##### Car 1: sub-sector 3

	Destination		Destination		Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Dilifi		Didi Gonduri		Patara Gonduri	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Stepan Arzumanian (Ninotsminda)				PC #9				
Vladimer Goroiani (Ninotsminda)						PC #7		
Goarik Ginosiani (Ninotsminda)								PC #8
Time								7.00

Return way the same.

##### Car 2: sub-sector 4

	Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Heshtia	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Hnganos Gigoriani (Ninotsminda)				PC #21
Time				7.00

Return way the same.

Car 3: sub-sector 5

	Destination		Destination		Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Orlovka		Gorelovka		Jdanovakan	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Grigor Bdoian (Ninotsminda)				PC #13				
Karapet Bdoian (Ninotsminda)						PC #12		
Gevorq Avakian (Ninotsminda)								PC #14
Time								7.00

Return way the same.

Car 4: from Akhalkalaki

	Destination		Destination	
	Akhalkalaki		Jigrasheni	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Jagor Iritian (Akhalkalaki)				PC #25
Time				7.00

Car 5

	Destination		Destination		Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Didi Aragiali		Gandza		Foga	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Gevorq Tsarukian (Ninotsminda)				PC #27				
Bagdasar Stambotsian (Ninotsminda)						PC #4		
Samvel Stambotsian (Ninotsminda)						PC #5		
Mamikon Kutulian (Ninotsminda)								PC #32
Time								7.00

Return way the same.

Car 6

	Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Orojalari	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Zorab Bdoian (Ninotsminda)				PC #26
Time				7.00

Return way the same.

Car 7: Observer from Tbilisi with his own car

Grigori Kasian	Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Satkha	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Grigori Kasian (Tbilisi)				PC #25
Time				7.00

Return way the same.

Car 8

	Destination		Destination	
	Ninotsminda		Didi Khanchali	
	Pick up	Drop	Pick up	Drop
Marine Menabdishvili (Tbilisi) (2)		PC #2		
Mariam Jangulova (Tbilisi) (1)		PC #1		
Arut Arakelian (Ninotsminda) (3)		PC #3		
Ashkhen Eroian (Tbilisi)		DC		
Viktoria Oganezova (Tbilisi)				PC #18
Time				



## Sample of the contract for observers

№ \_\_\_\_\_

**ხელშეკრულება ერთჯერადი მომსახურების გაწევაზე**  
**Agreement on the disposable service**ქ. თბილისი  
Tbilisi\_\_\_\_\_ 200\_\_წ.  
\_\_\_\_\_ 200\_\_

ერთის მხრივ არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაცია კავშირი „საერთო-სამოქალაქო მოძრაობა მრავალეროვანი საქართველო“ მდებარე: ქ.თბილისი, 0108, თაბუკაშვილის ქ. 17, მისი აღმასრულებელი დირექტორის აგიტ მირზოევის სახით (შემდგომში დამკვეთად წოდებული) და მეორეს მხრივ:

**On one hand** – non-governmental organization Union "Public Movement Multinational Georgia" located to the address: 17 Tabukashvili Str., Tbilisi, 0108 Georgia, on behalf of the Executive Director Agit Mirzoev (here on “customer”), and

მოქალაქე: \_\_\_\_\_

მცხ. მისამართზე: \_\_\_\_\_,

პირადობის მოწმობა # \_\_\_\_\_,

გაცემული \_\_\_\_\_

შს სამმართველოს მიერ, \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/ წელს), პირადი № \_\_\_\_\_;

(შემდგომში „შემსრულებელი“ წოდებული), ვდებთ ამ ხელშეკრულებას შემდეგზე:

**On the other hand** – citizen \_\_\_\_\_,

residing to the address: \_\_\_\_\_

(date of birth \_\_\_\_\_ ; ID № \_\_\_\_\_, issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_), personal № \_\_\_\_\_ (her on “executor”)

conclude given contract on the below:

**მუხლი 1. ხელშეკრულების საგანი**  
**Article 1. Subject of the contract**

დამკვეთი უკვეთავს შემსრულებელს წინამდებარე ხელშეკრულებით განსაზღვრული ერთჯერადი სამუშაოს (მომსახურების) შესრულებას, ხოლო შემსრულებელი იღებს ვალდებულებას შეასრულოს წინამდებარე ხელშეკრულებით განსაზღვრული ერთჯერადი სამუშაო (მომსახურება).

A customer orders the executor disposable service (service), determined by this contract, and an executor takes obligation to do the work (service), determined by this contract.

**მუხლი 2. სამუშაოს (მომსახურების) აღწერილობა**  
**Article 2. Description of the work (service)**

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**მუხლი 3. ხელშეკრულების მოქმედების ვადა**  
**Article 3. Validities of the contract**

- 3.1. წინამდებარე ხელშეკრულების მოქმედების ვადა განისაზღვრება შესასრულებელი სამუშაოს შესრულებისათვის საჭირო ვადით.  
Validities of this contract are determined by the terms needed for realization of the work.
- 3.2. ხელშეკრულება ძალაში შედის მხარეთა მიერ მისი ხელმოწერის მომენტიდან.  
The contract inures from the moment of its signing by the parties.

**მუხლი 4. ანაზღაურება**  
**Article 4. Payment**

- 4.1. დამკვეთი შემსრულებელს მის მიერ შესრულებული სამუშაოსათვის, სამუშაოს შესრულებისთანავე უხდის ანაზღაურებას (12% საშემოსავლო გადასახადის ჩათვლით) \_\_\_\_\_ (-----) ლარის ოდენობით.  
რეალური ხელფასი \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_) ლარი.  
  
The customer pays the executor for the fulfilled work \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_) GEL at once by the end of the fulfilled work (Includes surtax of 12 %). Pure payment is \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_) GEL.
- 4.2. დამკვეთი თანხის გაცემისას შემსრულებელს უკავებს კანონით გათვალისწინებულ გადასახადებს და რიცხავს მათ ბიუჯეტში შემსრულებლის სახელით.  
The customer, by transfer of the given payment to the executor, keeps all the taxes stipulated by the law and on behalf of the executor transfers into their budget.

**მუხლი 5. პირობები**  
**Article 5. Conditions**

- 5.1. თითოეულმა დამკვირვებელმა უნდა მოიძიოს შემაჯამებელი ოქმი ხმების დათვლის პროცედურის დასრულების შემდეგ და წარუდგინოს იგი ადგილობრივ კოორდინატორს. შემსრულებელი მიიღებს შეთანხმებულ ჰონორარს მხოლოდ შემაჯამებელი ოქმის წარდგენის შემდეგ.  
Each observer should receive final protocol after finishing of votes counting process and forward it to his local coordinator. The agreed honorarium will be paid to the observer only after presentation of the protocol.

- 5.2. შემსრულებელი არ უნდა წარმოადგენდეს რომელიმე პოლიტიკური პარტიის ან ბლოკის წევრს და ასევე არ უნდა ღებულობდეს მათგან ხელფასს ან ჰონორარს 2008 წლის 22 აპრილიდან 22 მაისამდე.  
Executor should not represent any of the political parties or blocks, as well as should not be receiving a fee or honorarium from them for the period from 22 April to 22 May 2008.
- 5.3. სამუშაო ითვლება შესრულებულად იმ შემთხვევაში, თუ დამკვირვებელი დაშვებულია უბანზე 2008 წლის 21 მაისს დამ ას არ დაუტოვებია იგი ერთ საათზე მეტი ხნით.  
The work (service) is fulfilled in the case if observer is admitted to the precinct on 21st May 2008 and has not left it for more than an hour till receipt of the final protocol on the voting results.

### მუხლი 6. დამატებითი პირობები Article 6. Additional conditions

- 6.1. ხელშეკრულების შეწყვეტა მხარეებს შეუძლიათ ნებისმიერ დროს ურთიერთშეთანხმებით.  
The parties, on the basis of the mutual agreement, at any time can terminate the contract.
- 6.2. საკითხები, რომლებიც წარმოშობიან წინამდებარე ხელშეკრულების მხარეებს შორის და რომელთა რეგულირებაც არ არის მოცემული ხელშეკრულებაში, გადაწყდება საქართველოს მოქმედი კანონმდებლობის საფუძველზე.  
Questions arisen between parties, which settlement is not determined in the given contract, are solved on the basis of the current legislation of Georgia.
- 1.3. დამკვეთი უფლებამოსილია შეწყვიტოს კონტრაქტი იმ შემთხვევაში, თუ ზემოაღნიშნული ინფორმაცია შემსრულებლის ხელმოწერით დამოწმებული არ შეესაბამება სინამდვილეს.  
The customer has a right to terminate the contract in the case if abovementioned information (certified by the executor's signature) is not true.

### მხარეთა ხელმოწერები Signature of the parties

დამკვეთი  
Customer

შემსრულებელი  
Executor

/ა. მირზოევი/  
/A. Mirzoev /

# Press monitoring brief

### Media monitoring during pre-election and post-election periods

The given document presents the results of Georgian media monitoring and seeks to conclude whether the electoral processes in the country were adequately reflected in the mass-media, and how much attention was paid to the analysis of electoral conditions in the regions of Georgia populated with ethnic minorities.

To fulfil this goal qualitative and quantitative monitoring of five newspapers (Rezonansi, 24 Saati, Akhali Taoba, Alia and Kviris Palitra) and 6 internet outlets (news agencies "Pirveli" and "Interpressnews", internet outlets "Civil.ge", "Internet.ge", "Human Rights.ge", "Media.ge" and "presa.ge") was undertaken.

The situation analysis with regard to newspapers shows that during the pre-election and post-election periods the print media paid special attention to covering activities of local and

international observation missions, and analysing their aims and plans. In this context, the election activities of "International Association for Fair Elections and Democracy", "Georgian Young Lawyers Association", "International Transparency Georgia" and "New Generation – New Initiative" were actively covered. The newspapers also paid special attention to assessments of electoral conditions and election results made by the representatives of the OSCE Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), OSCE parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, European Parliament and NATO parliamentary assemblies.

The print media have diligently performed its work in order to cover the facts of election-related violations identified by the above mentioned observation missions, political parties

participating in the elections and other civil organisation in Tbilisi, as well as in the regions. It should be also mentioned, that despite the intensive coverage of violations, the level of the review of election-related violations in the regions is still inadequate, especially those regions, which are populated with ethnic minorities and whose votes traditionally, play a crucial role in final results of the elections.

True, that the attention of the newspapers were drawn to the chronicles of election process and facts of violence and electoral violations identified in Samtskhe-Javakheti, Kakheti, Shida Kartli and Kvemo Kartli, but in general, it is clear, that only a modest number of articles were dedicated to the electoral problems in the mentioned regions and, naturally, it is not enough and needs further improvement. It should be stressed in addition, that the print media has in depth covered exit polls and results of parallel vote count performed by Georgian non-governmental organisations.

With regard to print media, a positive tendency could be seen reflected in publishing the electoral rules and

procedures in Georgian aiming at raising voters' awareness on elections. A large-scale campaign by Central Election Commission should be also underlined aiming also at raising voters' awareness on voting rules and procedures, translating election-related material into minority languages and offering timely feedback on the voters' queries in the languages, they could understand.

The picture is similar with regard to internet outlets. Almost the absolute majority of these outlets pay much attention to analysis of political processes in the country, electoral conditions, activities of political parties/entities, analysis of positions, assessments and recommendations made by the local and international observation missions. True, that some internet outlets such as "Human Rights.ge" and "Media.ge" pay a considerable attention to the analysis of the electoral processes in the regions, but the information they offer is still poor and lacks the high level of comprehensiveness, thus making it unable to give a full picture of electoral processes in the regions.

Moreover, unfortunately, at the background of the general political events taking place in the country, the chronicles giving the realistic picture of tendencies in the peripheries is lost that once again requires a serious attention and significant revision of news policy. Based on all the above mentioned, an impression is created that the electronic media is focusing itself on events taking place in the centre or in the large regional centres and dedicates only a little part to positive or negative tendencies existing in the regions (especially with compact settlements of ethnic minorities).

The analysis of print as well as electronic media shows that during the pre-election and post-election periods the Georgian press focuses mostly on the analysis of the general political situation in the country and covering the corresponding empirical and factual data, whereas little attention is paid to covering systemic, electoral and related political or social problems in the regions, especially those with compact settlements of ethnic minorities, all of which in the aggregate defines and creates a general political picture, in the end.

## Information on coverage in the media about activities performed by the Public Movement "Multinational Georgia"

- ➔ Rezonansi: 02.05.2008, "Multinational Georgia protest against detention of an activist in Marneuli";
- ➔ News agency "Interpressnews": 01.05.2008, "Representatives of the Multinational Georgia to monitor elections in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartlshi";
- ➔ Rezonansi: 07.05.2008, interview with A. Stepanian;
- ➔ Rezonansi: 23.05.2008, Interview with a. Stepanian: "People went and marked number 5 like zombies";
- ➔ Versia: 21-22.05.2008, interview with A. Stepanian: "Opposition does not meet population demands in the non-Georgian regions";
- ➔ Akhali Taoba: 10.05.2008, "NGO coalition for "Transparent Elections" (Multinational Georgia is also named) to hold a social survey";
- ➔ Rezonansi: 10.05.2008, "NGO coalition for "Transparent Elections" (Multinational Georgia is also named) to hold a social survey";
- ➔ Alia: 15-16.05.2008, "NGO coalition for "Transparent Elections" (Multinational Georgia is also named) published survey results";
- ➔ "Khalkhis Gazeti": #18, 21-31.05.2008, press-patrol-column: information on violations identifies by the Multinational Georgia in the precincts of Karaleti, Zereti and Berbuketi";
- ➔ "Kartlis Khma": article "Dispossessed elections in Gori", where facts of election fraud identified by the observer of the Multinational Georgia are given;
- ➔ Kartlis Khma": article "Gori patriots fighting with Amazonians" where facts of election fraud identified by the observer of the Multinational Georgia are given;
- ➔ TV company "Mze";
- ➔ TV company "Rustavi-2";
- ➔ TV company "Alania";
- ➔ Regional TV companies in Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti and Shida Kartli;
- ➔ Radio station "Imedi";
- ➔ Radio station "Fortuna";
- ➔ Radio station "Freedom";
- ➔ GPB radio.

## ANNEX V.

# Results of the interrogation on the readiness of the voters

### Description

Polling has been carried out in the regions with the compact settlement of the ethnic Armenians and Azeri. Questions have been formulated on the basis of the main issues of concern identified in course of the pre-election monitoring by the permanent PMMG observers, as well as in course of work on voters education, work of the regional media-centers and mobilization of the short-termed observers in the regions. Among issues reflected in polling are:

- level of informing of population about programs of the registered political parties and blocks,
- level of informing of population about violations of the electoral law in pre-election period,
- level of informing of population about electoral procedures in general (readiness to vote).

Polling has been conducted by means of the structured questionnaires. Among respondents different social, professional, ethnic and age groups have been represented, including urban and rural population, active citizens and those who are not participating in the community affairs.

Polling has been conducted in the Marneuli, Bolnisi, Dmanisi, Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki and Ninotsminda districts.



## Main trends revealed

### 1. *Level of informing of population about programs of the registered political parties and blocks (questions 1-3)*

Polling revealed extremely low level of the knowledge of population about *programs of the registered political parties and block, in particular:*

- ➔ Even titles of the political parties/blocks are named in a wrong way;
- ➔ Parties are associated with personalities of the concrete local activists or agitator ("party of the neighbor", "party of N");
- ➔ Citizens are not acquainted with programs of the parties at all.

Majority of the respondents mention (in order of frequency of referring):

1. United National Movement;
2. Labor and Republican Parties;
3. United Opposition Block;
4. Giorgi Targamadze – Christian-Democrats;
5. Georgian National-Radical Party(!).

Other parties and block are not mentioned at all.

60% of the respondents consider media as the main source of information, however due to problems with the access to information peculiar to the given regions, information reaches population in the simplified/incorrect way.

Work of the parties with minority communities is limited to promises to help in concrete cases. There is no strategic vision of the regional development and civil integration of the minority communities within the political parties.

Number of the ethnic minority representatives active in the political field and afitatuion is very low and as a rule given persons just implement party program with no regard to specific needs and interests of their communities.

## *2. Level of informing of population about electoral procedures (questions 4-8)*

Level of informing of the population is different in Kvemo-Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti regions, in the later case level of informing is lower.

Among the main sources of information NGOs have been mentioned along with electoral commissions. Mentioning of the mass media in this regard is random.

Majority of the respondents received information in the native/comprehensible language, which is directly connected to the efforts of the CEC in translation of the documentation and educational voters guides, as well as due to the demonstration of the social advertising at the local TV broadcasters.

CEC and local electoral administration has activated work with minority communities in the pre-election period, including not only voters, but also members of the electoral administration. Significant efforts have been allocated to the capacity building of the electoral administration members with minority background, including new curricula and production of the support materials not only in Georgian and Russian languages, but also in Armenian and Azeri.

In the meantime one third of the respondents consider that they do not have information or have inadequate information.

## *3. Level of informing of population about violations of the electoral law in pre-election period (questions 9-10)*

Low level of informing of population about violations of the electoral law shows that knowledge of the population about the electoral process is not deep and sufficient. Additional work of the PMMG permanent observers allowed to identify that population is aware about violations, but do not consider these facts as violations as far as is not aware about content of the law and own rights. Locals admit facts of the forced agitation at working places, problems with voters'

lists, attempts of illegal influence on voters etc, but do not associate these actions with the "violation" of the law or procedure. Given fact allows approaching problem, which is much more serious than access to the information. Here we can refer to the lack of the citizens' awareness and deformation of the legal consciousness. Given facts require response and regular joint work from the side of government and civil society based stakeholders.

We also should underline certain level of tensions and anxiety within local communities, as a result of the polarization of the society in general, which is aggravated by the lack of information and spreading of rumors.

Results of the polling proved immediate positive results of the activation of work with local population conducted by the electoral administration, which should be estimated as an important step forward democratization of the electoral process.

## ANNEX VI.

# Ethnic Minorities in the Parliament of Georgia of 2008

Public Movement Multinational Georgia tried to identify ethnic minorities' chances on passing to the Parliament by proportional lists. As a basis was taken number and order of minorities on the lists represented by political parties, as well as the voters' poll carried out 11-12 May by the coalition of non governmental organizations "For Transparent Elections", in accordance with which 33.99% of population support Election Block "United Opposition", 31.56 % Ruling Party. On the 3-rd place comes Giorgi Targamadze's party "Christian Democrats" by 11.83%. Shalva Natelashvili's labor party deserves the confidence of 9.29 %. The 7.85 % of respondents expressed their preference for Republican Party. As for the other political subject they do not even approach the winning margin.

Given the results of the voters' poll and taking into consideration the prescribed number for ethnic minority representatives in the election list, it will appear, that in the future parliament by proportional lists of the political parties, the country might have the only two representatives of ethnic minorities in the legislative body and that from the ruling party "United National Movement – for Successful Georgia".

It is interesting how the regions with compact settlements of ethnic minorities would react to the existing trend. It is no surprise that these regions have traditionally played the crucial role in deciding the elections outcome.

List of ethnic minority representatives in the lists represented by elections subjects participating in the Parliamentary elections of 2008

1. Citizens Political Union " Georgian Politics"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Diana Dziapshi (10) (ethnic Abkhaz)</li> <li>➤ Slivin Sergej (45) (ethnic Russian)</li> <li>➤ Avtandil Petridis (66) (ethnic Greek)</li> <li>➤ Guram Malatsiba (100) (ethnic Abkhaz)</li> </ul>
2. Georgian Republican Party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Leri Khabelov (9) (ethnic Ossetian)</li> <li>➤ Ali Babaev (15) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Ramaz Bakhirov (31) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Suren Lukasian (60) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Kamil Aliev (68) (ethnic Azeri)</li> </ul>
3. Election Block "Rights Alliance, Topadze – Entrepreneurs (E.S.G. , Unity, N.D.P)"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Levan Meiparian (30) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Valentina Skomorokhova (37) (ethnic Russian)</li> <li>➤ Nariman Suleimanov (109) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Deni Gogorelian (111) (ethnic Armenian)</li> </ul>
4. "Shalva Natelashvili – Georgian Labor Party"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Lilia Loboda (153) (ethnic Abkhaz)</li> </ul>
5. "United National Movement – for Successful Georgia"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Ramin Bairamov (29) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Armenik Baindurian (31) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Isvakhan Shamilov (50) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Elshan Gasanov (64) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Gamlet Movsesian (66) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Tsiuri Lapatchi (99) (ethnic Russian)</li> <li>➤ Azeri Suleimanov (139) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Vakhtang Martolek (145) (ethnic Ukrainian)</li> <li>➤ Kharutun Ovanesian (158) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Enzel Mkoian (159) (ethnic Armenian)</li> </ul>
6. Political Union "The Union of Georgian Sportsmen"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Marad Ragimov (45) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Rustam Ragimov (54) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Roman Mamechev (58) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Andrei Krivtsun (123) (ethnic Ukrainian)</li> <li>➤ Rizvan Mamedov (126) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Ana Kazarian (129) (ethnic Armenian)</li> </ul>
7. Election Block "United Opposition (National Council, Rights)"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Gusein Askerov (85) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Nazim Mamedov (119) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Ararat Sagarian (121) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Takhir Shaverdov (149) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Karine Barsegian (162) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Konstantin Garsoian (164) (ethnic Armenian)</li> </ul>
8. "Georgian Radical – Democrats' National Party"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Ali Gasanov (6) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Alikhan Abdiev (24) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Abai Pashaev (102) (ethnic Kurd)</li> <li>➤ Lana Geurchova (105) (ethnic Armenian)</li> </ul>

9. Political Union "Christian – Democratic Alliance (CDA)"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Pazel Aliev (10) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Konstantin Kokoev (13) (ethnic Ossetian)</li> <li>➤ Sarchis Arutinian (16) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Arzu Babakhishiev (45) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Dimitri Pasma (80) (ethnic Jews)</li> <li>➤ Dimitri Volkovich (96) (ethnic Jews)</li> <li>➤ Akop Sopianidi (100) (ethnic Greek)</li> <li>➤ Irine Sopianidi (105) (ethnic Gree)</li> <li>➤ Vicktoria Anakian (108) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Milena Sevastianova (120) (ethnic Russian)</li> <li>➤ Margarita Sarkisova (126) (ethnic Armenian)</li> </ul>
10. "Giorgi Targamadze – "Christian Democrats"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ ANo single representative of ethnic minorities' is included in the list</li> </ul>
11. Election Block "Traditionalists – Our Georgia and Women Party"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Albeg Zurabian (11) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Teimuraz Dasni (19) (ethnic Kurd)</li> <li>➤ Aik Meltonian (21) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Arzu Gasanov (23) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Boris Galustov (108) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Artur Oganezov (112) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Jana Markharian (127) (ethnic Armenian)</li> <li>➤ Vagip Gasanov (139) (ethnic Azeri)</li> <li>➤ Marina Anglikovskaia (146) (ethnic Russian)</li> </ul>
12. Georgian Political Party "Our Country"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Makhala Abazov (52) (ethnic Azeri)</li> </ul>

Numbers in brackets mean the candidate's place on the election list.

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