

WHO FUNDS POLITICAL PARTIES IN GEORGIA



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KEY FINDINGS

The following key findings were identified during our research that covered the period between June 1 and November 1, 2017:

Main Trends

- Political parties received a total of GEL 15,480,402 in donations, of which GEL 11,189,128 (72%) was donated by 1,117 natural persons and GEL 4,291,274 by 68 legal entities;
- *The Georgian Dream* received the largest portion of total donations – GEL 14,124,553 (91%), followed by the *European Georgia* with GEL 950,833, the *United National Movement* with GEL 122,496, the *Alliance of Patriots* with GEL 66,392 and the *National Forum* with GEL 39,182;
- The *Georgian Dream* received 15 times more donations than the party with second most donations – *European Georgia* and 10 times more than all other political parties combined.
- 61 legal entities out of 68 donated a total of GEL 4,285,543 to the *Georgian Dream*. Only seven legal entities donated a total of GEL 5,711 to the *Alliance of Patriots*, *National Forum* and *European Georgia*. Out of 1,117 natural persons, 537 donated to the *Georgian Dream*. Notably, 279 out of these 537 natural persons are connected to 782 companies;
- There were 42 noteworthy instances when two or more donors had a connection to one another and had jointly donated a minimum of GEL 20,000;
- There are 30 contributors who had donated to the *United National Movement* in 2012 but have chosen to contribute to the *Georgian Dream* in 2017.

Noteworthy facts

- Natural and legal entities connected to Bidzina Ivanishvili donated GEL 565,000 to the *Georgian Dream* in 2017. In 2016-2017, this amount exceeded GEL 1 million;
- Five co-owners of LTD Polimeri and Polimeri 1, contributed a total of GEL 400,000 to the ruling party in 2016-2017. These two companies are singled out since they were beneficiaries of the government program *Produce in Georgia*. On September 29, within the scope of this program, the government gave to Polimeri 1 the ownership of state-owned 2,990 m² non-agricultural land plot and accompanying buildings in Kvemo Ponichala, Tbilisi for a symbolic price of GEL 1;
- In 2016-2017, Vazha Tsigroshvili and his business partner, Bejan Anuashvili, have donated a total of GEL 170,000 to the *Georgian Dream*. These two individuals deposited a total of GEL 75,000 on the ruling party's account last year on the same day – August 31. Two weeks after this donation was made, the Prosecutor's Office announced that one of its cases had been resolved. As a result, 13 automobiles and 5 quad bikes were released from state ownership and transferred to Vazha Tsigroshvili.
- On August 24, 2017, directors of LTD Jeu Group, Giorgi Markoishvili and Nino Kikabidze, contributed a total of GEL 50,000 in donations to the *Georgian Dream*. Jeu Group is a large company that carries out road construction works, mainly in the capital city. Since 2015, Jeu Group has received nearly GEL 7 million from simplified public procurement contracts. Moreover, the company secured the largest contract in October 2017 – two months after the company's directors had donated to the *Georgian Dream*;
- Two co-owners of LTD Gzamsheni-18, Teimuraz Jakhva and Vakhtang Chanturia, donated a total of GEL 25,000 to the *Georgian Dream* on September 5, 2017. Gzamsheni-18 is a large road construction company that has secured nearly GEL 10 million in simplified public procurement contracts in 2017, including the largest contract amounting to GEL 4.6 million. Notably, this contract was secured three weeks after the company had donated to the ruling party.
- From June 1, 2017, 27 public officials and their family members have donated more than GEL 5,000 each to political parties. For the purposes of this research, we analyzed public officials and their family members whose contributions constituted a significant amount of their declared income. With this methodology, we singled out two contributors, who had contributed over half of their family's net income from the previous year.

INTRODUCTION

Having a competitive environment for political parties is one of the pillars of democracy. The public must have a choice between various political groups in order to avoid autocratic rule. However, the strength and popularity of political parties largely depend on their financial capabilities. In transitional countries, opposition parties frequently have to struggle to obtain funding, while ruling political parties enjoy greater advantages in this regard. This weakens competition, which, in turn, threatens to undermine democratic development. Therefore, we believe that the financing of political parties must remain a matter of concern for the public. Transparency International Georgia has been studying the issue for years and has periodically published relevant reports on the matter.

Local government elections were held nationwide in October-November, 2017. TI Georgia published an interim report in October that analyzed private donations made from June 1 to October 1 to political parties taking part in the 2017 local governmental elections.¹

This report analyses private donations made from June 1 to November 1, 2017 and presents noteworthy instances of contributions made throughout other years.

Political donation data presented in this report was taken from the website² of the State Audit Office. We wrote in our previous report that the website had a number of issues and that the information was incomplete. For example, information on donations to independent candidates is still not available on the webpage of the State Audit Office. Due to this, it is impossible to take full responsibility over the integrity of the data presented in this report. For the purposes of research, we also used our webpage on political party finances.³

Transparency of political donation data and the interests behind the contributors is crucial to maintaining an informed society. Within the scope of our report, we focused on the largest financial contributors of political parties and their business affiliations. We tried to detect contributors who had changed their preferences and started donating to another political party. This is especially interesting for contributors who had till October 2012 donated to the United National Movement, but started donating to the Georgian Dream onwards. Moreover, we tried to find the motives for such a shift, as well as looking into suspicious instances and potential risks for corruption.

The introductory chapters of the report present an overview of the legislative framework of political party donations and cumulative data. The report then presents an analysis of business connections of the contributors and information on other interest groups. Then follows information on suspicious or interesting instances of contributions, which may become grounds for corruption.

TI Georgia will publish the final report on political party donations of the local government elections in the first quarter of 2018. This will happen after all political parties have presented their final financial declarations. The final report will analyze both the income and expenses of political parties.

1 Political Party Finances in Georgia: 2017 Local Elections (interim report), Transparency International Georgia, October 2017: <https://goo.gl/Gs34M4>

2 The Web-site of the State Audit Office on political party finances: <https://monitoring.sao.ge/en>

3 Transparency International Georgia's web platform on donations to Georgian political parties: <http://www.transparency.ge/politicaldonations/en>

CHAPTER I. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL PARTY FINANCES

Political party finances are regulated by several legislative acts in Georgia. The main legal principles for regulating this sphere are defined by Organic Laws on **Political Unions of Citizens** and the **Election Code**, as well as Laws on **State Audit Office**, **General Administrative Code**, **Code of Administrative Offences**, and orders of the General Auditor. Party funding regulations have not changed since 2016.

The Organic Law of Georgia on Political Unions of Citizens defines entities that fall under the constraining regulations of political financing. The law defines the concept of a political party as well as the concept of a person with declared electoral aims. According to this law, a political union of citizens (party) is a voluntary and independent association founded on citizens' common vision and organizational basis, is registered in accordance with legal procedures, and operates based on the Georgian Constitution and legislation.

The Georgian legislation includes a special regulation on election campaign/pre-election period. The pre-election period starts 60 days prior to the Election Day, and political parties have to register no later than the 57th day. After registration, a political party becomes an election subject that is obligated to submit financial declarations on its received income and incurred expenses to the State Audit Office once every three weeks. Within a period of one month after the election results have been summarized, an election subject must submit an overall financial report of its election campaign. Apart from political parties, initiative groups and independent candidates may also be election subjects; the above regulation on political financing applies to them as well.

The Law on Political Unions of Citizens defines a donation as:

- Money deposited on the account of a party by a natural person or a legal entity;
- Material or non-material support (including, a preferential loan) or service (except for work performed through volunteering) secured by a party free of charge or on discount/preferential terms from a natural person or a legal entity.

The law imposes qualitative as well as quantitative restrictions on political donations:

- The donating natural person must be a citizen of Georgia.
- The donating legal entity must be registered on the territory of Georgia, while its partners and end beneficiaries must be citizens of Georgia.
- A donor cannot be a legal entity that received 15% or more of its actual income from simplified state procurement in the last calendar or election year.
- Donations received by a party from a single citizen must not exceed GEL 60,000 a year, while donations from a single legal entity must not exceed GEL 120,000 a year.

It is forbidden to receive donations from:

- Natural persons and legal entities of other countries, international organizations and movements.
- State agencies, state organizations, legal persons of public law, and state-owned enterprises.
- Non-commercial legal entities and religious organizations.
- Anonymous sources.

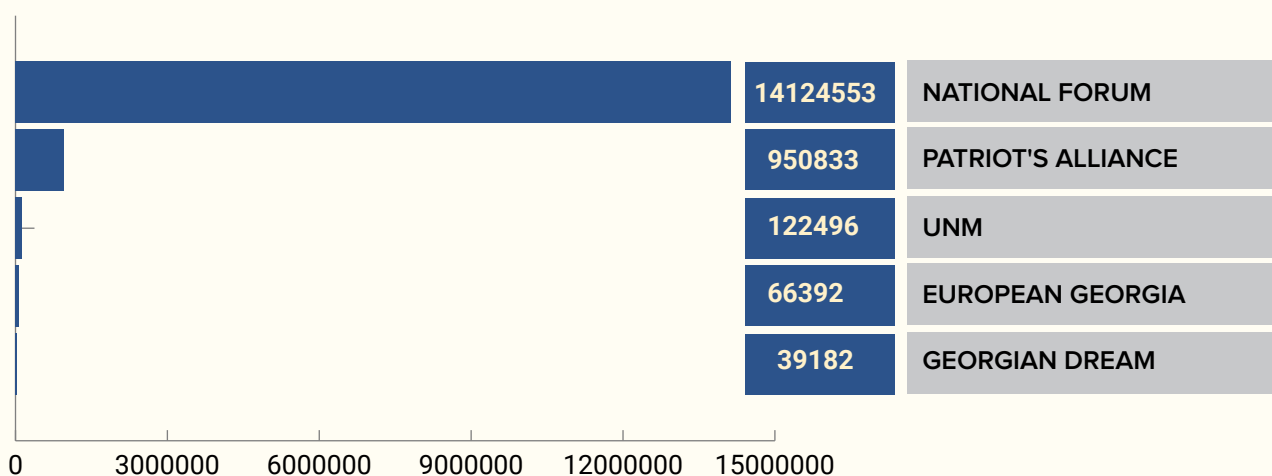
CHAPTER II. ANALYSIS OF DONATIONS

According to the information retrieved from the website of the State Audit Office, from June 1 until November 1, 2017, political parties received a total of GEL 15,480,402 in donations, out of which GEL 11,189,128 (72%) was donated by 1,117 natural persons and GEL 4,291,274 by 68 legal entities.

The Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (hereafter *Georgian Dream*) received the largest portion of total donations – GEL 14,124,553 (91%), followed by the *European Georgia – Movement for Liberty* (hereafter *European Georgia*) with GEL 950,833, the *United National Movement* (hereafter *UNM*) with GEL 122,496, the Alliance of Patriots with GEL 66,392 and the *National Forum* with GEL 39,182 (See Graph #1).

GRAPH #1 DONATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES (GEL)

(June 1, 2017 - November 1, 2017)



Source: www.monitoring.sao.ge

The Georgian Dream received 15 times more donations than the party with second most donations – European Georgia and 10 times more than rest of political parties combined.

1. Business interests of political party donors and high-risk donations

61 legal entities out of 68 donated a total of GEL 4,285,543 to the *Georgian Dream*. Only seven legal entities donated a total of GEL 5,711 to the *Alliance of Patriots*, *National Forum* and *European Georgia*. Out of 1,117 natural persons, 537 donated to the *Georgian Dream*. Notably, 279 out of these 537 natural persons are connected to 782 companies.⁴

Contributors who had donated to the *Georgian Dream* are of particular interest. This is because the ruling party can give lucrative procurement contracts or other resources in exchange for political donations.

We found 42 noteworthy instances, when two or more donors had a connection to one another and had jointly donated a minimum of GEL 20,000. Such noteworthy instances are provided in detail in the forthcoming subchapters.

4 Director of the company, other head or partner (shareholder)

1.1. Political party donors affiliated with Bidzina Ivanishvili

Since June 1, 2017, the following five directors of **JSC Cartu Bank**, which is linked with **Bidzina Ivanishvili**, former Prime Minister of Georgia, donated a total of GEL 125,000 to the *Georgian Dream*:

- **Nato Khaindrava** (General Director)
- **Givi Lebanidze** (Financial Director)
- **Davit Galuashvili** (Operations Director)
- **Zurab Gogua** (Commercial Director)
- **Beka Kvaratskhelia** (Risks Director)

Moreover, these five individuals had also contributed significant funds to the Georgian Dream since 2012. In the time period 2012-2017, their total contributions to the party exceeded GEL 500,000. (See infographic #2)

Another group of donors of Georgia Dream is affiliated with **Aleksandre Ivanishvili** – Bidzina Ivanishvili’s brother. In 2017, Aleksandre Ivanishvili donated GEL 30,000 to the ruling party. Moreover, natural persons associated with LTD **Citadeli** (which is partly owned by Aleksandre Ivanishvili) have also donated to the Georgia. In total, Aleksandre Ivanishvili and his business partners donated GEL 330,000 to the Georgian Dream in 2016-2017. Moreover, it is noteworthy that one of the contributors – **David Dugladze** – had donated GEL 60,000 to the UNM in 2012. (See infographic #7)

Together with Dugladze, 30 natural persons had donated to the United National Movement in 2012 and later changed their political preferences by contributing to the Georgian Dream in 2017.

In 2017, three more persons, who are openly associated with Bidzina Ivanishvili, also donated to the ruling party. **Leri Kapanadze**, who is a shareholder of LTD **Aktsepti** – a former company of **Ekaterine Khvedelidze**, Bidzina Ivanishvili’s wife – donated a total of GEL 50,000 to the ruling party in 2017. Kapanadze had also donated the same amount in 2016. Moreover, **Kakha Kobiashvili** and **Avtandil Kochadze**, who are partners of the same company, donated a total of GEL 100,000 to the ruling party. (See infographic #12)

In summary, the natural persons and legal entities associated with Bidzina Ivanishvili alone donated a total of GEL 565,000 to the ruling party in 2017. In 2016-2017, these donations exceeded GEL 1 million. It is noteworthy that this data may not be exhaustive, as we may have failed to identify other contributors linked with former Prime Minister.

1.2. Case of Polimeri

Five co-owners of LTD **Polimeri** and **Polimeri 1** were large donors of ruling party. **Amiran Adeishvili**, **Ilia Sepiashvili**, **Revaz Karchava**, **Moris Khutsishvili** and **Zaza Khutsishvili** donated a total of GEL 400,000 to the Georgian Dream in 2016-2017. (See infographic #5)

These two companies are singled out since they were beneficiaries of the government program *Produce in Georgia*. On September 29, within the scope of this program, the government gave to Polimeri 1 the ownership of state-owned 2,990 m² non-agricultural land plot and accompanying buildings in Kvemo Ponichala, Tbilisi for a symbolic price of GEL 1. According to the agreement, the company should have carried out an investment to a total of GEL 700,000 for the construction of polyethylene pipes.⁵ **Notably, four business partners out of the five mentioned above donated a total of GEL 160,000 to the Georgian Dream on the same day, two weeks after the transfer of the land plot. Moreover, after a month, the fifth partner – Zaza Kutsishvili - donated another GEL 30,000 to the ruling party.**

1.3. Case of Vazha Tsigroshvili

In 2016-2017, **Vazha Tsigroshvili** and his business partner, **Bejan Anuashvili**, have donated a total of GEL 170,000 to the Georgian Dream (See infographic #26). These two persons deposited a total of GEL 75,000 on the ruling party’s account last year on the same day – August 31. Two weeks after this deposit was made, the Prosecutor’s Office announced that it had resolved on of its cases. As a result, 13 automobiles and 5 quad bikes were released from state ownership and transferred to **Vazha Tsigroshvili**. According to the Prosecutor’s Office, this property was forcibly taken by the Constitutional Security Department in exchange for Tsigroshvili’s release from prison in 2008.⁶

5 Decree of the Government of Georgia #1982, September 29, 2016 29: <https://goo.gl/BdbP5d>

6 Statement of the Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia, September 13, 2016: http://pog.gov.ge/geo/news?info_id=1008

1.4. Case of Jeu Group

On August 24, 2017, two directors of **LTD Jeu Group**, **Giorgi Markoishvili** and **Nino Kikabidze**, contributed a total of GEL 50,000 in donations to the *Georgian Dream* (See infographic #35). Jeu Group is a large company that carries out road construction works, mainly in Tbilisi. Since 2015, Jeu Group has received nearly GEL 7 million from simplified public procurement contracts. The largest contract amounted to a total of GEL 5 million in 2016 for the construction of the highway connecting Krtsanisi and Shindisi. In addition to the simplified procurements, the Jeu Group had secured a number of large procurements since 2013 amounted to GEL 50 million in procurement contracts. **One such large procurement contract was secured two months after the company's directors had donated to the Georgian Dream.** This GEL 8 million-contract envisages renovation of the Nichbisi-Didgori-Didi Toneti highway.

1.5. Case of Gzamsheni-18

Two co-owners of **LTD Gzamsheni-18**, **Teimuraz Jakhva** and **Vakhtang Chanturia**, donated a total of GEL 25,000 to the Georgian Dream on September 5, 2017 (See infographic #41). Gzamsheni-18 is a large road construction company that has secured nearly GEL 10 million in simplified public procurement contracts in 2017, including the largest contract amounting to GEL 4.6 million. **This contract was secured three weeks after the company's owners had donated to the ruling party.**

1.6. Case of Giorgi Tchkonია

Over the past two years, Giorgi Tchkonია and his business partners (**Jimsher Zoidze**, **Malkhaz Dumbadze**, **Gia Katamadze** and **Jemal Tchkonია**) have donated a total of GEL 170,000 to the Georgian Dream. In 2012 Tchkonია and Dumbadze also contributed GEL 75,000 to the *Georgia Is Not for Sale*, an NGO, which was disseminating various video clips aimed against the *Georgian Dream*. Back in 2012 the State Audit Office imposed legal restrictions on this entity designated for political parties (See infographic #23).

One of the companies of Giorgi Tchkonია – **LTD Gza** – is one of the largest construction companies in the Autonomous Republic of Adjara. From 2011 till date, the company has secured a total of GEL 40 million from public procurement contracts.⁷

1.7. Case of Iberoili

In 2017, **LTD Iberoili** donated a total of GEL 110,000 to the Georgian Dream. Moreover, 8 partners directly or indirectly connected to this company donated GEL 390,000 to the ruling party. Therefore, the total amount donated to the Georgian Dream by this company and its partners amounts to over GEL 500,000. The members of this company contributed a total of GEL 125,000 to the Georgian Dream in 2016. Moreover, four out of the eight partners mentioned above (**Giorgi Gagua**, **Ilia Shonia**, **Vazha Usanetashvili**, **Tengiz Gavashvili**) had also donated a total of GEL 120,000 to the UNM in 2012 (See infographic #1).

1.8. Political party donors affiliated with Gogi Liparteliani

In 2017, LTD Gama and 8 natural persons directly or indirectly associated with the company donated a total of GEL 425,000 to the ruling party. (See infographic #3). This company is evidently connected to Gogi Liparteliani⁸, who had served in previous five convocations of the Parliament. Liparteliani was UNM's single-mandate MP candidate for Lentekhi, but had a split with the party and joined the Georgian Dream. **Nazi Liparteliani** - Gogi Liparteliani's spouse - is the owner of **LTD Gama** and shareholder of several other companies. It is noteworthy that Gogi Liparteliani did not indicate his spouse's companies in his asset declaration. TI Georgia has already noted in its publication that it was a violation of the law.⁹

7 Participation of LTD Gza in public procurements: <https://goo.gl/xWtZFX>

8 Info on Gogi Liparteliani: <http://www.parliament.ge/en/mp/2082>

9 Assessment of performance of the Georgian Parliament 2015, Transparency International Georgia, 2016: <https://goo.gl/x6NH3S>

1.9. Case of Tegeta Motors

Since June 2017, **LTD Tegeta Motors**, in its capacity as a legal entity, donated a total of GEL 120,000 to the ruling party. In addition, the company's shareholder, **Zaur Tskhadadze**, and his business partner, **Kakhaber Japaridze**, donated GEL 60,000 each. Individuals associated with Tskhadadze contributed a total of GEL 400,000 to the ruling party over the course of the last two years.

Tegeta Motors is one of the largest companies in Georgia. The company is in the business of selling automobiles and auto products. Tegeta Motors actively participates in public procurements and has secured procurement contracts amounted to GEL 80 million (including GEL 6 million from simplified procurement) from 2011 to date.¹⁰

1.10. Other noteworthy cases

One of the largest contributors to the Georgian Dream was **LTD Lion**, which donated GEL 240,000 to the ruling party over the course of the last two years. (See infographic #13). **Vazha Lekishvili**, the Director of LTD Lion, also donated GEL 40,000 to the ruling party in 2017. Lekishvili is known to the public for being sentenced in 2010 to pre-trial detention alongside **Vakhtang Subeliani**, the brother of **Sozar Subari**, the current Minister for *IDPs from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees*. At that time, the pre-trial detention was believed to be politically motivated due to Sozar Subari's role as an opposition figure to the ruling party.¹¹

LTD Meeki and its director, **Norair Mkoiani**, and shareholder, **Martun Mkoini**, donated a total of GEL 220,000 to the ruling party in 2017. This business group is apparently connected to **Enzel Mkoiani**, single-mandate MP from Ninotsminda.¹² Enzel Mkoiani has been a member of the Parliament for the past five convocations. Mkoiani was a member of the UNM when he became an MP in 2012. In 2016, he rejoined the Parliament, but already as a member of the Georgian Dream. Due to this, it is not surprising that Norair and Martun have a history of contributing to different political parties in 2012 and 2016 (See infographic #16).

LTD P and L also was a large contributor to the ruling party. This company and its co-owner, **Levan Kacharava**, donated a total of GEL 170,000 to the ruling party in 2017. Notably, Kacharava, who is also known to the public under the nickname "**Tilika**", and his three business partners, donated a total of GEL 210,000 to the *UNM* in 2012. (See infographic #16). Moreover, Kacharava was involved in the obscure privatization process of the water supply company Tbilisi Water (today the Georgian Water and Powers (GWP)) in 2008.¹³

Three co-owners of **LTD Borani** donated a total of GEL 80,000 to the Georgian Dream in 2017. (See infographic #30). In exchange for these donations, the company received nearly GEL 1.5 million in public procurement contracts related to road construction works in 2017.¹⁴

2. Donations made by public servants

From June 1, 2017, a total of 27 public officials and their family members have contributed more than GEL 5,000 to various political parties. For the purposes of this research, we analyzed public officials and their family members whose contributions constituted a significant amount of their declared income.

Notably, the cumulative income from the previous year of the public official and his/her family is indicated in the public asset declaration. Therefore, we compared the donations made in 2017 with the income declared in 2016. These conditions may affect the integrity of the analysis, nevertheless, most of the public servants, whose income largely derives from their salaries, remain on the same positions. Due to this, we can assume that their income from this year is similar to their income from the previous year.

10 Participation of LTD Tegeta Motors in public procurements: <http://www.tendermonitor.ge/en/organization/36952>

11 Why was Subari's brother sentenced to pre-trial detention?, October 28, 2010: <http://netgazeti.ge/news/7580/>

12 Data on Enzel Mkoiani: <http://www.parliament.ge/en/mp/2204>

13 Water from offshores: who owns Georgian Water and Power?, Transparency International Georgia, May 22, 2014: <https://goo.gl/YsjTuV>

14 Participation of LTD Borani in public procurements: <http://www.tendermonitor.ge/en/organization/33871?page=1>

Giorgi Tabidze is a specialist at the JSC RMG Cooper and a spouse of Natia Bubuteishvili, who is the Head of the Division of Secret Recordkeeping of the Ministry of Corrections. Tabidze donated a total of GEL 30,000 to the *Georgian Dream* on August 14. According to the latest public asset declaration submitted by Natia Bubuteishvili¹⁵, the net income of her family in 2016 amounted to GEL 59,880. This means that her husband, Giorgi Tabidze, donated a half of their family's net income to the ruling party.

Nana Bzekalava is a spouse of Mikheil Gogotishvili, who is the former Chairperson of *UNM* faction in the Ozurgeti City Assembly. According to Gogotishvili's asset declaration¹⁶, their family's net income (including the buying of an automobile and service of two bank loans) in 2016 amounted to GEL 4,593. Bzekalava donated GEL 10,000 to the *European Georgia* on October 9, which constitutes 217% of her family's declared income from the previous year.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We believe that the following measures need to be taken in order to improve political party finance regulations:

- The State Audit Office and the Prosecutor's Office should pay greater attention to the identification of high-risk donations;
- The State Audit Office must update the database of political donations and correct existing shortcomings.

15 Public asset declaration of Natia Bubuteishvili, January 24, 2017: <https://declaration.gov.ge/Home/DownloadPdf/31871>

16 Public asset declaration of Mikheil Gogotishvili, June 12, 2017: <https://declaration.gov.ge/Home/DownloadPdf/104734>

APPENDIX #1

Chart 1. Contributors, who had donated to two different ruling parties in different years			
Contributor's name, surname and ID number	Political Party or candidate to whom the donation was made	Donations made between June 1, 2017 and November 1, 2017 (GEL)	Total donations made (GEL)
Tengiz Gavasheli 01003002124	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	38000	38000
Giorgi Gagua 01006001848	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	37000	37000
Zaza Metreveli 01006009118	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	40000	40000
Davit Dugladze 01008000661	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	60000	110000
Vakhtang Sadzaglishvili 01009006897	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	15000	15000
Solomon Mamuchishvili 01011011609	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	20000	20000
Grigol Morchiladze 01018002152	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	60000	110000
Rapiel Suramelashvili 01018002946	United National Movement	0	15000
	Georgian Dream	60000	105000
Gocha Enukidze 01019000860	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	50000	105000

Zurab Gabinashvili 01019002369	United National Movement	0	40000
	Georgian Dream	50000	50000
Vazha Usanetashvili 01019006353	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	38000	38000
Mindia Sabanadze 01023002458	United National Movement	0	49965
	Georgian Dream	50000	100000
Davit Shengelia 01024003652	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	55000	55000
Ilia Shonia 01024012981	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	37000	37000
Besik Metreveli 01025014072	United National Movement	0	41000
	Georgian Dream	40000	40000
Uta Maziashvili 01026001199	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	50000	50000
Gocha Darchiashvili 01027001762	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	50000	50000
Vladimir Darchiashvili 01027005305	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	50000	50000
Gia Andguladze 01030006793	United National Movement	0	30000
	Georgian Dream	37000	37000
Martun Mkoian 07001001210	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	40000	40000

Levan Kacharava 16001001270	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	60000	60000
Norair Mkoian 32001003236	United National Movement	0	55000
	Georgian Dream	40000	46800
Teimuraz Jakhva 33001007092	United National Movement	0	15000
	Georgian Dream	15000	15000
Paata Ezieshvili 35001007755	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	60000	60000
Avtandil Gulikashvili 36001002929	United National Movement	0	18000
	Georgian Dream	50000	50000
Gela Bazadze 60001000029	United National Movement	0	25000
	Georgian Dream	50000	115000
Nikoloz Pataridze 60002000764	United National Movement	0	15000
	Georgian Dream	15000	15000
Giorgi Tchkonია 61001002082	Georgia is Not For Sale	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	60000	120000
Paata Siradze 61001014683	United National Movement	0	60000
	Georgian Dream	60000	60000
Giorgi Chakvetadze 62007006238	United National Movement	0	5000
	Georgian Dream	40000	80000



Nato Khaindrava (General director) 45 000 (2017) Georgian Dream 44 600 (2016) Georgian Dream 35 000 (2014) Georgian Dream 13 600 (2012) Georgian Dream 45 000 (2012) NNLE “Georgian Dream”	Givi Lebanidze (Financial director) 20 000 (2017) Georgian Dream 21 800 (2016) Georgian Dream 15 000 (2014) Georgian Dream	Davit Galuashvili (Operations director) 20 000 (2017) Georgian Dream 33 000 (2016) Georgian Dream 30 000 (2014) Georgian Dream 12 400 (2012) Georgian Dream 25 029 (2012) NNLE “Georgian Dream”	Zurab Gogua (Commercial director) 20 000 (2017) Georgian Dream 33 000 (2016) Georgian Dream 20 000 (2014) Georgian Dream	Beka Kvaratskhelia (Risks director) 20 000 (2017) Georgian Dream 21 600 (2016) Georgian Dream 15 000 (2014) Georgian Dream 18 000 (2012) Georgian Dream
JSC Cartu Bank				

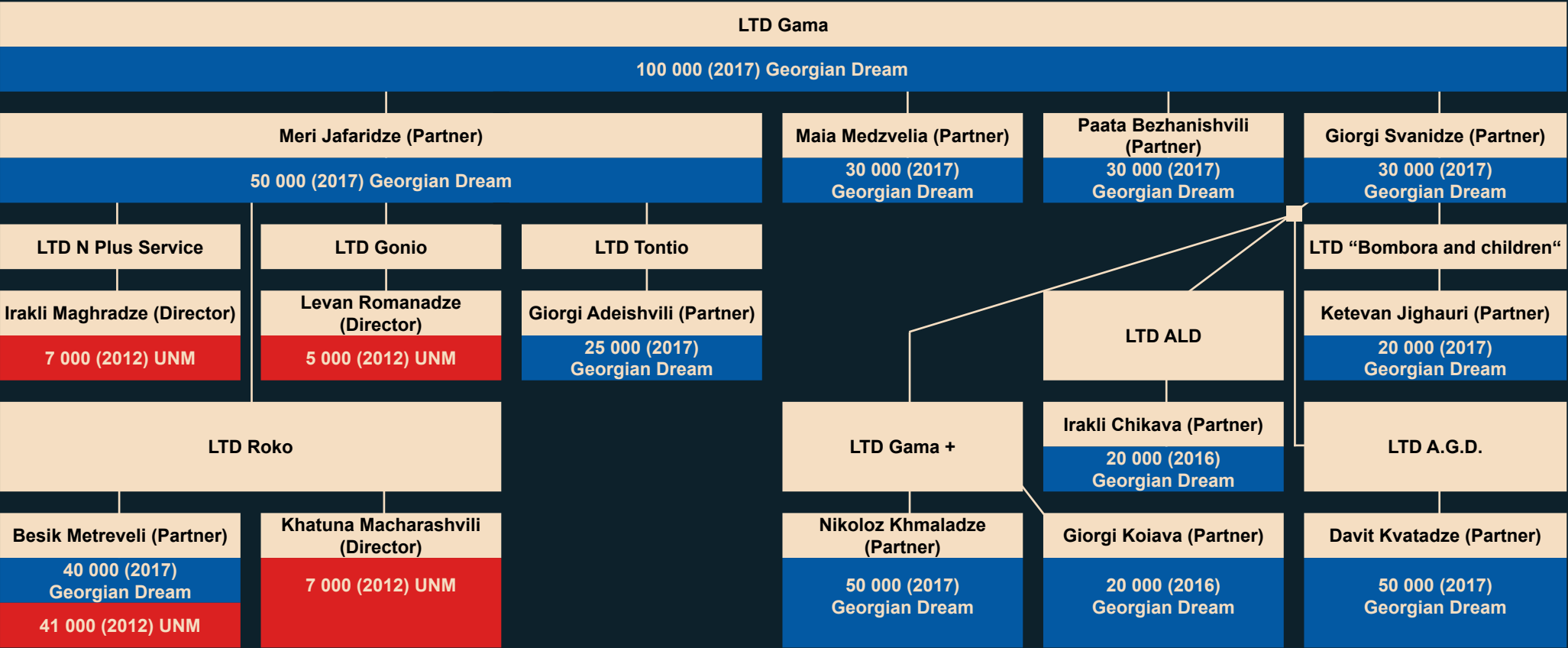
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



125 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

507 429 GEL (2012-17) GEORGIAN DREAM

DONORS LINKED TO ONE ANOTHER



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



425 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

465 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM

60 000 GEL (2012) UNM





TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



220 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

400 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM

120 000 GEL (2012) UNM

220 GEL (2011) CDP



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



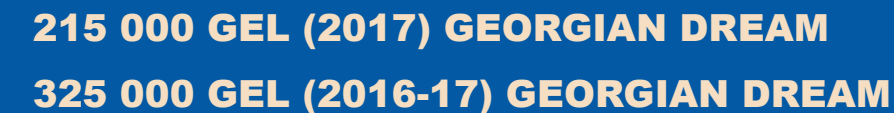
210 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

400 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



Age Group	Percentage
18-24	10%
25-34	15%
35-44	20%
45-54	25%
55-64	30%
65-74	35%
75-84	40%
85+	45%

290 000 GEL (2017)	GEORGIAN DREAM
330 000 GEL (2016-17)	GEORGIAN DREAM
20 000 GEL (2012)	REPUBLICANS
20 000 GEL (2012)	FREE DEMOCRATS
20 000 GEL (2012)	NATIONAL FORUM
5 000 GEL (2012)	CONSERVATIVES
60 000 GEL (2012)	UNM





TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



280 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

310 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



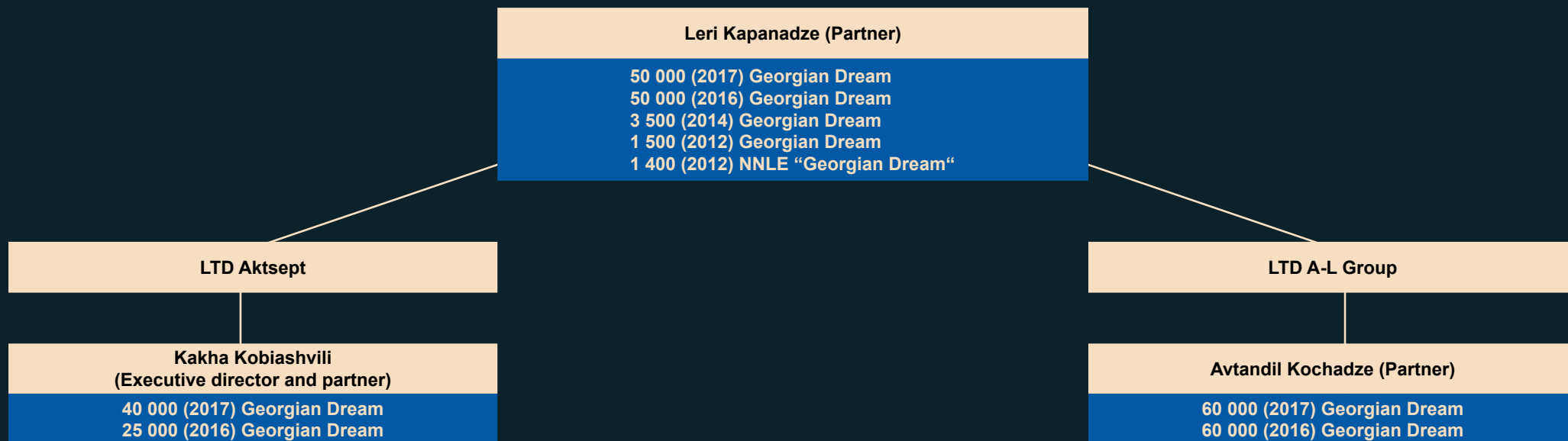
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



300 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



285 100 GEL (2012-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



150 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

291 400 GEL (2012-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



160 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

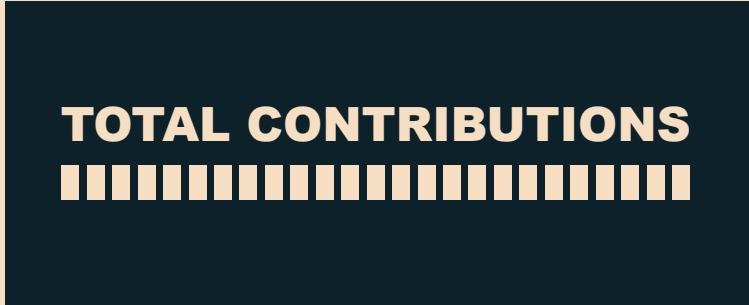
280 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



240 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



230 000 GEL (2013-17) GEORGIAN DREAM

95 000 GEL (2012) UNM





TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



220 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

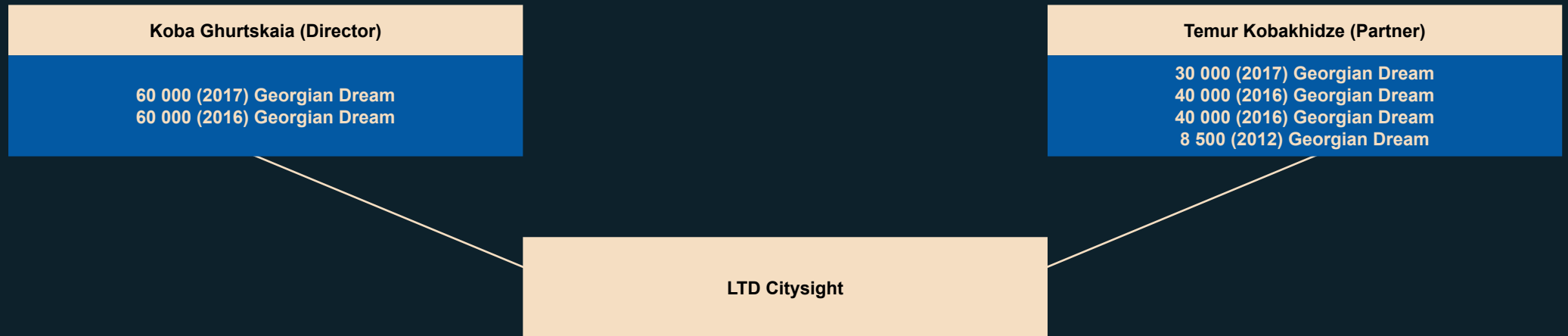
50 000 GEL (2012) UNM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



215 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

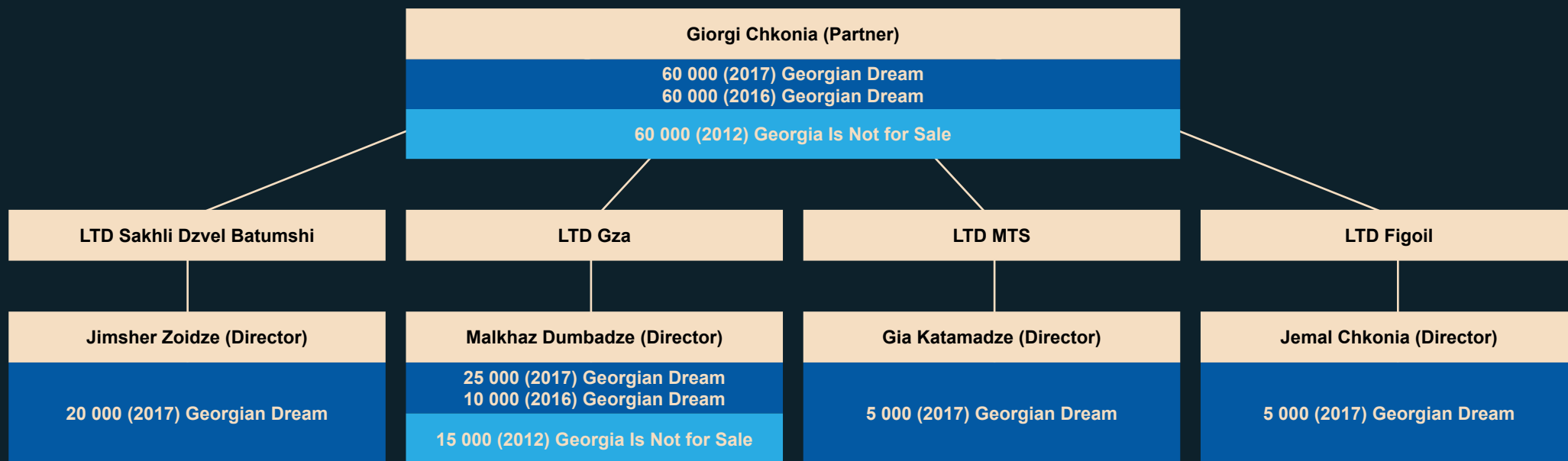


TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



90 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

198 500 GEL (2012-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



100 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

170 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM

75 000 GEL (2012) GEORGIA IS NOT FOR SALE



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



170 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

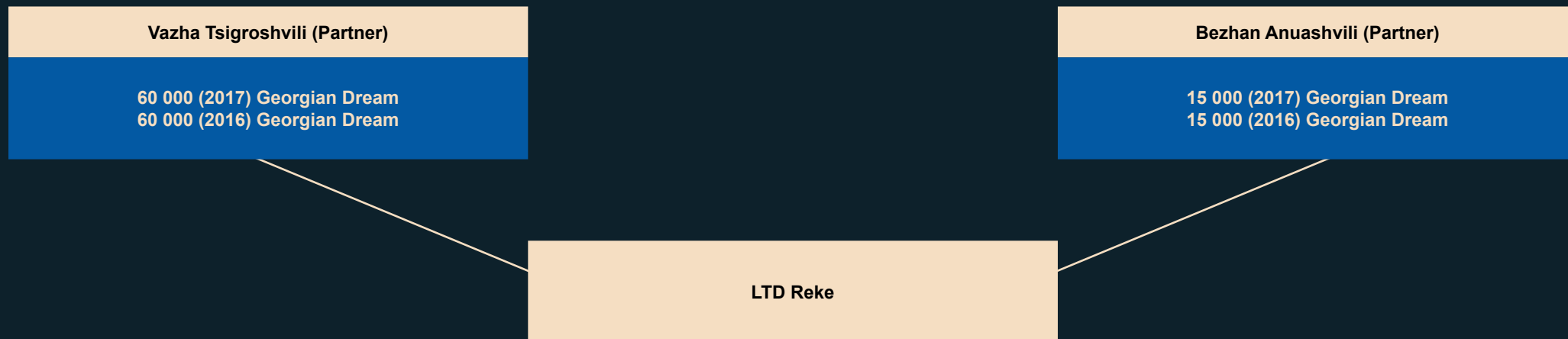


TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



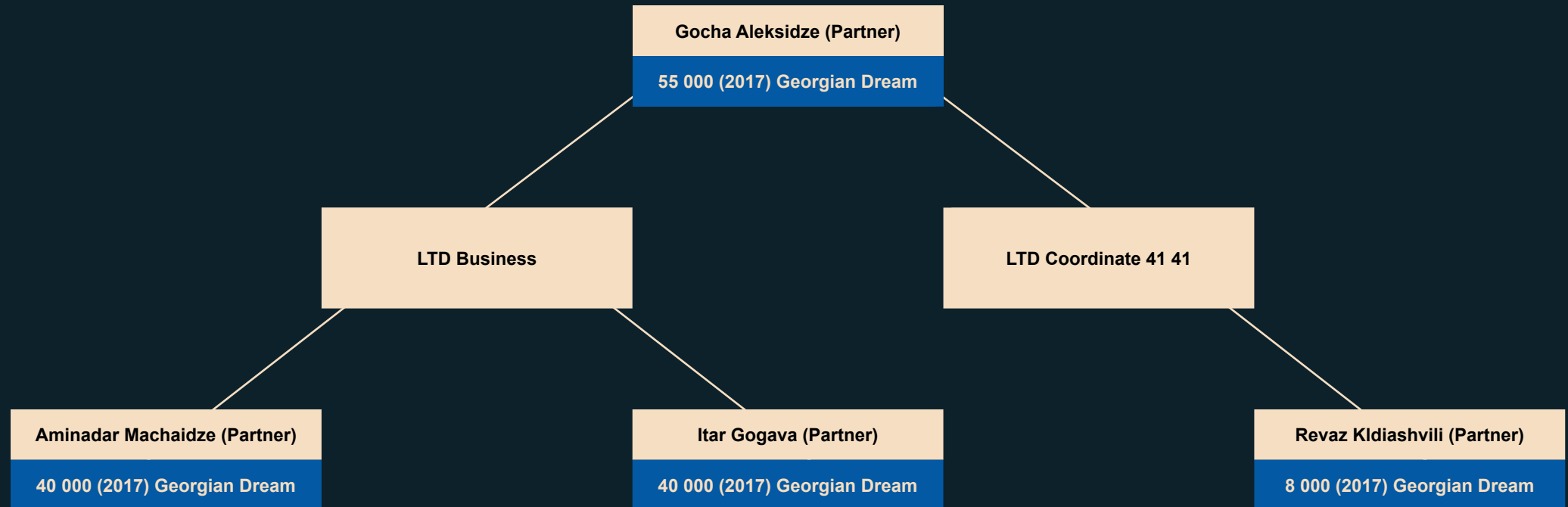
150 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

180 000 GEL (2012) UNM



Age Group	Percentage
18-24	10%
25-34	15%
35-44	20%
45-54	25%
55-64	30%
65-74	35%
75-84	40%
85+	45%

150 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



143 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



105 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

60 000 GEL (2012) UNM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



80 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

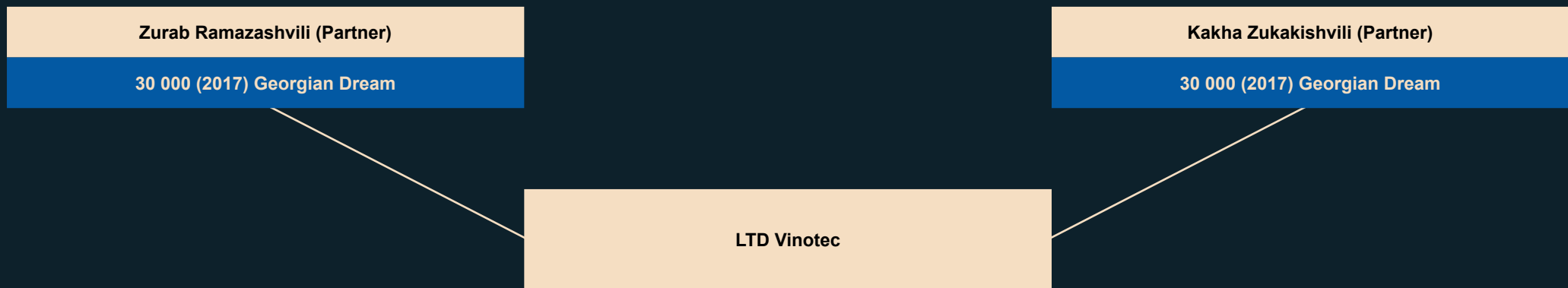


TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



68 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

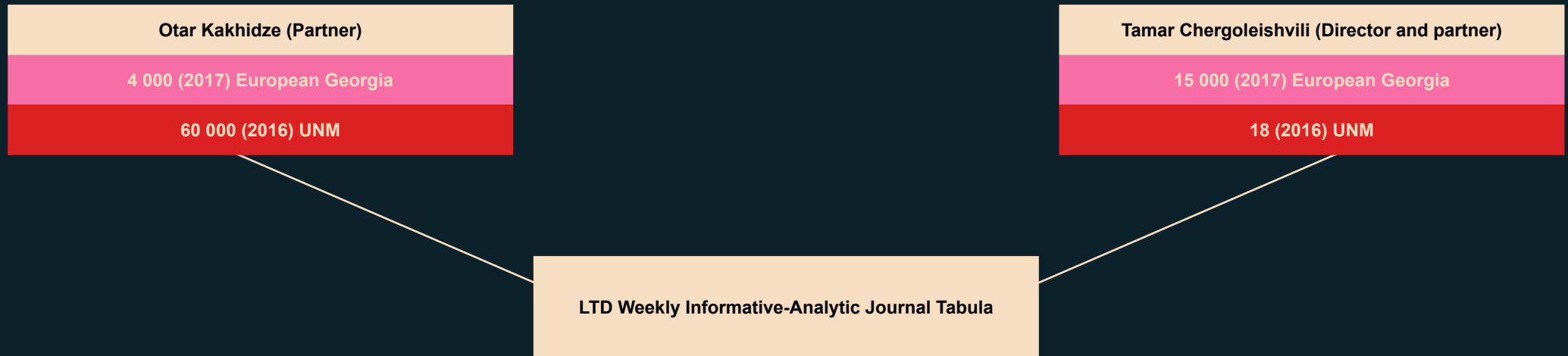
5 000 GEL (2013) DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



60 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



19 000 GEL (2017) EUROPEAN GEORGIA

60 018 GEL (2016) UNM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



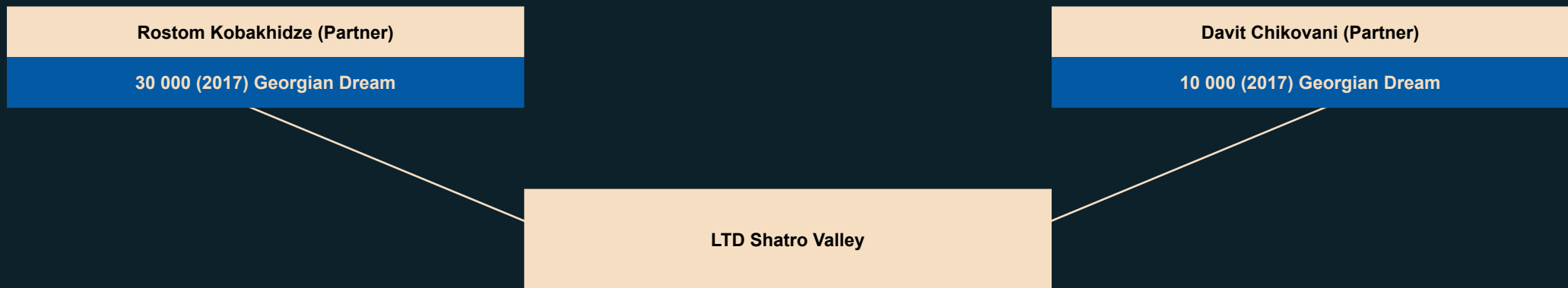
50 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



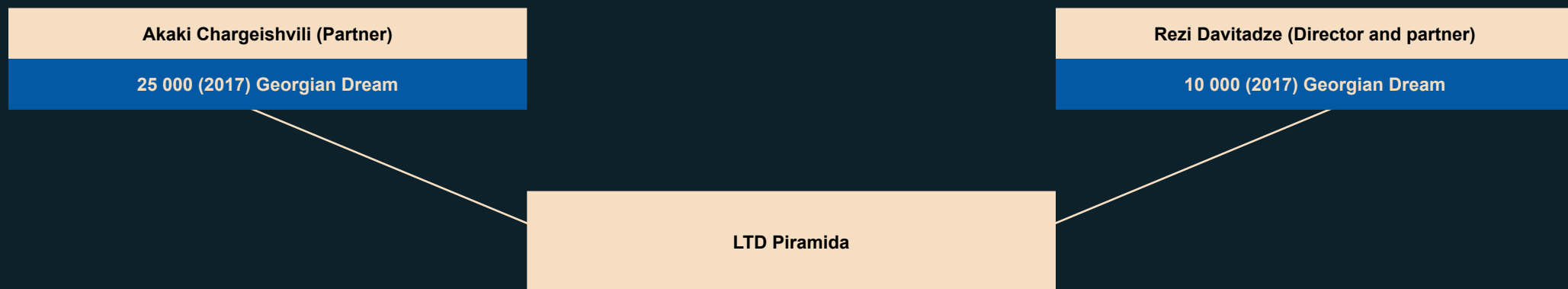
50 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



40 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



35 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

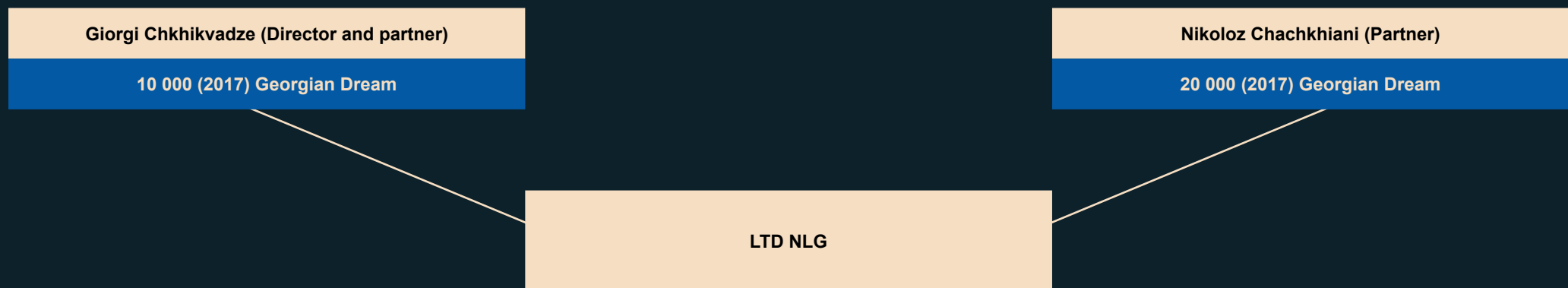


TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



14 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

34 000 GEL (2016-17) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



30 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



25 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM

15 000 GEL (2012) UNM



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS



25 000 GEL (2017) GEORGIAN DREAM